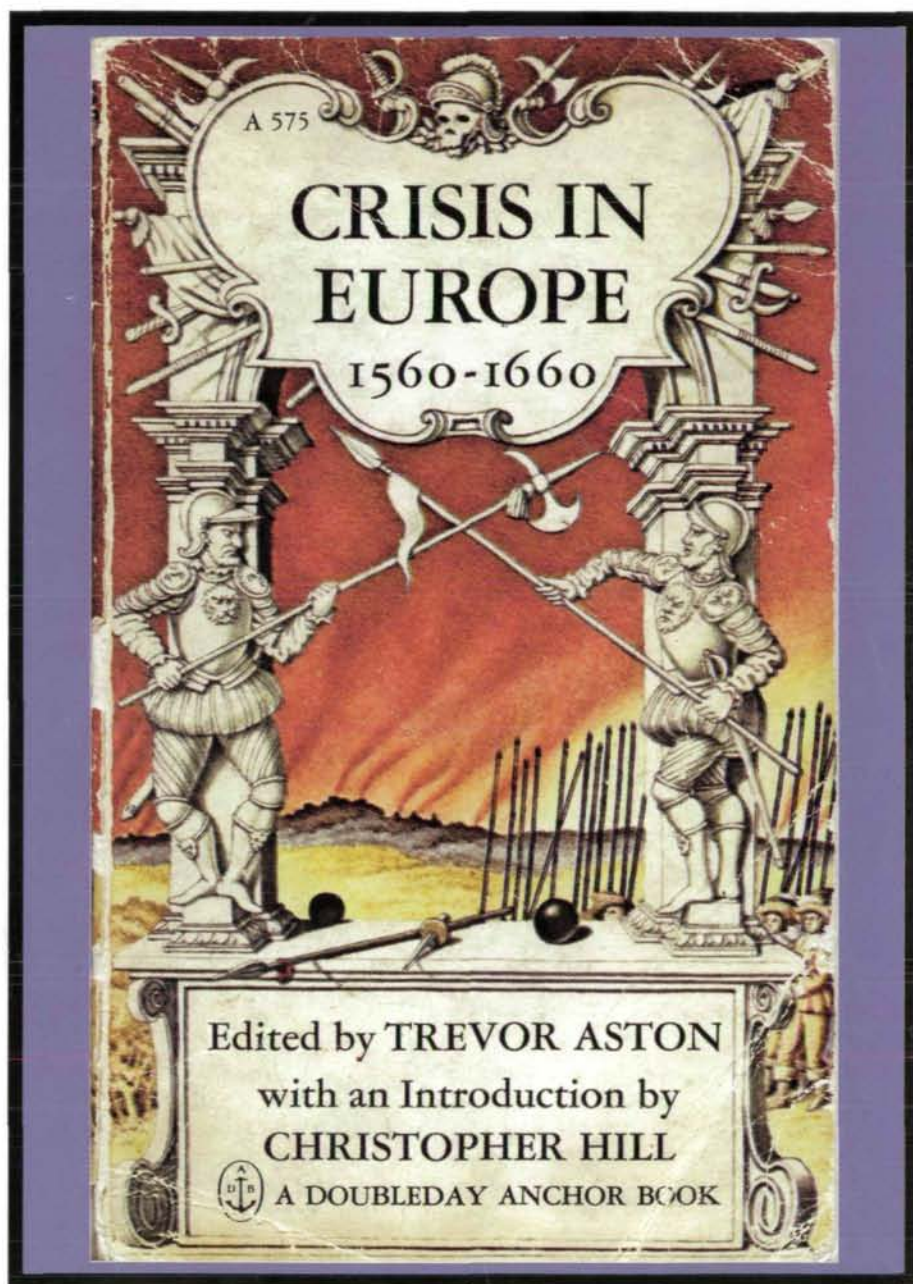


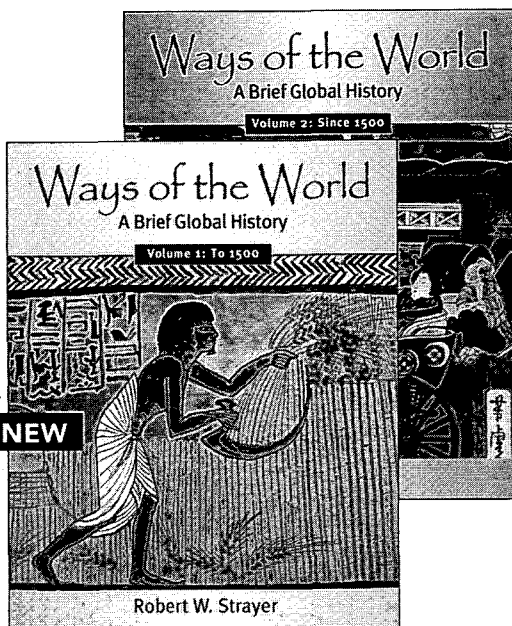
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In This Issue

The October issue of the *AHR* contains two articles and an *AHR* Forum. The first article attempts to explain puritan “discipline” in seventeenth-century New England; the second examines the role of Britain in the struggle against slavery in the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Forum brings four historians together for an assessment of one of the great controversies in early modern history. Seven featured reviews are followed by our usual extensive book reviews.

Articles

The New England puritans were famously disciplined—intense in their drive for moral righteousness and a more fully Christianized society. In “Puritan Godly Discipline in Comparative Perspective: Legal Pluralism and the Sources of ‘Intensity,’” **Richard J. Ross** attempts to explain this disposition by situating the colony in two contexts not normally considered together. The first is a comparative exploration of post-Reformation campaigns for godly discipline and confession-building. A comparative investigation of legal pluralism among New World settlements constitutes the second. His study begins by considering the assumption by European Reformation historians of an inverse relationship between the effectiveness of godly discipline and a territory’s social complexity and legal pluralism. Contemporary critics of Massachusetts, in fact, viewed the New England way as deficient in precisely those sorts of mechanisms, available in other Reformed polities such as Calvin’s Geneva and seventeenth-century Scotland, which could coordinate among different congregations and police the boundaries between the civil and ecclesiastical realms. These critics predicted that schism, oscillations between enthusiasm and lethargy, and inconsistent standards of judgment and administration between clashing churches and civil authorities would together undermine the colony’s discipline. They were, however, wrong. And part of the reason lies in Massachusetts’s low level of social complexity, at least as compared to European Reformed societies, and its relatively modest degree of legal pluralism. The colony’s experience challenges the expectation of scholars of New World pluralism. Rather, the historiography of European confession-building offers an insight into family resemblances among settlements in different regions that were pursuing parallel programs of intense godly discipline and Christian education. In short, evidence from the New World can contribute to debates among scholars of the “confessional age” by demonstrating the importance of legal history in understanding the level of godly discipline.

In “‘As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends’: The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic, 1772–1861,” Van Gosse argues that black Americans first gained significant political leverage not within the United States, but rather around it, in the extended arc of the British Empire. He begins by examining the various locations where English solidarity exerted itself, in Canada and Britain’s Caribbean possessions, on the high seas, and in Great Britain itself. As African Americans moved through these spaces, a combination of state policy, public empathy, and British *schadenfreude* regarding the slaveholding Americans afforded them multiple opportunities for effective agency, from notorious agitators such as Frederick Douglass to the thousands who expatriated themselves to Canada. Gosse also documents the impact of the Anglo–African American connection on domestic political discourse in the United States itself, from a virulent southern Anglophobia regarding “New England and Old England” to African Americans’ constant evocation of the “British Lion” as their protector from the “American Eagle.” He concludes that imperial solidarity had a distinct political logic: in demonstrations of Britain’s superior appreciation of the value of human freedom, it served to accumulate moral capital and discredit American republicanism. Like other recent scholarship, his article challenges the national-historical narrative of American democracy, pointing out how compromised that story was before the Civil War, especially if one looks at U.S. politics from the outside—as African Americans emphatically did.

AHR Forum

The AHR Forum, “The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Revisited,” takes a look at one of the great historical controversies of the post–World War II era. Initiated by Eric Hobsbawm in two articles published in 1954, it continued in a stream of interesting and provocative research and writings until the 1980s. In “Crisis, Chronology, and the Shape of European Social History,” Jonathan Dewald surveys the historiography of the “crisis” controversy during that period. He focuses on two especially influential traditions of historical writing, one deriving from Anglo-American social science and associated with the journal *Past and Present*, the other linked to the French *Annales* school. In both traditions, scholars agreed that the confusing events of the seventeenth century should be understood as constituting a single “general crisis,” but they differed in their interpretations of that crisis. British and American historians tended to view it as a crisis of modernization, a turning point on the way to the European and global present. French historians instead interpreted crisis as a sign of European backwardness during the early modern period. Both groups of historians, however, were heavily influenced by events in the world around them, notably by the experiences of former colonial territories undergoing economic development; in this setting, historians of early modern society could present their findings as relevant for thinking about the present. Finally, Dewald suggests that advances in scholarly research only partially explain the profession’s increasing skepticism about the crisis idea after 1970.

In the second article in the Forum, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered," **Geoffrey Parker** offers new ways of looking at, and perhaps reviving, the concept of "crisis" for the seventeenth century. His perspective is global, not merely European or Western. He offers a plethora of evidence. For example, the 1640s witnessed more state breakdowns around the world than any previous or subsequent period. Ming China, the most populous state in the world, collapsed; the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the largest state in Europe, temporarily disappeared; large parts of the Spanish monarchy, the first global empire in history, seceded; the entire Stuart monarchy (England, Scotland, Ireland, and its North American colonies) rebelled. Two regicides—one in Istanbul and the other in London—and the suicide of the last Ming emperor to rule from Beijing also occurred in the 1640s. In addition, political insurgency and a spate of popular revolts seldom equaled shook the foundations of most states in Europe and Asia. More wars took place around the world in the mid-seventeenth century than in almost any other period of recorded history. Finally, throughout the Northern Hemisphere, the mid-seventeenth century witnessed almost unprecedented human mortality. In seeking to explain these disasters, Parker turns to environmental factors, and in particular evidence of global cooling. He suggests that this "Little Ice Age" furnishes links between climate change and global catastrophe.

These articles are followed by two comments. In the first, "Locating Linkages or Painting Bull's-Eyes around Bullet Holes? An East Asian Perspective on the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," **Michael Marmé** considers the relevance of a seventeenth-century general crisis to our understanding of East Asian history. Agreeing that far-distant places faced a common (climate-driven) crisis, he reminds us that the societies experiencing that crisis differed dramatically, and hence their responses differed dramatically as well. He further suggests that it is more fruitful to conceive of those responses as shaping a number of alternate paths to the present than to posit a single successful (English) path, on the one hand, and a large number of historical dead ends, on the other. The second comment, offered by **J. B. Shank**, is "Crisis: A Useful Category of Post-Social Scientific Historical Analysis?" Shank answers his question with a qualified yes. He first explains how the term entered modern historical writing through its association with medical science and social scientific approaches to history. It was this association that determined our understanding of the concept in the "general crisis of the seventeenth century." In the wake of recent work in critical science studies, and with the general skepticism about social science history that this scholarship has engendered, Shank asserts that this understanding is no longer tenable. As a rhetorical category, however, and as a concept connected to dramatic narrative art, he argues that crisis can and should remain a viable category of historical analysis. The value of the "general crisis of the seventeenth century" framework to historians today rests, therefore, in recognizing the limitations of its original social scientific approaches and deploying the rubric instead toward rethinking and rewriting the place of the seventeenth century in stories about the making of modernity.



In 1640s Massachusetts, puritans waged an intense campaign to impose godly discipline on the colonists in their pursuit of a more righteous society. In this image, an errant settler has been confronted by a disapproving crowd. Albert Bobbett, "A Wanton Gosseller" (1881). Reproduced by permission of the New York Public Library.

Puritan Godly Discipline in Comparative Perspective: Legal Pluralism and the Sources of “Intensity”

RICHARD J. ROSS

OVERSEAS COLONIZATION AND THE DETERMINED PURSUIT of godly discipline by Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics building their confessions in the wake of the Reformation were among the most important developments in the history of early modern Europe and its Atlantic periphery. European historians have asked whether the campaigns for godly discipline proved more effective in polities with modest levels of social complexity and legal pluralism.¹ Meanwhile, scholars of New World empires have argued that colonial conditions enhanced the already considerable legal pluralism of early modern European metropolises.² Studies of New World legal pluralism and of post-Reformation godly discipline are seldom brought together. Both literatures are comparative, employing case studies to identify patterns of similarity and difference. The puritan campaign to combat sin and reform morals in early Massachusetts (1630–ca. 1660) can be fruitfully used as a case study to investigate the relationship between social complexity, legal pluralism, and godly discipline in a colonial setting. Early Massachusetts was neither particularly large nor economically important. But because it was simultaneously a New World settlement and a Calvinist polity on the edge of the European Reformation, it can serve as a point of contact that connects these two flourishing literatures. Using Calvin’s Geneva and lowland Scotland as contrast cases provides a comparative framework that can help us identify features of the Massachusetts experience whose significance would not be readily apparent if examined in isolation.

Massachusetts governor John Winthrop famously called on his fellow colonists to “bring into familiar and constant practice” what English Protestants “maintain as a truth in profession only.”³ The colony’s ability to turn “professions” widely shared

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¹ Bruce Lenman, “The Limits of Godly Discipline in the Early Modern Period with Particular Reference to England and Scotland,” in Kaspar von Greyerz, ed., *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (London, 1984), 142; Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 45.

² See, e.g., Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (New York, 2002); Eliga H. Gould, “Zones of Law, Zones of Violence: The Legal Geography of the British Atlantic, circa 1772,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (2003): 471–510.

³ John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity” (1630), in Edmund S. Morgan, ed., *Puritan Political Ideas, 1558–1794* (Indianapolis, 1965), 91.

among serious English Protestants into “familiar and constant practice” earned it a reputation among historians for intense godly discipline. Yet many contemporary critics of Massachusetts would have been surprised to learn of the colony’s current reputation. In the late 1630s and 1640s, English and Scottish presbyterians charged that the New England Way would encourage schism and inconsistent standards of judgment among clashing churches and civil authorities—to the detriment of godly discipline. In particular, they saw Massachusetts as deficient in the sorts of mechanisms for coordinating among congregations and between the civil and ecclesiastical realms available in Reformed polities such as Calvin’s Geneva and early-seventeenth-century lowland Scotland, places of great importance in debates between presbyterians and Massachusetts puritans.

Comparing Massachusetts to Scotland and Geneva helps us make sense of the presbyterians’ supposition that the colony’s campaign to reform morals would turn out to be disorganized and inconsistent. By exploring why it turned out to be incorrect, we see fresh reasons for the intensity of Massachusetts’s godly discipline. The examples of Scotland and Geneva (and contemporary England) reveal that many of the social and normative impediments to godly reform in Reformed Europe were absent or muted in Massachusetts, which made the colony’s less synchronized disciplinary machinery appear more fervent because it confronted fewer obstacles. Massachusetts stands out for its low levels of social complexity (relative to European Reformed polities) and its modest degree of legal pluralism (relative to other New World settlements). Colonists had relatively few sites where they might evade or deflect godly discipline.

Situating Massachusetts within the scholarship on comparative New World legal pluralism and on post-Reformation godly discipline (including work done under the rubric of “confession-building”) can suggest adjustments to and interrelationships between these literatures. The experiences of colonies pursuing intense godly discipline challenge the trajectory of change assumed by students of New World legal pluralism—a movement toward a more constrained pluralism as the state enhanced its authority. Meanwhile, the literature on European confession-building provides tools for identifying and comparing settlements in the Spanish and Dutch as well as English empires that, at various times, meaningfully committed themselves to intensifying godly discipline and Christian education. Evidence from the New World could contribute to ongoing debates in European historiography about the foundations of fervent godly discipline, not least by emphasizing the importance of modest levels of legal pluralism.

HISTORIANS HAVE FOLLOWED EARLY MODERN CONTEMPORARIES in understanding godly discipline as the cultivation of virtue, order, industry, civility, and a more fully Christianized society—a rather broader matter than “social control.” Scholars have often called Massachusetts godly discipline “intense.”⁴ By what standard? There is reason

⁴ See, e.g., Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 197; David H. Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), 164–165; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford, 1989), 195–196. This emphasis on the “zealousness” of early Massachusetts morals regulation rather than its novel content is congruent

to be careful. Prosecutions of drunkenness, fornication, swearing, idleness, defamation, profaning the Sabbath, and other moral offenses, leading to fines, whipping, and shaming penalties, went on in English quarter sessions, leets, and ecclesiastical tribunals as well as in Massachusetts. The colony's litany of offenses and punishments was not unusual, for these largely resembled the mother country's, with the exception of the greater biblical influence in the capital statutes.⁵ Massachusetts did not gain a reputation for fervor because of violence in the streets. Nor did colonists unreservedly unite behind the pursuit of godly discipline, a goal contested in meaning and sometimes resented. The New England Way was not a consensus so much as an unstable compromise among ministers, magistrates, and local notables with divergent agendas, a compromise that at times came under severe strain, as in the 1637 Antinomian crisis. The saints lived among a considerable number of conventional Christians with limited attachment to the churches, along with many settlers in port and frontier towns who were more materialistic and prone to strife than the puritan ideal.⁶ Massachusetts's achievements in fostering a godly society appear incomplete and variegated if measured against the unfulfilled aspirations of ministers and magistrates, let alone against stereotypes of a Bible Commonwealth of blue laws and scarlet letters.

Yet a different picture emerges if we look at the colony not from the standpoint of a Massachusetts historiography devoted to uncovering the varieties and limitations of puritan commitment, but from the perspective of contemporary England and its Chesapeake and Caribbean colonies. By the standards of the English Atlantic, Massachusetts provides a model of fervent cooperation among the state, churches, and local notables in an attempt to suppress sin and encourage a more fully Christianized society. In Virginia between the 1630s and 1670s, settlers pressing forward increasingly lived in large, dispersed parishes with few clergy and church buildings.⁷ Mary Beth Norton's comparison of published seventeenth-century court records from the Chesapeake and New England reveals some suggestive statistics.⁸ The

with the stress, since the work of Patrick Collinson, on the "intensity" rather than the distinctiveness of puritans' piety and social ethic. Collinson, "Concerning the Name Puritan," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 485–486; Collinson, *English Puritanism* (London, 1983), 19, 28–29, 34–35; Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *The Precisionist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 3–6; Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York, 1986), 4–5; Peter Lake, "Defining Puritanism—Again?" in Francis J. Bremer, ed., *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993), 3–29; Michael P. Winship, "Were There Any Puritans in New England?" *New England Quarterly* 74 (2001): 118–138.

⁵ On these similarities, see George L. Haskins, "Precedents in English Ecclesiastical Practices for Criminal Punishments in Early Massachusetts," in Morris D. Forkosch, ed., *Essays in Legal History in Honor of Felix Frankfurter* (Indianapolis, 1966), 321–336.

⁶ See, e.g., David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), 15–16; Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690–1750* (New York, 1984), 29–51; Stephen Innes, *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), xvii–xix, 124–143; Darrett B. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630–1649* (New York, 1972).

⁷ Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 43–46, 51, 58; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York, 1986), 16–17; James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 386–387, 402.

⁸ Norton drew upon published seventeenth-century court records from colony-wide tribunals and

Chesapeake jurisdictions that Norton surveyed prosecuted 13 premarital fornicators as against 153 in New England. Minor offenses against public order such as “swearing, disturbing the peace, unlicensed liquor sales, and sabbath breaking” yielded 106 prosecutions in the Chesapeake versus 1,238 in New England. Prosecution rates in Maryland county tribunals were less than half those in Massachusetts on a per capita basis.⁹ To be sure, in England, godly ministers and magistrates sometimes did unite behind local campaigns to reform morals—for example, in Elizabethan Gloucester and the Stour Valley and in Jacobean Dorchester.¹⁰ But these efforts were geographically specific and quite often short-lived. By comparison to England and its Atlantic colonies, godly discipline in Massachusetts can be termed “intense” insofar as it was persistent and widespread, a “familiar and constant practice” that enlisted the participation of a large proportion of the heads of households and local notables.

With Massachusetts’s standing in the English Atlantic in mind, let us develop, somewhat counterintuitively, the reasons for supposing that the colony would be ill-suited to cultivate moral righteousness. Our perspective will be that of English and Scottish presbyterians in the late 1630s and 1640s contrasting Massachusetts to the successful godly polities at the forefront of their minds, contemporary lowland Scotland and Calvin’s Geneva. Massachusetts clergy and statesmen agreed with other Reformed Protestants that effective discipline required the churches and the “two swords” of the civil and ecclesiastical orders to cooperate closely. Yet, they added, the two polities should not be “confounded” in ways that “negate the self-rule or sufficiency” of each “in its own field.”¹¹ This ban against “confounding” forbade

selected county courts in the Chesapeake and New England. Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1996), 409–410.

⁹ Ibid., 66, 424 n. 28 (premarital fornicators), 326, 463 n. 12 (public order offenders); 462 n. 3 (prosecution rates). In 1660, the New England population was approximately 33,000 and the Virginia population approximately 25,000. David W. Galenson, “The Settlement and Growth of the Colonies: Population, Labor and Economic Development,” in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, vol. 1: *The Colonial Era* (New York, 1996), 170. New England’s somewhat higher population cannot be the main cause of the vast disparity between the two regions in the number of prosecutions for fornication, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, and minor offenses against public order. Massachusetts offenders distinguished themselves by their high rates of confession and their pained acknowledgments of fault. “Examples of utter self-abasement can be multiplied almost indefinitely from New England records but scarcely exist in other colonies”; John M. Murrin, “Magistrates, Sinners, and a Precarious Liberty: Trial by Jury in Seventeenth-Century New England,” in David D. Hall, John M. Murrin, and Thad W. Tate, eds., *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History* (New York, 1984), 196. On high levels of confession and public acceptance of moral responsibility, see also Edith Murphy, “Skillful Women and Jurymen: Gender and Authority in Seventeenth-Century Middlesex County, Massachusetts” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1998), 235, 246 (Table 5.4); Roger Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex: Popular Mores in a Massachusetts County, 1649–1699* (Amherst, Mass., 1986), 33.

¹⁰ Paul Slack, “Godly Cities,” in Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 29–52; Francis J. Bremer, “The Heritage of John Winthrop: Religion along the Stour Valley, 1548–1630,” *New England Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (1997): 515–547; David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

¹¹ I have drawn these quotations from John Cotton, Letter to Lord Say and Sele (1636), in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629–1638* (Amherst, Mass., 1976), 191; Cotton, *A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design Is Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1663 [MS, 1637]), 8; John Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions of the Celebrated Mr. William Apollonius, Pastor of the Church of Middelburg*, trans. Douglas Horton (Cambridge, Mass., 1958 [MS, 1645; published in Latin, 1648]), 167–168. See also Thomas Hooker, *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline* (1648; repr., New York, 1972), pt. 1, 13; David D. Hall, *The Faithful*

many of the mechanisms that Geneva and Scotland used to coordinate the two swords and manage congregations in the service of godly discipline.

Consider some common strategies of Reformed polities that Massachusetts's principles prohibited. Geneva and Scotland joined ministers and civil authorities in institutions devoted to godly discipline. The mid-sixteenth-century Genevan consistory mixed the city's pastors with magistrates and elders. Geneva treated the consistory, as Robert Kingdon observed, as a "standing committee of the government. Its lay members were chosen in much the same way as members of the committees controlling fortifications and grain supplies."¹² Scottish kirk sessions around the turn of the seventeenth century overlapped with civil authorities in order to make each of the two swords effective.¹³ Many, sometimes most, of the urban kirk's lay elders were simultaneously councilors in the burghs. As Margo Todd notes, kirk sessions in burghs "often met jointly with councils, co-operating in the administration of schools and hospitals and facilitating corporal punishment of sinners." Some urban parishes invited law officers to sit with the kirk.¹⁴ The English parish provided another model of a "partnership between the minister and the chief inhabitants" of a jurisdiction, who served as churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and constables.¹⁵ Massachusetts's ban on "confounding" ruled out institutions that combined clergy with civil authorities. The colony forbade ministers from holding public office or joining with civil officials in "secular entanglements" such as the regulation of the poor, administration of schools, or imposition of corporal punishment.¹⁶ In 1632, several of the churches decided that even a ruling elder should not serve simultaneously as a "civil magistrate."¹⁷ Meanwhile, state officials did not earn a voice in church disciplinary proceedings by virtue of their civil position.

The Scottish kirk and Genevan consistory established mechanisms for referring

Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), 121–125.

¹² Robert M. Kingdon, "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva," in Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy, eds., *The Social History of the Reformation* (Columbus, Ohio, 1972), 6–7; Kingdon, "Calvin and the Establishment of Consistory Discipline in Geneva: The Institution and the Men Who Directed It," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 70 (1990): 162.

¹³ Lenman, "The Limits of Godly Discipline," 137–138.

¹⁴ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 11–12, 12 n. 31; Geoffrey Parker, "The 'Kirk by Law Established' and the Origins of 'The Taming of Scotland': Saint Andrews, 1559–1600," in Leah Leneman, ed., *Perspectives in Scottish Social History* (Aberdeen, 1988), 5; Walter Roland Foster, *The Church before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland, 1596–1638* (Edinburgh, 1975), 70–71, 78–79; Lenman, "The Limits of Godly Discipline," 135–138; William M. Abbott, "Ruling Eldership in Civil War England, the Scottish Kirk, and Early New England: A Comparative Study of Secular and Spiritual Aspects," *Church History* 75 (2006): 65.

¹⁵ William Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of a Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 79–83, 143; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550–1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), 216–221.

¹⁶ Cotton, *A Discourse about Civil Government*, 5, 7–8; Cotton, Letter to Lord Say and Sele, 191; John Witte, Jr., "How to Govern a City on a Hill: The Puritan Contribution to American Constitutionalism," *Emory Law Journal* 39 (1990): 55.

¹⁷ John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal: History of New England, 1630–1649*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer, 2 vols. (New York, 1908), 1: 83. The churches' conclusion caused magistrate Increase Nowell to resign as a ruling elder of the church of Boston. For decades, no ruling elder of that church became a magistrate or colony-level official, although two did serve on Boston's Board of Selectmen between 1634 and 1639. Harold F. Worthley, "The Lay Offices of the Particular (Congregational) Churches of Massachusetts, 1620–1755: An Investigation of Practice and Theory" (Th.D. thesis, Harvard University Divinity School, 1970), 199–201, 210–212, 221.

cases between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The criminal courts in Geneva received about 20 percent of their cases from the consistory in the 1540s and about 40 percent in the 1550s.¹⁸ Urban kirk sessions in Scotland sometimes disciplined offenders with the town bailies in attendance so that the sentence could be enforced at the same time in both the kirk and civil tribunals. Rural kirks might request permission from the privy council to inflict civil penalties. Towns routinely passed on cases to the kirks, which reciprocated by sending offenders who could not afford a fine to the magistrates for additional punishment.¹⁹ Although Massachusetts displayed much informal collaboration between church discipline and state tribunals, it lacked these sorts of regularized procedures.²⁰ Church meetings and state tribunals independently evaluated the alleged misdeeds of offenders and would not simply accept each other's findings as grounds for discipline.

The colony's strong distinction between spiritual and civil penalties magnified the importance of its unwillingness to allow the state and the churches to share personnel and act upon each other's judgments. Churches administered the spiritual sanctions of exclusion from communion and excommunication, but not the secular punishments of fines, imprisonment, and bodily coercion. The Scottish kirk and Genevan consistory, by contrast, did not strictly separate the two types of sanctions. Calvin relied on Geneva's magistrates to reinforce the consistory's admonitions and excommunications with financial and corporal punishments. In addition, the council appears to have imposed fines on offenders denounced to the consistory.²¹ Scottish kirk sessions might order not only that offenders be fined or forced to post a bond, but that they be chained to a wall with an iron neck collar (the "jougs"), have an iron mask placed over their heads (the "branks"), or be imprisoned in the church steeple for a week or two on a diet of bread and water.²²

The colony had as few formal mechanisms for coordinating discipline among the various churches as it did between the churches and the state. Massachusetts congregationalism granted each church final say over disciplinary proceedings. Congregations were not embedded in pyramidal systems running from the local to the national level in the manner of Scotland (parish kirks, regional presbyteries and

¹⁸ These percentages should be taken with some caution. They refer to "known" criminal cases. They are averages over the course of a decade; the figures fluctuate significantly from year to year. Still, they establish that the referral of cases from the consistory to the criminal courts was routine. William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester, 1994), 108, 179.

¹⁹ Lenman, "The Limits of Godly Discipline," 137; Parker, "The 'Kirk,'" 5; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 175–176; Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, 79.

²⁰ To be sure, ministers gave advice in difficult criminal cases and in the framing of laws, particularly those affecting ecclesiastical matters. Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing; or, News from New England* (London, 1642), 25; Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd*, 130–131; Robert F. Scholz, "The Reverend Elders': Faith, Fellowship and Politics in the Ministerial Community of Massachusetts Bay, 1630–1710" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1966), 131–135. And ministers helped question Anne Hutchinson during her trial before the General Court. Despite these instances of collaboration between clergy and civil officials, early Massachusetts lacked the formalized procedures for referring cases between ecclesiastical and secular tribunals seen in Geneva and Scotland. In this respect, Massachusetts was unusual among English colonies. In Virginia, for example, churchwardens presented morals offenders to the county courts through the grand juries, and vestrymen often served in secular tribunals as justices, sheriffs, and burgesses. Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 196–197.

²¹ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 463; Robert M. Kingdon, Thomas A. Lambert, and Isabella M. Watt, eds., *Registers of the Consistory of Geneva in the Time of Calvin*, vol. 1: 1542–44 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2000), xxx.

²² Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 32–33, 141–142, 257–258; Parker, "The 'Kirk,'" 12–13.

synods, and a national General Assembly). This system allowed institutions at higher levels to hear difficult cases, chastise prominent offenders, and conduct visitations of potentially idiosyncratic or laggard kirk sessions.²³ Massachusetts consociations and synods provided respected statements of doctrine, but they did not scrutinize the conduct of discipline in the individual churches. Nor did they serve as ecclesiastical courts of appeal that might handle, as John Norton put it, "cases of inadequacy, of illegal administration, or of defiance."²⁴

To presbyterian eyes, the colony seemed ill-adept at coordinating discipline not only through "top-down" mechanisms, but through "side-to-side" collaborations among congregations. Church members in Massachusetts could not leave their congregation to join another unless they received a letter of dismissal, which would not be issued if they were under discipline. In this fashion, the churches could theoretically prevent their members from "resigning" to seek out a more lenient congregation. Yet the churches did not have a reliable mechanism for stopping members who left to go elsewhere without intending to join another church.²⁵ Nor could congregations, in the manner of the Scottish kirk, track down fugitives from ecclesiastical discipline and return them to neighboring churches, by force if necessary.²⁶

The Scottish and Genevan experiences suggest why the New England Way, to its critics, appeared likely to produce a disjointed campaign for godly discipline undermined by idiosyncrasy and schism and by oscillations between lassitude and enthusiasm. Presbyterian controversialists such as Robert Baillie, Thomas Edwards, Alexander Forbes, and Richard Hollingworth reiterated these themes in pamphlets that condemned Massachusetts congregationalism, in part as a roundabout way of criticizing the English Independents who were maintaining an uneasy alliance with presbyterians during the Civil War.²⁷ They claimed that congregationalism caused divisions in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, but never more than in Massachusetts, where it "brought forth such a multitude of gross heresies and divisions, as did

²³ The Reformed churches of France and the Netherlands also maintained hierarchical pyramids (albeit with varying powers of supervision), as presbyterian critics liked to point out at Massachusetts's expense. Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia; or, A Full Answer to the Apologetical Narration* (London, 1644), 107; Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, 66–132.

²⁴ Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions*, 127–128, 131 (quotation from 128). See generally Robert F. Scholz, "Clerical Consociation in Massachusetts Bay: Reassessing the New England Way and Its Origins," *William and Mary Quarterly* 29 (1972): 391–414; Scholz, "The Reverend Elders."

²⁵ For the rules on the books, see John Cotton, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (London, 1644), 17–18; Cambridge Platform (1648), in Williston Walker, ed., *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (Boston, 1960), 224–226; Emil Oberholzer, Jr., *Delinquent Saints: Disciplinary Action in the Early Congregational Churches of Massachusetts* (New York, 1956), 25–26. David T. Konig has noted that "of the 256 persons admitted to membership in the Salem congregation by 1640, 48 (almost 1 out of 5) left to join another congregation." Other congregations found it difficult to distinguish those actually "dismissed" by Salem from "the excommunicants who presented themselves to other congregations as members. Disturbed by this problem in 1639, the Salem church wrote to that of Dorchester for assistance and asked it to read publicly the names of those whom Salem had excommunicated." Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629–1692* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 31–32.

²⁶ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 12–13.

²⁷ The following two paragraphs draw on Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive against the Errors of the Time* (London, 1645), 112; Baillie, *Errors and Induration, Are the Great Sins and the Great Judgments of the Time* (London, 1645), Preface, A3v; Baillie, *The Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time* (London, 1655), 45; Thomas Edwards, *Reasons against the Independent Government of Particular Congregations* (London, 1641), 8–9; Edwards, *Antapologia*, 29–30, 107, 136–141, 152–153, 165–176, 178–179, 294–295; Edwards, *Gangraena* (London, 1646), 125; Alexander Forbes, *An Anatomy of Independency* (London, 1644), 5, 48–50; Richard Hollingworth, *Certain Queries Modestly (Though Plainly) Propounded* (London, 1646), 16.

threaten not the churches alone, but the civil state also with a total ruin.”²⁸ The New England Way had “produced among persons accounted religious, more . . . looseness of life and manners, than ever have been in all the Reformed churches of the presbyterial way above fourscore years.”²⁹ Without synods that could hear appeals and issue directives, congregationalism provided no effective way to control churches that imposed wrongful sentences, lacked vigor or prudence, incubated contagious heresies, or fell prey to “inconstancy and uncertainty in judgment.” Ministers and congregations might reason with or withhold their fellowship from an offending church. But this remedy would prove “worse than the disease” by inspiring endless public controversy, producing factions made up of contending congregations withdrawing from each other, and, in the end, offering no sure method for forcing an obstinate church to rectify its mistakes.³⁰

Falling short in “ecclesiastical authoritative power,” and with the churches exercising discipline only over the “visible saints” and their minor children rather than the entire population (as in Geneva and Scotland), Massachusetts congregationalists gave magistrates the authority to prosecute a wide range of moral offenses and to investigate doctrines and errors as “disturbances to the commonwealth.” New Englanders apparently reasoned, in Thomas Edwards’s unsympathetic reconstruction, that “less ecclesiastical . . . authority with a large civil power to back it, will be every way as effectual as much ecclesiastical authority, with a small civil power.” In this they were mistaken, charged presbyterian critics. Civil authorities lacked the expertise to judge religious disputes and could not proceed against sins that did not fall under secular jurisdiction. Nor could the state impose the spiritual sanctions necessary to reform the inward man. Suppose a magistrate supported a congregation shunned by other churches: who was to yield?³¹ The presbyterian critique implies that the Scottish and Genevan practice of bringing together ministers and state officials in disciplinary institutions with formal mechanisms for referring cases between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities could benefit Massachusetts, which was weak in “ecclesiastical authoritative power.”

MASSACHUSETTS CONGREGATIONALISTS AND THEIR ALLIES among the English Independents deployed several types of arguments in response to presbyterian attacks. It is important to note that their defense of the colony’s godly discipline said little about how the particular nature of Massachusetts society contributed to its success. On occasion, clerical and civil leaders praised the practical results of the colony’s discipline—for instance, the multiplication of well-attended churches and the containment of incipient divisions, such as in the Antinomian crisis.³² Yet the foundation of their defense was not functional, a belief that their institutions could best ac-

²⁸ Baillie, *Errors and Induration*, Preface, A3v.

²⁹ Edwards, *Gangraena*, 125.

³⁰ Without a superior authority to hear a dispute among contending congregations, the “debate ends rather in more strife than in a making up the former breach.” Forbes, *An Anatomy of Independency*, 49; Edwards, *Antapologia*, 295, 141.

³¹ Edwards, *Antapologia*, 165, 168, 169–176.

³² Richard Mather, *Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed, in an Answer of the Elders of the Several Churches of New England to Two and Thirty Questions Sent Over to Them by Divers Ministers in England* (London, 1643), 7; John Cotton, *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared* (London,

comply specified ends in a given social setting; rather, the foundation was ideological. Ministers devoted most of their tracts to interpreting Scripture and the history of early Christian communities in order to justify the leading elements of the New England Way.³³ Sometimes, like English Independents, they invoked natural law, “due process,” and exquisitely self-serving analogies between congregational discipline and the proper relations of children to parents or of corporations to commonwealths. Massachusetts ministers Richard Mather, Thomas Hooker, and John Norton, for example, contended that the presbyterian system of appeals from local kirks to regional synods to national assemblies undermined the reclamation of sinners by delaying discipline and transferring it from knowledgeable congregations to less informed higher authorities.³⁴ While the greater part of a congregation might err, as the presbyterians ceaselessly pointed out, so might the majority of a synod or national assembly.³⁵ Even if a church should misuse its disciplinary powers, why assume that another body could supersede the congregation? If, as Mather observed, “a family shall abuse their power, it does not follow that other families may lawfully for this cause take away their power from them. Or if a corporation shall so offend, it will not follow that other corporations may deprive them of their power.”³⁶

But these were false analogies, contended the most acute presbyterian writers. Heads of households and corporations could not live by their own rules. They must respect the law of the land and allow oversight by higher authorities who prevented the escape of “delinquents” and the “condemning [of] the innocent.”³⁷ Not just analogies, but the “law of nature with right reason” favored presbyterian churches’ system of appeals and “consociation in government” rather than congregational independence. Towns and counties had “particular governments” whose representatives joined together to form the superior authority of Parliament. Schools, armies, and navies operated in discrete houses, regiments, and ships, yet consociated in councils that oversaw the group. The “several parts should be subject to and ordered by the whole, as is a man’s body”—or presbyterian church government.³⁸ The “law

1648), 83–85, 102; Thomas Weld, *An Answer to W. R. His Narration of the Opinions and Practices of the Churches Lately Erected in New England* (London, 1644), 12.

³³ Ministers labored, in particular, to justify the colony’s distinctive system for coordinating but not confounding the civil and ecclesiastical realms; its commitment to congregational autonomy and a limited role for synods; its restriction of full church membership to visible saints; and its understanding of the proper responsibilities of the minister, lay elders, and brethren of the congregation. See, e.g., John Davenport, *An Answer of the Elders of the Several Churches in New England unto Nine Positions Sent Over to Them* (London, 1643); Mather, *Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed*; Richard Mather, *An Apology of the Churches in New England for Church Covenant* (London, 1643); Cotton, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; Weld, *An Answer to W. R.*; Thomas Weld, *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England* (London, 1645); Richard Mather, *A Reply to Mr. Rutherford*; or, *A Defense of the Answer of the Reverend Mr. Herles Book against the Independence of Churches* (London, 1647); John Allin and Thomas Shepard, *A Defence of the Answer Made unto the Nine Questions or Positions Sent from New England, Against the Reply Thereto by That Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Ball, Entitled, A Trial of the New Church Way in New England and in Old* (London, 1648); Cotton, *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*; Hooker, *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline*; Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions*.

³⁴ Mather, *A Reply to Mr. Rutherford*, 5; Hooker, *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline*, pt. 4, 17–19; Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions*, 134.

³⁵ Hooker, *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline*, pt. 4, 38; Mather, *A Reply to Mr. Rutherford*, 60.

³⁶ Mather, *A Reply to Mr. Rutherford*, 60.

³⁷ Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia*, 121–122, 124.

³⁸ Edwards, *Reasons against the Independent Government of Particular Congregations*, 11; Edwards,

of nature” also taught that “no man can be a judge in his own cause.” How, then, could the elders of a congregation investigate and sanction a Christian and then prevent neutral, higher tribunals from hearing his complaint?³⁹

These very different forms of argument shared a common feature. Beyond assuming a Reformed Christian polity, they were tied lightly, if at all, to specific times, places, or circumstances. Appeals to Scripture, natural law, and “due process,” and analogies to families and corporations, could be invoked in favor of congregational or presbyterian discipline, whether in Massachusetts, England, Scotland, the Netherlands, or the Swiss and German city-states, and whether in the present or the future. The families and corporations that made an appearance were generic rather than situated in a particular social setting. Disputants did not say that their system worked especially well in a given place and time because of demographics, the nature of the economy, the presence or absence of ethnic and linguistic diversity, the operations of guilds, mercantile associations, and other institutions of what we would today call “civil society,” and so forth.⁴⁰

To be sure, Massachusetts spokesmen occasionally considered the fit between the colony’s godly discipline and its society—but only at a high level of generality. Their starting point for thinking about the question was the common distinction between the civil order, which varied with circumstances, being “human and subject to change,” and the “essentials” of the church order, which were divine in origin and “subject to no change.”⁴¹ God had left to mankind the challenge of fitting the immutable church order to the wide array of acceptable forms of civil administration.⁴² But there was a second question of fit to consider. Civil government should accord not only with the “general rules of the Word,” but with the “state of the people.”⁴³ On occasion, Massachusetts leaders justified policies by pointing to the nature of the people—for instance, when resisting codification or defending the adoption of ordinances divergent from, but not repugnant to, English law.⁴⁴

Antapologia, 75; Richard Hollingworth, *A Rejoinder to Master Samuel Eaton and Master Timothy Taylor’s Reply* (London, 1647), 56. Presbyterians also advanced these arguments in their debates with the Independents at the Westminster Assembly. Robert S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the “Grand Debate”* (Edinburgh, 1985), 254, 270, 356.

³⁹ Samuel Rutherford, *The Due Right of Presbyteries* (London, 1644), 338. (The printer of this tract referred to two pages in the tract as p. 338; I am citing the latter page marked “338.”)

⁴⁰ The elastic category of “circumstantial” could be expanded to include much of importance.

⁴¹ John Norton observed that the two orders “differ as being of this world and not of this world.” Norton, *The Answer to the Whole Set of Questions*, 167. Richard Mather, like Thomas Hooker, believed that the “essentials and substantial” of church polity are “prescribed in the Word and therefore immutable” and cannot vary from one church to another. Mather, *Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed*, 82–83. Mather differentiated between immutable “substantial” and “accidents” that human communities could adjust. Thomas Hooker used the terms “essentials” and “circumstantial” to capture the same distinction. Hooker, *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline*, pt. 1, 5–7, 9.

⁴² Cotton argued that the founders of a newly formed plantation, unlike Christians in a settled state, had the liberty to design the civil government best suited to work closely with the churches in the shared pursuit of a godly society. Cotton, Letter to Lord Say and Sele, 191; Cotton, *A Discourse about Civil Government*, 3, 9–10, 14.

⁴³ “Model of Church and Civil Power” (c. 1635), quoted in Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1644), in Williams, *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, ed. Samuel Caldwell, 7 vols. (New York, 1963), 3: 247. A group of Massachusetts ministers, perhaps with Richard Mather in the lead, composed the “Model” in the middle 1630s. No copy survives. Some extracts appears in Williams’s *Bloody Tenent*.

⁴⁴ Winthrop, *Winthrop’s Journal*, 1: 323 (September 1639); Massachusetts General Court’s Petition to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, *ibid.*, 2: 310 (1646).

The challenge of melding a church order “immutable” in its “substantials” with a civil government sensitive to the “state of the people” moves a key problem to the foreground: the fit between the colony’s society and its cooperating civil and ecclesiastical institutions of godly discipline. These considerations point to a road not taken by Massachusetts spokesmen in their dispute with presbyterian critics. Perhaps the state of the people and the colony’s society and legal system were (to use Cotton’s term) “compatible” with a system of godly discipline lacking coordination mechanisms found in Scotland and Geneva. Considering this possibility requires exploration of the colony’s design of discipline and of some notable features of its society that distinguished it from European Reformed polities.

HISTORIANS HAVE OFFERED A RANGE OF EXPLANATIONS for early Massachusetts’s relative success in combating sin and encouraging a godly society.⁴⁵ The most important is ideological. Despite the diversity and tensions in religious commitments, the puritans who dominated the colony largely agreed that the state and the churches should work together in guiding or driving people toward moral regeneration. They reminded nominal Christians of the colony’s “national covenant” with God, and engaged in moral introspection and “holy watching.” Massachusetts controlled immigration and exiled dissenters in order to minimize ideological challenges. The colony selected most officials by yearly election, but confined the franchise in colony-wide contests to church members. This system ensured that the government enjoyed high levels of legitimacy while remaining firmly in the hands of puritans rather than, as in Europe, mixing godly reformers with timeservers, trimmers, and unprepossessing sons of the rich. The relatively normal age distribution and gender balance of the Massachusetts population, which had largely immigrated in family groups, also helped.⁴⁶ Few were desperately poor, and there were no nobles. As Theodore Dwight Bozeman has recently observed, “To a large degree the colony was to effect a Puritan reformation of manners, not by force, but by simple exclusion.”⁴⁷

These well-established interpretations make sense. But one can add to them by asking which obstacles to godly discipline in Reformed Europe were missing or reduced in early Massachusetts, and why did this matter? The colony’s social, political, and ideological “exclusions” are, of course, part of this story. But more could be said by examining, with a comparative eye, the division of responsibilities in Massachusetts between the state and churches in pursuing godly discipline, the design of the legal system, the nature of what we would today call “civil society,” and the fragility of custom—to foreshadow a few topics. European historians have argued that re-

⁴⁵ A few select citations from this vast literature would include Timothy H. Breen and Stephen Foster, “The Puritans’ Greatest Achievement: A Study of Social Cohesion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts,” *Journal of American History* 60 (1973): 5–22; Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 108–175; Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 19–26; George Lee Haskins, *Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design* (New York, 1960), 58–62, 70–91; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1958), 69–72.

⁴⁶ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England’s Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1991), 20–21.

⁴⁷ Bozeman, *The Precisionist Strain*, 313.

ligiously inspired disciplinary efforts enjoyed greater success in smaller, less complex societies. Bruce Lenman observed that “in relatively simple and homogeneous societies where local communities internalized the spiritual and moral values of a national church,” such as Scotland, “Godly Discipline was most effective.” “England proved too complex, divided and recalcitrant a society for its seventeenth-century governments to forge any coherent moral ascendancy over it.” Marc Raeff’s comparative study of early modern Russia and the German-speaking lands concluded that “the larger the territory and the more complex its social and legal structure, the less rewarding the central authorities’ efforts” to enforce disciplinary and police ordinances.⁴⁸ Perhaps first-generation Massachusetts could fervently pursue its reformation of morals without the formal mechanisms for coordinating discipline seen in Geneva and Scotland because the colony faced fewer impediments than Reformed polities in Europe? Let us consider what the puritans were up against.

To begin with, Massachusetts’s system of discipline so differed in its basic logic from that of Scotland and Geneva (and England) that the colony faced far fewer challenges coordinating between ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions. Massachusetts concentrated responsibilities in the state that elsewhere were split between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Systems such as Scotland’s that gave “temporal” powers to churches faced more complex management of discipline across jurisdictional lines. Kirks might need to return fugitives from discipline to their home parishes, and civil and ecclesiastical authorities had to coordinate the imposition of fines and bodily coercion. Massachusetts’s central problem was establishing boundaries between the congregations’ guidance of saints’ “inner man” through spiritual sanctions and the state’s oversight of the “outer man” and the unchurched—a difficult matter, but one made simpler when the colony did not, in addition, coordinate discipline between ecclesiastical and civil realms with overlapping temporal powers. Massachusetts churches did not forcibly return fugitives, impose fines or coercive punishments, raise and manage money for education and other social services, or police labor discipline in the course of managing the poor. Nor did colonists need to decide whether to entrust an offender to the state or to a (nonexistent) higher-level ecclesiastical body such as a presbytery or bishop’s court.

The Massachusetts legal system was not, in the fashion of early modern European polities, a patchwork of numerous and bounded jurisdictions with overlapping responsibilities and clashing agendas. Settlers stripped away much of the complexity that they had known in England and thereby made the machinery for punishing offenders simpler and quicker. Historians have described the colony’s legal system as “unified.”⁴⁹ This should not imply consensus over the law’s contribution to godly discipline. Roger Williams, for instance, questioned the authority of civil officials to punish violations of the first table of the Decalogue; the representatives of the towns continually tried to restrict the magistrates’ more grandiose claims to power; and churches and magistrates disagreed over whether morals offenses should be treated concurrently by congregations and the state or reserved to one before the other.

⁴⁸ Lenman, “The Limits of Godly Discipline,” 142; Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 45.

⁴⁹ Mark DeWolfe Howe, “The Sources and Nature of Law in Colonial Massachusetts,” in George A. Billias, ed., *Law and Authority in Colonial America* (New York, 1965), 5; William M. Offutt, “The Atlantic Rules: The Legalistic Turn in British North America,” in Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, 2005), 161, 168.

Instead, the court system was unified, because with a few minor exceptions it was organized by levels (town, county, colony) rather than, in the English fashion, by subject (common pleas, equity, admiralty, forest, mining), and because it eliminated ecclesiastical, seigneurial, and prerogative tribunals (such as the Star Chamber, the Court of Requests, the High Commission, and the Councils of the North and Wales).⁵⁰ Delinquents could not escape the godly as readily as they did in England by setting different jurisdictions against one another—invoking the common law against the ecclesiastical courts, or the justices of the peace against the leets. Colonists targeting sin through the unified court system were less tempted to displace their responsibilities onto other tribunals. And they worried less about complaints from rival jurisdictions.⁵¹ In addition, the coordination of Massachusetts discipline benefited from entrusting so many roles to an official without a true analogue in England, Scotland, or Geneva—the “assistant” (or “magistrate”). The dozen or so magistrates directed executive affairs in conjunction with the governor, formed one house of the General Court, served individually as judges on county courts and in the towns, and, as a body, constituted the highest regular tribunal, the Court of Assistants.⁵² As conduits of information from the localities to the center, and participants at once in the making, enforcing, and interpreting of law, the magistrates helped to invigorate and harmonize the state’s disciplinary work.

The simplification of the legal system brought more than practical benefits. In Europe, clashing jurisdictions fought for business and dignity by claiming responsibilities and articulating legitimations that elevated them above rivals. In this fashion, jurisdictional conflict encouraged dissensus. Massachusetts’s unified court system offered little reason for jurisdictions to produce contradictory accounts of the goals and limits of discipline.

Massachusetts also did not struggle with the intermixing of religious confessions that in Europe could, in a variety of ways, undermine Reformed efforts to foster godly societies. First, confessional rivals might contend for political primacy by damaging each other’s disciplinary efforts. In the East Friesland town of Emden in the 1590s, for example, a Lutheran territorial prince tried to reassert his rule over Calvinist burghers by dismissing their most distinguished pastor and forbidding assemblies of the presbytery, the chief instrument of Reformed discipline.⁵³ Second, Calvinist leaders in multiconfessional areas restrained the scope of their discipline over congregants lest some defect to a less rigorous church. French Huguenot consistories

⁵⁰ On the organization of the seventeenth-century Massachusetts courts, see Barbara Aronstein Black, “The Judicial Power and the General Court in Early Massachusetts (1634–1686)” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975), 76–137; Joseph H. Smith, ed., *Colonial Justice in Western Massachusetts (1639–1702): The Pynchon Court Record* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 65–82.

⁵¹ While a pluralistic (rather than “unified”) legal system may offer more strategies for escaping godly discipline, it may also, under certain circumstances, encourage moral regulation. The very multiplicity of tribunals and officers means that if one jurisdiction does not act, another might. Also, jurisdictions might compete with each other by engaging in vigorous morals regulation. These factors may reduce the advantage of a unified over a pluralistic legal system. I am indebted to my colleague Bruce Smith for suggesting these points.

⁵² On the varied responsibilities and broad jurisdiction of the magistrates, whose number ranged from seven to twenty in the first charter period, see Black, “The Judicial Power and the General Court,” 76–104; Smith, *Colonial Justice*, 65–78.

⁵³ Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Kirkville, Mo., 1991), 32.

at the turn of the seventeenth century, for instance, moderated their demands on adherents, who could always return to the majority Catholic Church.⁵⁴ Third, over-aggressive discipline might lead not only to defections by individuals, but to the strengthening of confessional alternatives. In early modern Ireland, the established Protestant Church antagonized the majority Catholic population through recusancy fines and visitations and thereby inadvertently strengthened Catholics working with Jesuits to create countervailing methods of instruction and discipline.⁵⁵ These dynamics did not obtain in Massachusetts. There were no ecclesiastical alternatives, and the English crown and the Church of England seldom intervened effectively before 1660. Puritans felt little need to restrain the intensity of their discipline lest they provoke political rivals, drive believers to competing churches, or prompt organization and resistance by rival Christian denominations.

Nor did ethnic, national, or linguistic diversity pose problems. These differences interfered with godly discipline even in securely Reformed polities. The pastors of Calvin's Geneva, for example, were largely foreigners, working in a city that was taking in large numbers of primarily French religious refugees. What they saw as moral regeneration could appear to native Genevans as the imposition of alien ways of life.⁵⁶ Western European Protestant cities oriented toward mercantile exchange often attracted immigrants, who organized churches in which they could worship in their native tongue. This created a certain distance from a town's leading pastors and burghers. By contrast, the godly of Massachusetts labored amid a largely homogeneous English population with few linguistic enclaves and little ethnic or national diversity.⁵⁷

Massachusetts also lacked semi-autonomous institutions and corporations that could deflect godly discipline or turn it toward their own ends. In Europe, merchant associations, guilds, military orders, self-perpetuating urban oligarchies, seigneurial jurisdictions, and other institutions that predated the Reformation often resented what they saw as overaggressive godly discipline and extended support only if they could shape its priorities and limits. By contrast, the Massachusetts General Court created or regulated institutions other than the state and the churches, such as Harvard College, the undertakers of the iron works, and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. None preexisted the formation of the colony and needed to be converted to its godly mission or shunted aside. The colony's military officers took orders from the General Court and did not exercise independent power as in Prov-

⁵⁴ Michael Graham, *The Uses of Reform: "Godly Discipline" and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610* (Leiden, 1996), 341.

⁵⁵ Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Social Control and Church Discipline in Ireland in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in Heinz Schilling and Lars Behrisch, eds., *Institutions, Instruments, and Agents of Social Control and Discipline in Early Modern Europe* (Frankfurt, 1999), 275–303; Lotz-Heumann, "Church Discipline in a Biconfessional County: Ireland in a European Context," in Herman Roodenburg and Pieter Spierenburg, eds., *Social Control in Europe, vol. 1: 1500–1800* (Columbus, Ohio, 2004), 99–112.

⁵⁶ Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*, 121–162; Kingdon, "Calvin and the Establishment of Consistory Discipline," 164–165.

⁵⁷ To be sure, there were tensions between the English majority in Massachusetts and local minorities of Scots, Irish, and Jerseymen. Innes, *Labor in a New Land*, 143–145; König, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts*, 69–74. But the relative homogeneity of Massachusetts stands out if compared to the heterogeneity of other leading centers of Reformed Protestantism such as Geneva, Emden, and Amsterdam.

idence Island, the Caribbean puritan colony whose history Karen Kupperman has carefully reconstructed. Reporting to the Providence Island Company in London, military captains undermined the civil government of the island and the reforming ambitions of godly settlers.⁵⁸ Massachusetts's discipline did not lack skeptical settlers or groups needing to be won over.⁵⁹ But by the standards of European Reformed polities, the colony lacked skeptical institutions and corporate orders needing to be won over.

In Europe, a variety of social sites (theaters, taverns, youth cultures, and vocational associations) could bring together those skeptical about godly discipline. These sites were absent or vestigial in Massachusetts or were subject to tighter supervision, as with the most important site of all, the family. The colony did not permit public theaters.⁶⁰ It tried to prevent "idlers" in taverns by forbidding patrons from drinking for longer than a half-hour or after nine in the evening.⁶¹ Public houses in Massachusetts scarcely lived up to their reputation in England as places to escape from parents and masters in search of dancing and gaming, casual trysts, or a refuge from Sabbath services.⁶² Before 1660, Massachusetts had only the scantiest of what Roger Thompson has called an "adolescent culture" created by young adults who gathered at night or on militia training days for escapades. Massachusetts lacked an analogue to the organized goings-on of English apprentices, who formed associations such as the Lords of Misrule and put on carnivals and sporting contests.⁶³ Nor did the colony have the guilds and vocational organizations that sponsored recreations in England.⁶⁴

Finally, and most importantly, consider the family in its public role as a subordinate unit of governance. Massachusetts put the family under more extensive public supervision than did contemporaries in England or the Chesapeake. Puritans expected household heads to maintain order among children and dependents, to ed-

⁵⁸ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), 59.

⁵⁹ Some interpreted God's demands differently than the majority of ministers and magistrates, or disliked puritan intrusiveness, or believed that the state should seldom interfere with the promptings of grace within the saints, or called for a more presbyterian or more purely congregational church polity. From this vast literature, see, e.g., Foster, *The Long Argument*; Philip F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620–1660* (Middletown, Conn., 1984).

⁶⁰ Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (New York, 1995), 66–68.

⁶¹ Although these regulations were only partly effective, the owners of inns and taverns understood that their license became less secure if "idlers" loitered too long or acted scandalously. Genuine travelers, as opposed to "idlers," faced fewer restrictions. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 5 vols. (Boston, 1853–1854), 1: 213–214 (1637), 2: 100 (1645), 172 (1646); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore, Md., 2002), 103–104.

⁶² Peter Clark, "The Alehouse and Alternative Society," in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), 60–65; Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (London, 1983), 148–154.

⁶³ Roger Thompson, "Adolescent Culture in Colonial Massachusetts," *Journal of Family History* 9 (1984): 127–144; Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex*, 83–96; Anne S. Lombard, *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 52–57.

⁶⁴ Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York, 1995), 220–225; Richard P. Gildrie, *The Profane, the Civil, and the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England, 1679–1749* (University Park, Pa., 1994), 13; Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), 23–24, 34.

ucate them, and to prepare them to lead a godly life. Failure could trigger state intervention through admonitions, prosecutions, or even the transfer of children to other households. Families enjoyed modest autonomy insofar as the courts allowed heads of household to handle “private” offenses committed within the family that did not affect the surrounding community. But Massachusetts lacked what Mary Beth Norton observed in the Chesapeake colonies, a “*de facto* private realm of family life immune from regular oversight by civil officials,” where heads of household could rule by and large as they pleased unless they lost control of unruly dependents or abused them excessively.⁶⁵ The Massachusetts General Court did not credit the ideological objections of those who were uncomfortable with the state’s requiring household heads to impose discipline under threat of penalty. By contrast, some members of Parliament in early Stuart England successfully argued against proposals to fine heads of households when their dependents committed blasphemy, broke the Sabbath, or skipped church services.⁶⁶

Because of the close supervision of the family by the state and the relative weakness of ideological support for a robust private realm in the household, the Massachusetts family was ill-situated to question the nature of godly discipline. To be sure, family members maintained a range of opinions on these matters. But in comparison to the Chesapeake and England, the Massachusetts family, as an *institution*, enjoyed less of the autonomy that was valuable in evading or contending with public pressures for moral righteousness. Looked at from this perspective, the family can be usefully grouped with the theater, the tavern, youth culture, and vocational associations. Whether tightly regulated, vestigial, or simply absent, they could not serve as well as their English analogues as sites where skeptics might criticize or hide from godly discipline.⁶⁷

In the first generation of settlement, Massachusetts did not have the longstanding customs that impeded the reformation of morals in England. Local customs in England tended to be more forgiving of some of the behaviors that parliamentary legislation, municipal ordinances, and puritan didactic literature targeted: excessive gaming, drinking, and idleness; overly fine clothing; swearing; and fornication that did not result in pregnancy. As Steve Hindle has argued, the defense of English festive culture was mounted “primarily in the idiom of custom.”⁶⁸ These dense, deeply rooted customs were unavailable in early Massachusetts, a newly constructed society that mixed colonists from different areas in England. Settlers brought a variety of customs with them and argued over which should prevail in their new home.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Edmund Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England*, rev ed. (New York, 1966), 143, 148; Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 39, 42–56, 80, 146 (quotation from 49).

⁶⁶ Joan Kent, “Attitudes of Members of the House of Commons to the Regulation of ‘Personal Conduct’ in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45 (1972): 55–56.

⁶⁷ To be sure, these sites might as readily encourage godly living. English guilds sponsored sermons, for example, and families pursued household devotions. My point is not that these sites inherently undermined godly discipline. Rather, those inclined to question it or escape from it had fewer organizations available to shield them than was the case in England and in European Reformed polities.

⁶⁸ Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, 202.

⁶⁹ David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981); König, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts*, 53.

In comparison to England, Massachusetts customs appeared to be negotiated or imposed more than inherited from “time out of mind” and lacked the emotional power created by longevity. As a result, they served less well as a foundation for arguments based on prescription. Massachusetts settlers who disliked the course of godly discipline could appeal to countervailing custom less effectively than their English contemporaries.

Like custom, the prerogatives of manhood proved less of an impediment to godly discipline in Massachusetts. Cornelia Dayton has shown how Connecticut puritans muted disparagements of women’s rationality in order to take complaints of abuse seriously.⁷⁰ Tribunals in Massachusetts, like those in Connecticut, reduced the “double standard” in the prosecution and punishment of bastardy and fornication. Through the 1660s, Massachusetts sentenced male offenders to whipping in nearly the same proportions as women, unlike England, where punishments fell harder on women.⁷¹ Since the colony expected men to repent for the sinfulness of bastard-bearing, the courts would not look the other way when a man came to a private financial arrangement with a pregnant woman. The colony further curtailed the leniency that English justice showed young men “sowing their wild oats” through its willingness to prosecute “lascivious carriage.”⁷² Masculine prerogatives were less able to deflect demands for righteousness in Massachusetts than in England.

EARLY MASSACHUSETTS WAS AT ONCE A REFORMED POLITY and a New World colony. Its quest for moral regeneration and a more fully Christianized society can be seen as part of two larger frameworks: first, the comparative investigation of legal pluralism among New World colonies (since institutional structure and normative tensions are such important parts of our story); and second, the comparative study of early modern European campaigns for godly discipline, including the work pursued under the auspices of “confession-building.”

Legal pluralism refers to the coexistence within a given area of multiple state and non-state bodies that propound norms, settle disputes, create authoritative categories of knowledge, distribute resources, and impose sanctions.⁷³ European colonizing states such as England and Spain maintained legal orders that were pluralistic along

⁷⁰ Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 10, 31–32, 173–174. See also Dayton, “Was There a Calvinist Type of Patriarchy? New Haven Colony Reconsidered in the Early Modern Context,” in Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce H. Mann, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 337–356.

⁷¹ English authorities whipped women or placed them in the stocks far more frequently than they did men, and unlike men, women could be committed to a house of correction. The rate and severity of punishment for bastardy varied from county to county and tended to be harsher in towns controlled by hot Protestants. Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (New Haven, Conn., 1986), 256–257; Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England*, 185–186; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1987), 338–340; Walter J. King, “Punishment for Bastardy in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” *Albion* 10 (1978): 130–151.

⁷² Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 337, 341, 346–347; Thompson, *Sex in Middlesex*, 194; Murphy, “Skillful Women and Jurymen,” 233–236, 267.

⁷³ For an analysis of the meaning and various types of legal pluralism, see John Griffiths, “What Is Legal Pluralism?” *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 24 (1986): 1–55; Sally Engle Merry, “Legal Pluralism,” *Law and Society Review* 22 (1988): 869–896.

a number of dimensions. Their kings ruled over “composite” monarchies composed of territories with dissimilar constitutions. Both England and Spain contained a multiplicity of competing royal, seigneurial, urban, and ecclesiastical tribunals exercising a variety of forms of law.⁷⁴ The legal pluralism inherited from European states often grew more complex in New World colonies. Many territories in the Americas were claimed by several European states or passed from one to the other, producing tensions between old and new legal orders. Settlers created institutions and rules to deal with groups that were unknown in Europe, such as indigenous peoples and slaves. Colonies only partly controlled private jurisdictions and ethnic enclaves (for instance, of Dutch and Germans in British America). There was pervasive uncertainty about how to integrate a variety of forms of law generated by the metropolis and the settlers, an uncertainty exacerbated by unsteady communications passing through self-interested social networks.⁷⁵ Yet the New World environment also encouraged simplification in institutional design. English settlers left behind the welter of overlapping tribunals with limited jurisdiction. Although some colonies created courts devoted to probate, slave offenses, equity, and other particular matters, the majority of business was channeled through a pyramid of local and county courts of general jurisdiction with a colony-wide tribunal at the apex.⁷⁶ Amid the varied experiences of different settlements, then, one perceives a recurrent pattern in New World colonies: simultaneous pressures toward enhanced legal pluralism and toward institutional simplification.

Massachusetts (through 1660) does not readily fit this pattern. While the colony’s unified judicial system did reduce the institutional pluralism familiar from England, it experienced in only minimal form the forces that created legal pluralism in other settlements. The tension over conflicting metropolitan and domestic sources of law, which was pervasive in Spanish America and in the post-Restoration English empire, was felt only lightly in Massachusetts. Only after the Restoration would these pressures meaningfully increase as the crown instituted mechanisms for projecting the authority of English law—customs officials, and later a royal governor and Privy Council appellate jurisdiction and review of statutes. The early colony’s government did not contend with private jurisdictions or with military commands, corporations, and economic organizations controlled by London. The Church of England, while worrisome as an offstage presence, exercised little control. The colony suffered no

⁷⁴ Edward Coke’s *First Institute* catalogued fifteen types of law in England, ranging from common law, parliamentary statutes, equity, and the law merchant to local ordinances, the law of nature, forest law, and the law of the stannaries. Coke, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London, 1629), 11b.

⁷⁵ Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 9–13, 33–45, 83–86, 101, 124; J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 117; Gould, “Zones of Law, Zones of Violence”; Jack P. Greene, “‘By Their Laws Shall Ye Know Them’: Law and Identity in Colonial British America,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33 (2002): 247–260; Daniel J. Hulsebosch, *Constituting Empire: New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World, 1664–1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), 5, 22, 31; Richard J. Ross, “The Legal Past of Early New England: Notes for the Study of Law, Legal Culture, and Intellectual History,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 (1993): 36; Ross, “Legal Communications and Imperial Governance: British North America and Spanish America Compared,” in Christopher L. Tomlins and Michael Grossberg, eds., *Cambridge History of Law in America*, vol. 1: *Early America (1580–1815)* (Cambridge, 2008), 104–143.

⁷⁶ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 126–129; Peter Charles Hoffer, *Law and People in Colonial America*, rev. ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1998), 28–30; Howe, “The Sources and Nature of Law,” 3–6; Offutt, “The Atlantic Rules,” 161, 170.

conflicts within a diversified ecclesiastical bureaucracy akin to the clashes between the diocesan clergy, the friars, and the Inquisition that caused such complications in Spanish America. And Massachusetts experienced no quarrels between civil justice and ecclesiastical tribunals (there were none). The colony's churches did not overlap with the state by inflicting corporal or financial sanctions or by regulating education, social services, poor relief, labor discipline, and assistance to indigenous peoples. Massachusetts did not wrestle with the ethnic and linguistic diversity and the multiconfessional religious environment of the late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century middle colonies and Caribbean islands. Slavery played only a minor role in the economy. While the Indian "praying towns" established after 1651 displayed elements of a plural legal system—with native magistrates under English oversight applying a fusion of native, English, and biblical law—neither these Indians nor the far larger number on or behind the frontier interfered with the institutions and practices that the settlers devised to encourage godly discipline among themselves.⁷⁷

To say that the colony experienced modest levels of legal pluralism is not to suggest that it was free of disputes conducted through jurisdictions, most notably between the magistrates and deputies and between the colony government and the towns. Yet by the standards of the Caribbean islands, the post-Restoration English mainland colonies, and Spanish America, Massachusetts experienced relatively little of what Lauren Benton has called "jurisdictional politics."⁷⁸ These struggles drew strength from circumstances common in New World settlements but minimal in Massachusetts—in particular, the exploitation of jurisdictional tensions by clashing indigenous leaders, imperial officials, and settlers divided by race, ethnicity, national origin, language, and religious commitments. In addition, since the General Court created and regulated nearly all institutions, Massachusetts also minimized the quarrels endemic in New World polities among organizations and jurisdictions with partially independent bases of legitimacy and authority.⁷⁹ In sum, the (modest) jurisdictional and institutional conflicts in the colony provided less room for maneuver for settlers trying to deflect godly discipline, much as the family, the tavern, occupational associations, and local customs provided less refuge than in contemporary European societies. What made early Massachusetts unusual in a New World co-

⁷⁷ With some qualifications, Ann Marie Plane distinguishes between the "ostensibly separate" Indian and English legal cultures outside the praying towns, "relying upon separate authorities and modes of dispute resolution," and the "plural" legal system within the praying towns. Plane, *Colonial Intimacies: Indian Marriage in Early New England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), 11, 69–70. On the praying towns and on legal relationships between indigenous peoples and settlers, see also Yasuhide Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630–1763* (Middletown, Conn., 1986), 21–41, 205, 225–233; Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia, 2005), 72–77; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Narrative History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 95–96; Alden T. Vaughan, *The New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675*, 3rd ed. (Norman, Okla., 1995), 188–195, 289–295. In contrast to the Spanish colonies, early Massachusetts's commitment to moral and social regeneration among settlers was not compromised or complicated by the need to engage in the mass conversion of indigenous peoples.

⁷⁸ Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 10–15, 23.

⁷⁹ Massachusetts scarcely resembled J. H. Elliott's recent depiction of the Spanish Empire as "a corporate society in which each corporate body and institution enjoyed a semi-autonomous status and its own permitted sphere of action." Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 200.

lonial context—its relatively low levels of legal pluralism—also strengthened its pursuit of godly discipline.

Massachusetts also stands out as unusual in a second context: that of post-Reformation polities encouraging moral righteousness and social regeneration. For two generations, historians of the Reformation have explored parallels between efforts by European Lutherans, Calvinists, and post-Tridentine Catholics to build their confessions between the middle sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Each of the three confessions elaborated more precise doctrine; enhanced education through preaching, rituals, and catechizing; sharpened distinctions with competing confessions; vied for recruits from rivals and the unchurched; and more closely supervised the behavior and beliefs of laity and clergy alike. Scholars of the “confessional age” have worked to identify not only uniformities but also patterns of difference in confession-building in principalities as opposed to cities, in territories with two or more competing confessions as opposed to those with a religious monopoly, and in polities with broad participation and representative government as opposed to those with narrow participation and concentrated (or absolutist) rule.⁸⁰ Understanding early Massachusetts as a case study, as another form of variation, within the framework of early modern confession-building brings to the fore some of its notable features. One sees in Massachusetts the same types of mechanisms as in contemporary European polities undergoing confession-building—from the emphasis on discipline, purity of worship and doctrine, and proper education to the marginalization or expulsion of dissidents, the production of self-justifying polemics, and the control of rites. Massachusetts’s pursuit of the precision, conformity, and institutional development at the heart of contemporary European confession-building distinguished it from the seventeenth-century English colonies in the Caribbean, the Chesapeake, the Carolinas, and New York, with their sectarian tensions, high levels of indifference, lack of a corporate religious identity, and marked ecclesiastical disorganization.⁸¹

Yet Massachusetts deployed strategies familiar from European confession-building in a singular setting. It did not need to manage significant Catholic or Protestant dissenting populations. Massachusetts did not create or strengthen a confession in a complex, already Christian society whose institutions, clergy, and rulers needed to

⁸⁰ See, e.g., Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, “Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555–1870,” *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 77–101; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750* (New York, 1989); Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed*, 430; Ute Lotz-Heumann, “The Concept of ‘Confessionalization’: A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute,” *Memoria y Civilizacion* 4 (2001): 97; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment,” *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383–404; Reinhard, “Pressures towards Confessionalization? Prolegomena to a Theory of the Confessional Age,” in C. Scott Dixon, ed., *The German Reformation: Essential Readings* (Oxford, 1999), 172–192; Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*; Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620,” in Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (New York, 1992); Schilling, “Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm,” in John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, eds., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Burlington, Vt., 2004), 21–35.

⁸¹ Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 14–17, 21–24; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 37–66; Charles L. Cohen, “The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 698–699.

be co-opted or overborne. It did not need to overcome resistance from entrenched privileges and folkways. To study its godly discipline is not to encounter the situations so often described by historians of the European confessional age: the transition from one confession to another, the coexistence or confrontation of two or three confessions within a single land, or the development of a more severe and energetic confessional attachment in a society previously characterized by a measure of religious diversity, lethargy, or commitment to peace above purity. Massachusetts stands as an unusual case because it strove for godly discipline in a context shared by no European Reformed polity: it had an open field.

To be sure, social and legal “simplicity” did not necessarily favor campaigns for godly discipline, in either the New World or Europe. Reformed Protestants did not yearn for “primitive” societies but for solid institutions that they could turn toward the joint civic and spiritual pursuit of a godly society. Massachusetts proved relatively effective in this work because of the impressive development of its political, legal, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions by the standards of other seventeenth-century English colonies.⁸² It stood out in the New World not for its “simplicity”—quite the contrary—but for its unusual combination of determined confession-building and modest levels of legal pluralism. Massachusetts puritans were up against less than were their Reformed colleagues abroad, and up against less than were most other New World colonists with godly aspirations.⁸³

SITUATING EARLY MASSACHUSETTS IN THE CONTEXTS of comparative New World legal pluralism and post-Reformation confession-building reveals more than how the colony minimized a number of impediments to campaigns for godly discipline. Considered as a case study, Massachusetts also suggests alterations in and the limitations of each of these literatures and interrelationships between the two. To begin with, the colony challenges the developmental trajectories sketched out by scholars of legal pluralism in the early modern Atlantic. In overlapping but distinguishable ways, Lauren Benton, Daniel Hulsebosch, and Eliga Gould have explored how New World settlements moved away from an early robust legal pluralism in which multiple jurisdictions and corporations exercised their own prerogatives, to a more constrained pluralism in which the state played a superintending role. Treating the Iberian South Atlantic as part of a world history of European colonialism, Benton charts the drift away from a “multicentric legal order” in which the “state is one among many legal

⁸² Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 167; see also Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, “Introduction,” in Greene and Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 14–15.

⁸³ Consider a possible objection to my argument: Modest levels of legal pluralism and social complexity favored Massachusetts godly discipline, and the colony had modest levels of legal pluralism and social complexity because the forces supporting godly discipline were powerful. The way out of this alleged circularity is to note how many features of the colony’s society and institutions were shared with seventeenth-century English colonies that lacked intense godly discipline. Other colonies, for instance, (a) were settler societies whose English inhabitants did not live among large numbers of indigenous peoples; (b) adopted a simplified legal system; (c) lacked an “adolescent culture” and craft guilds; or (d) argued over the definition of local custom, which, being of recent vintage, could ill-support claims of prescription. The combination of such widely shared social and institutional features with those traceable to puritan commitments (such as the elimination of the churches’ temporal authority) together provided a context favorable to godly discipline.

authorities" toward a "state-centered legal order." Hulsebosch and Gould, working within the British Atlantic, note that the eighteenth-century British Empire's persistent if incomplete centralization aimed to reduce what it saw as unwieldy legal pluralism in America. Gould emphasizes the growing imperial distaste for the chaos created by the welter of colonies and private organizations engaging in diplomacy, war-making, slavery, and dispossession of the Indians. Hulsebosch links together imperial centralization, the American Revolution, and the post-Revolutionary constitutional settlements to show how between the middle eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a "vertical" hierarchy of jurisdictions came to replace a more pluralistic conception of "horizontal . . . jurisdictions spread across space."⁸⁴

Against the backdrop of this scholarship, early Massachusetts stands out as an anomaly. First, the colony's history reverses the direction of change assumed by students of New World legal pluralism. Massachusetts did not move away from—but rather moved toward—a multicentric legal order of competing "horizontal" jurisdictions. The first-generation colony was precocious as a state-centered legal order. It became more multicentric after 1685. The development of a measure of religious diversity encouraged divisions between the state and a greater array of churches, while the crown increased the pluralism of Massachusetts's legal order by introducing imperial military, trade, and judicial institutions and by reviewing colonial statutes and appellate cases. Perhaps this drift toward a more multicentric legal pluralism gave the presbyterians' criticisms more bite. Historians commonly trace the difficulties that Massachusetts settlers faced in preserving puritan commitment to the greater imperial presence and to the transformation of the population from one rich in ideologically sympathetic immigrants to one born from natural reproduction, a shift critical in disputes over the Half-way Covenant. As the "sifted" population died off and the polity grew more pluralistic, Massachusetts became less distinctive vis-à-vis Scotland, Geneva, and other intensely Reformed European territories. Did the presbyterian criticisms articulated in the 1630s and 1640s come to look more plausible in the late seventeenth century?

Second, Massachusetts suggests another causal account of why New World settlements might develop toward a state-centered legal order. Gould and Hulsebosch offer a political explanation focusing on the centralizing ambitions of the British Empire and the reconceptualization of constitutionalism after the American Revolution. Benton shows how clashes within a pluralistic legal order invited the state to emerge as an "arbiter of internal boundaries" and a maker of "rules about rule."⁸⁵ By contrast, Massachusetts demonstrates the potential of religious principles to minimize the social and institutional tensions that fostered multicentric legal pluralism and thereby to promote the emergence of a state-centered legal order. The ideological commitments of the early colony's founders led them, for instance, to strip the churches of temporal authority, subordinate all organizations to the General Court elected by church members, and resist any assertion of royal appellate authority. Because they valued conformity over an increased labor supply, they did not encourage non-puritan English and foreigners to immigrate. This decision muted the

⁸⁴ Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 11; Gould, "Zones of Law, Zones of Violence," 490–507; Hulsebosch, *Constituting Empire*, 58–59.

⁸⁵ Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 11, 23.

heterogeneity that fueled legal pluralism elsewhere in the seventeenth-century English colonies. Massachusetts's experience does not refute the explanations for the emergence of state-centered legal pluralism that Benton, Gould, and Hulsebosch have offered so much as it suggests another—religious ideology—which might or might not combine with their explanations in a given New World settlement. Understood in this way, Massachusetts's history does not invite talk of “exceptionalism” but provokes comparative questions for scholars of legal pluralism. To what extent did religious ideology reinforce a state-centered legal order in other New World settlements? And to what extent did others follow Massachusetts's trajectory toward rather than away from a multicentric legal order?

Comparative scholarship on New World settlements and on godly discipline in post-Reformation Europe could also benefit from closer engagement. The concept of confession-building suggests intriguing ways of grouping and comparing selected settlements across the boundaries of the various New World empires. Scholars commonly connect confession-building to colonization by emphasizing the development in Europe of personnel and techniques useful in constructing religious institutions abroad and in evangelizing indigenous peoples.⁸⁶ But there is another approach. A great achievement of the historiography of the “confessional age” has been its analysis of how the seemingly diverse practices of Calvinists, Lutherans, and post-Tridentine Catholics served equivalent goals—for instance, how consistory courts, episcopal visitations, and the Inquisition each helped to reinforce confessional boundaries and improve education and discipline.⁸⁷ Searching for parallel religious ambitions beneath the surface of social and political differences could help us identify, for the purpose of comparison, a group of New World settlements with intense, or intensifying, Christian education, godly discipline, and hostility to confessional alternatives.

In this light, consider the resemblances between early Massachusetts and two roughly contemporaneous places in the Dutch and Spanish empires: Pieter Stuyvesant's New Netherland (1647–1664) and the Jesuit missions to the Guaraní Indians in Paraguay, which took their mature form in the middle seventeenth century. At first glance, significant dissimilarities stand out—different empires, faiths, geography, economic and political organization, and ethnic makeup (with Massachusetts and New Netherland being settler societies and the missions containing a handful of Jesuits among thousands of Guaranís). Yet because an alliance of civil and ecclesiastical leaders pushed for stricter godly discipline and Christian education, and tried to reduce the scope of alternative or ecumenical religious practices, each of these settlements experienced key elements of confession-building. The committed Calvinist Pieter Stuyvesant's appointment as director general of New Netherland helped invigorate the lackadaisical religious life of a colony suffering from popular

⁸⁶ Allyson M. Poska, “Confessionalization and Social Discipline in the Iberian World,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 309, 316; Heinz Schilling, “Confessional Europe,” in Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1995), 2: 660.

⁸⁷ On the importance that these scholars attach to finding parallels or “structural similarities” among the confessions, see Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 1–3; Lotz-Heumann, “The Concept of ‘Confessionalization,’” 97; Andrew Pettegree, “Confessionalization in North Western Europe,” in Joachim Bahkcke and Arno Strohmeyer, eds., *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart, 1999), 107, 119.

indifference and feuds between ministers and previous directors general. He forged an alliance of ministers and magistrates that championed sabbatarianism, restrained taverns and brothels, prosecuted morals offenses, and heightened the biblical content of ordinances. By 1664, eleven congregations ran consistories, and several conducted house visits before the celebration of the Lord's Supper—in contrast to the one consistory that had operated intermittently under Stuyvesant's predecessors. Stuyvesant's government also emphasized the primary public role of the Reformed church by sharpening confessional boundaries. It fought to reduce the religious privileges of Lutherans, Jews, Mennonites, and Quakers to less than what the West India Company wished to allow under the Dutch policy of "connivance" toward religious dissent. His government also tried to play down the potential ethnic tensions resulting from the immigration of French, English, and Scandinavian Calvinists by absorbing them alongside the Dutch in a Reformed consensus, a use of confessional religion for political integration common in early modern Europe.⁸⁸

The Jesuit missions to the Guaraní Indians exceeded New Netherland and Massachusetts in the ambition of their disciplinary program. The Jesuits set out to teach the Guaraní not only Catholic religious principles but "civility," self-control, proper family life, and military and agricultural skills. The missionaries mixed formal education, punishments (including beatings and expulsions), and rewards, not least the provision of rations and tobacco to participants in the compulsory twice-a-day mass. The priests established strictly controlled daily cycles of prayer, labor, education, and recreation, and yearly cycles governed by the liturgical calendar. Although the Jesuits only partially suppressed native religious beliefs, which the Guaraní fused with Catholic practices, the missionaries succeeded in banning Protestants and in excluding variant understandings of Catholicism along with competing secular and regular clergy. The priests experienced little effective outside control and little internal opposition from contrary-minded institutions. The Jesuits deliberately hindered the access of the representatives of their superiors, the governors and bishops, who on account of the distance and the danger of travel exercised little meaningful oversight of the remote jungle missions. The Guaraní were freed from the labor and fiscal exactions and jurisdictional claims of the *encomienda* system. The Jesuits indirectly regulated the internal governance of the missions by vetting the list of Indians allowed to stand for election to the municipal council (*cabildo*), nominating the chief

⁸⁸ Evan Haefeli, "The Creation of American Religious Pluralism: Churches, Colonialism, and Conquest in the Mid-Atlantic, 1628–1688" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2000), 5–7, 48, 76, 82–83, 91–94, 108–117, 128–134, 141–143; Jaap A. Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden, 2005), 273–274, 281–287, 324; Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 77, 92, 214, 225; Rink, "Private Interest and Godly Gain: The West India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland, 1624–1664," *New York History* 75 (1994): 260–263; George L. Smith, *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Developments* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 12, 137–139, 187–235; Frederick James Zwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland: A History of the Development of the Religious Conditions in the Province of New Netherland, 1623–1664* (Rochester, N.Y., 1910), 1, 48–52. Willem Frijhoff depicts New Netherland before Stuyvesant as living under a more "ecumenical form of Christianity, embodied in a public church, . . . generous towards non-Europeans, and preaching a common public morality." After 1650, New Netherland church policy increasingly aimed toward "in-depth Christianization, toward an *Ecclesia purior* of the elected, accompanied by an ever more active effort to eradicate paganism, magic, heresy, and sectarianism." Frijhoff notes the resemblance of these developments to European "confessionalization." Frijhoff, "The West India Company and the Reformed Church: Neglect or Concern?" *De Halve Maen* 70 (1997): 65.

civil officer (*corregidor*), and reserving the right to remove troublesome officials. Unlike all other missions in Spanish America, the Guaraní maintained their own militia and dispensed with a European garrison billeted among them.⁸⁹

Historians have sometimes grouped early Massachusetts and the Guaraní missions together as examples of New World “Christian utopias.”⁹⁰ Yet the concept of confession-building need not be limited to supposedly “utopian” societies. Some European scholars, in acknowledging the slight effects of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations on behavior and belief, apply the concept to territories where a co-operating civil and ecclesiastical leadership hostile to alternative confessions pursued more intense godly discipline and education, even if considerable numbers of conventional Christians failed to live up to the aspirations of the leadership. This focus on public goals rather than on ground-level “success” allows, in the New World context, parallel consideration of puritan Massachusetts, the Guaraní missions, and the decidedly commercial, non-utopian New Netherland. If viewed from the right perspective, seemingly disparate New World societies turn out to be moving in the same general direction as each other and as confessionalizing European polities. To be sure, different features of the three New World cases particularly recommend their description as “confessionalizing” settlements. The Guaraní missions, for instance, stand out for the careful management of rites and the cycles of daily worship and labor in the interests of religious education; while New Netherland under Stuyvesant accentuated an explicitly confessional Reformed identity at the expense of Protestant alternatives. Not all the features that European historians use to identify confessionalizing polities can be found in the three New World cases, but each displays some elements. The three cases are not members of a set defined by a series of necessary characteristics. Rather, they share a “family resemblance”—a high number of common traits, with the absence of one made up for by the prominence of others.⁹¹ Understood in this way—as a means of recognizing family resemblances among settlements “moving toward” if not achieving the leadership’s godly public goals—the notion of confession-building offers another framework for devising New World comparisons that cut across imperial boundaries, supplementing traditional institutional, economic, and demographic frameworks.

Scholars of the Americas could not only use but even enrich the concept of confession-building by introducing New World evidence that would reorient debates among European historians about patterns of variation in the impact of post-Reformation godly discipline. Consider, for example, Heinz Schilling’s and Wolfgang Reinhard’s notion of “confessionalization,” a complex set of arguments about how

⁸⁹ Alberto Armani, *Ciudad de dios y ciudad del sol: El “Estado” jesuita de los guaraníes (1609–1768)*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City, 1996), 103–106, 110–114, 175–186; D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1991), 173–175; Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 6, 39–41, 47, 50–51, 59–62, 73–80; Clarence H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (Oxford, 1947), 197–199; Magnus Mörner, *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region: The Hapsburg Era* (Stockholm, 1953), 67–69, 199–200, 205.

⁹⁰ John L. Phelan, “The Influence of Religion on the History of the New World,” *The Americas* 14 (1958): 502–506; and recently, Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 186, 211.

⁹¹ For the reworking of Wittgenstein’s notion of “family resemblance” by comparativists, see David Collier and James E. Mahon, “Conceptual ‘Stretching’ Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis,” *American Political Science Review* 87 (1993): 846–847; and Gary Goertz, *Social Science Concepts: A User’s Guide* (Princeton, N.J., 2006), 45.

confessional development and competition profoundly changed early modern politics and culture. One of their central claims is that Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic leaders alike drew on religious ferment to consolidate state authority. Rulers who styled themselves “guardians” of the church extended state supervision over beliefs and behavior; transferred some jurisdiction over family life, education, and poor relief from ecclesiastical to civil institutions; reduced the privileges of clerics, nobles, and cities in the name of religious uniformity; and made use of confessional identities to reinforce territorial political unity.⁹² Pioneered in the study of the German-speaking lands, this idea has proved controversial to historians of Western Europe, who have questioned to what extent it explains developments in their areas.⁹³

The experiences of puritan Massachusetts and Stuyvesant’s New Netherland could be assimilated into debates over confessionalization by adding to the growing number of case studies that explore the attractions and perils of using confessional identity to promote political unity. Stuyvesant’s New Netherland emphasized the primacy of the Reformed confession in part to mute potential ethnic conflicts by grouping Dutch and foreign immigrants in a Calvinist consensus set off against Lutherans, Quakers, Jews, and Mennonites. Yet his violation of the Dutch policy of “connivance” toward religious difference provoked condemnation by his superiors in the West India Company. Puritan Massachusetts’s intolerance toward religious dissent and its restriction of voting to members of the congregational churches helped create a strong corporate political identity as a godly colony, but at the cost of inciting royal intervention after the Restoration that ultimately led to suspension of the colony’s charter. These New World settlements, like so many European territories, were embedded in suspicious larger political units willing to intrude if faced with overly assertive confessional claims. Looked at in this way, puritan Massachusetts and Stuyvesant’s New Netherland display a family resemblance to, say, Calvinist cities located within the domains of wary Lutheran or Catholic nobles.

New World evidence also challenges one of the core assumptions of confession-

⁹² Reinhard and Schilling linked the formation of the confessions not only to the development of the state, but to modernization and to the strengthening of individuality and rationality. On these claims, and on the difference between confession-building and the broader theory of “confessionalization,” see Reinhard, “Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State”; Reinhard, “Pressures towards Confessionalization?”; Heinz Schilling, “The Reformation and the Rise of the Early Modern State,” in James D. Tracy, ed., *Luther and the Modern State in Germany* (Kirksville, Mo., 1986), 21–30; Schilling, “Confessionalization in the Empire”; Schilling, “Konfessionelle und Politische Identität im Frühneuzeitlichem Europa,” in Antoni Czacharowski, ed., *Nationale, ethnische Minderheiten und regionale Identitäten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Torun, 1994), 103–123; Schilling, “Confessional Europe”; Schilling, “Confessionalization and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe,” in Eszter Andor and István György Tóth, eds., *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400–1750* (Budapest, 2001), 21–35; and Schilling, “Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives.” See also Philip Benedict, “Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence,” in Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France’s Huguenots, 1600–85* (Burlington, Vt., 2001), 312–313; Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 3–5; and Lotz-Heumann, “The Concept of ‘Confessionalization,’” 95–97.

⁹³ See, e.g., Benedict, “Confessionalization in France?”; Wietse de Boer, “Social Discipline in Italy: Peregrinations of a Historical Discipline,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 294–307; James R. Farr, “Confessionalization and Social Discipline in France, 1530–1685,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003): 276–293; Harrington and Smith, “Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany”; Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Confessionalization,” in David Whitford, ed., *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research* (Kirksville, Mo., 2008), 146–149; Lotz-Heumann, “Social Control and Church Discipline in Ireland”; Pettegree, “Confessionalization in North Western Europe”; and Poska, “Confessionalization and Social Discipline in the Iberian World.”

alization scholarship—that there was an elective affinity between the serious pursuit of godly discipline and the augmentation of state authority at the expense of the “intermediate powers” of the church, nobles, and cities.⁹⁴ Puritan Massachusetts provides evidence for this view. But the Guaraní missions—in which the Jesuits played the leading role along with a carefully sifted *cabildo*—undermine the contention. The relationship between godly discipline and the concentration of power that the confessionalization scholars detect might be rephrased. Considered together, the missions and the Bay Colony suggest an elective affinity not between godly discipline and the strengthening of the state, but between godly discipline and a modest level of legal pluralism. Both the missions and Massachusetts limited challenges from outsiders through control over entry and challenges from insiders by restricting suffrage and officeholding to those approved by the churches or religious leaders. Both operated with little day-to-day interference from military, economic, religious, and political authorities that played significant roles elsewhere in the New World and in early modern Europe. To be sure, the puritans and the Jesuits reduced internal jurisdictional complexity in different ways. The puritans stripped the churches of the sorts of temporal authority enjoyed by their Calvinist counterparts in Scotland, while the missions concentrated authority in clerics. Yet in both cases, a modest level of legal pluralism favored efforts by very different forms of authority to pursue intense Christian education and godly discipline.⁹⁵

And so, back to the debates between Massachusetts congregationalists and their critics. Understanding why Massachusetts, at least initially, confounded the presbyterians’ dire predictions and exercised “constant and familiar” discipline requires that the disputants’ categories be put to the side in favor of a comparative analysis of the colony’s social and institutional environment. This directs attention outward: first, outward from Massachusetts to the literatures on confession-building and legal pluralism, whose intersection places the colony in a new context; and second, outward from considering Massachusetts as the object to be explained to treating it as

⁹⁴ Schilling, “Confessional Europe,” 661.

⁹⁵ Perhaps the relationship between godly discipline and legal pluralism developed in my article has implications for the rich debates over Foucault’s concept of “discipline.” Philip Gorski and Kenneth Graham have observed that Foucault does not treat Reformation godly discipline as a precursor to the institutions and practices for surveillance, control, refashioning of the will, and internalization of norms that Foucault sees emerging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Philip Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2003), 23–26, 31–32; Kenneth J. E. Graham, “Defining the ‘Discipline’ of Reformation Studies,” in William F. Gentrup, ed., *Reinventing the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Constructions of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Turnhout, 1998), 77–88; see also Roger Deacon, “An Analytics of Power Relations: Foucault on the History of Discipline,” *History of Human Sciences* 15 (2002): 102. Gorski aims to do more than suggest an underappreciated early modern genealogy leading up to Foucault’s eighteenth- and nineteenth-century consolidation of discipline. Gorski sees godly discipline as a means of creating, with less coercion, the obedient and energetic subjects who provide the foundation for early modern state-building. He reads Foucault as sharing his understanding of state-building as not just as a “top-down” extension of authority over territory and people, but a “bottom-up” process, where “the state rests upon and grows out of diffuse strategies and mechanisms of discipline and control, . . . which it appropriates and absorbs only incompletely.” Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution*, 23–24. Where Gorski and Foucault consider the relationship of disciplinary regimes to the state, I have tried to explore which contexts favor intense discipline. The state importantly, though far from exclusively, influences the degree and nature of legal pluralism in a society, which in turn facilitates or retards the ability of reforming clerics and magistrates to pursue godly discipline. The state and legal pluralism, on the one hand, and disciplinary institutions and practices, on the other, consistently interact, and their interrelationship can be approached analytically from either direction.

a case study that suggests alterations in how scholars might study confession-building and New World legal pluralism. Yet one of the puritans' categories prompts a closing thought. Historians disagree over whether puritans saw Massachusetts merely as a refuge or viewed it more grandly as an inspiration to godly discipline in Europe. If the colony has lost the ability to stir the spirit, might it do a service to historiography? Perhaps scholars of the European Reformation and of New World comparative colonialism who are uninterested in Massachusetts per se might yet look upon the state of the people in the colony and the paths they walked in and come away with a changed appreciation of the foundations of godly discipline.

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“As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends”: The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772–1861

VAN GOSSE

The English are the best friends the coloured people have upon earth. Though they have oppressed us a little and have colonies now in the West Indies, which oppress us sorely.—Yet notwithstanding they (the English) have done one hundred times more for the melioration of our condition, than all the other nations of the earth put together. The blacks cannot but respect the English as a nation, notwithstanding they have treated us a little cruel.

There is no intelligent black man who knows any thing, but esteems a real Englishman, let him see him in what part of the world he will—for they are the greatest benefactors we have upon earth. We have here and there, in other nations, good friends. But as a nation, the English are our friends.

David Walker, *Walker's Appeal . . . to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, 1830¹

WE KNOW LITTLE ABOUT DAVID WALKER. Yet in his day, he was the most notorious black man in the United States. Probably born in 1796, a free emigrant from the lower South who became a used clothes dealer in Boston, in 1829 and 1830 he published three editions of his pamphlet *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, planning to smuggle it into the South via the black and white sailors who were his customers. His hope was to confront slave owners, warning them with apocalyptic arguments to repent, and the slaves themselves, demanding that they renounce enslavement. If the masters refused their just demands, he said, justice should come down in blood.²

When several hundred copies of the *Appeal* reached southern ports, the effect was spectacular. The governors of three states mobilized against it. Along with contemporary events, including the appearance of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* on January 1, 1831, and Nat Turner's August 1831 rebellion in Southampton, Vir-

The author expresses his thanks to Eric Foner, James A. Miller, Gary Nash, James Brewer Stewart, and the anonymous readers of the *AHR* for their critiques of earlier versions of this article, which greatly sharpened its focus.

¹ David Walker, *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, ed. and with a new introduction by Peter P. Hinks (University Park, Pa., 2000), 43. This is a reprint of the third edition of *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, But in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America*, from 1830; the passage is marked “Addition.”

² Peter P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park, Pa., 1997), is the most complete account of Walker's life, correcting many previous assertions.



MONKEY UNCOMMON UP, MASSA!

FIGURE 1: "Monkey Uncommon Up, Massa!" This cartoon by the celebrated English illustrator John Tenniel projects in very graphic form the *schadenfreude* of the English regarding American slaveholders immediately following Lincoln's election. The old expression "to get one's monkey up" means "to get angry." *Punch* 39 (December 1, 1860): 119.

ginia, it spurred the hardening of slavery as a system of pervasive control. The rights of southern free people of color were curtailed, teaching slaves to read and write was barred, and a range of proscriptions were enacted to block further northern interference.

To any student of antebellum U.S. history, Walker's *Appeal* is a familiar landmark. Generally overlooked, however, are the passages inserted in its second and third editions in early 1830 where he repeatedly asserted that "the English are our friends . . . our best friends." Despite numerous editions of the *Appeal*, and many analyses of its rhetoric, Walker's fervent Anglophilia has almost completely escaped scholarly notice.³ This lacuna is part of a larger gap in our understanding of black American politics between the American Revolution and the Civil War. In those decades, Britain's aid was seen by all sides, from the strongest supporters of slavery to the fiercest abolitionists, as decisive in empowering African Americans as political actors at home, despite their enormous disabilities. That common understanding among enemies requires recovery.

AFRICAN AMERICANS FIRST EXERTED EFFECTIVE POLITICAL POWER outside the United States, using the transatlantic state apparatus of the British Empire. Thomas Bender has called for "a respatialization of historical narrative in a way that will liberate us from the enclosure of the nation." In the antebellum era, this liberating "respatialization" was carried out by historical actors themselves, rather than latter-day scholars.⁴ Various aspects of Britain's arc of refuge have been investigated by scholars such as Robin Winks, Betty Fladeland, and Richard M. Blackett, but it has never been approached in the way that Americans, black and white, then understood it—as an imperial totality.⁵ It is well established that Canada was a sanctuary for American fugitives; that a slave who found himself in Nassau or Bermuda suddenly became free; that audiences in England, Scotland, and Ireland flocked to hear black American orators; and that from 1838 to 1861, African Americans across the free states celebrated West Indian emancipation on August 1 as their own vicarious Independence Day. What we must consider is how the various pieces of the Anglo-African American partnership fit into a front of official, elite, and mass solidarity linking the British Atlantic in the era when Britain became the first world-hegemonic nation. Taken together, these instances suggest a long-term intention to extend English abolitionism to the larger Atlantic world, and the United States in particular, thus guaranteeing England's claim to global leadership as a power both great and beneficent, a beacon of liberty versus the upstart Americans. This exercise in table-turning, in which black Americans were gleefully complicit, benefited the British on

³ Simon Schama reduces it to "a sentimental notion of British freedom"; see Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (London, 2005), 13. More useful is James Brewer Stewart, "Boston, Abolition, and the Atlantic World, 1820–1861," in Donald M. Jacobs, ed., *Courage and Conscience: Black and White Abolitionists in Boston* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 101–125, stressing Walker's role in an abolitionist culture that was "irrevocably anglophile, subversively patriotic, and based on an African American view of history's moral direction" (111).

⁴ Thomas Bender, "Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives," in Bender, ed., *Re-thinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 8.

⁵ The major exception is the chapter titled "Duet with John Bull" in Benjamin Quarles's seminal *Black Abolitionists* (New York, 1969).

multiple levels, while benefiting African Americans even more. From a position of great weakness, they derived a startling degree of political agency.

No hindsight was needed for African Americans to understand the effectiveness of British solidarity; only much later, with America's rise and Britain's fall, did we lose sight of what was then quite evident, especially to architects of the "Slave Power" (northerners' term for the South's political domination of the federal government) such as John C. Calhoun. There is ample proof that black Americans saw themselves exactly like the tiny individual who, standing at a certain angle upon the axis of the world, spins a weighty opponent off into space. While touring England, on May 12, 1846, at Finsbury Chapel in Moorfields, London, Frederick Douglass delivered one of his most famous speeches, in which he reveled in his role as representative of the enslaved, proclaiming with his characteristic *schadenfreude* that "some negro of theirs has broken loose from his chains . . . and is now exposing their deeds of deep damnation to the gaze of the christian people of England." Later in the speech, discussing the outcry that his speeches had caused at home, he defended himself against the charge of disloyalty:

I am here, because you have an influence on America that no other nation can have . . . let one of the slaves get loose, let him summon the people of Britain, and make known to them the conduct of the slaveholders toward their slaves, and it cuts them to the quick, and produces a sensation such as would be produced by nothing else. The power I exert now is something like the power that is exerted by the man at the end of the lever; my influence now is just in proportion to the distance that I am from the United States.⁶

In this context, David Walker's assertions sixteen years earlier are even more striking. On the face of it, they seem markedly premature. He wrote three years before Parliament voted to end imperial slavery, before British Canada welcomed thousands of black refugees, before Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Martin Delany, Charles and Sarah Remond, Ellen and William Craft, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Henry Highland Garnet, William Wells Brown, and other African Americans became the toasts of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. What did Walker know that enabled his sweeping claim of British friendship, even in 1830?

A brief review of events will explain why, at the nadir of American abolitionism, after the Missouri Compromises of 1820–1821 removed slavery from national politics and before the rise of Garrisonian abolitionism, Walker made his extraordinary claim about a people that still held slaves in vast numbers, and a government that put down servile insurrections with exemplary savagery.⁷ He gave no explanation, yet there are certain things that we can presume.⁸ He must have shared the popular understanding that since the 1772 *Somerset v. Stewart* decision, there were no slaves

⁶ Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1855), 409, 417.

⁷ Following the 1823 Demerara revolt in Guyana, about 250 rebel slaves were executed, as Walker apparently knew; see Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988), 428–430. A footnote in the *Appeal*'s third edition passionately denounces the injustice of white rule in Jamaica. See *David Walker's Appeal*, ed. Hinks, 66.

⁸ The *Appeal*'s first edition in mid-1829 did not include this emphatic praise of England. Walker's sudden avowal was likely spurred by the welcome offered by British authorities to free blacks facing expulsion from Cincinnati, since abolitionist newspapers had reported on those negotiations in July, August, and September 1829. See William H. Pease and Jane Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* (Madison, Wis., 1963), 172 nn. 1 and 2, and also p. 52 of the *Appeal*'s third edition, where Walker refers to slaves escaping to Canada ("Among the English, our real friends and

in England or Canada.⁹ Although, like all American abolitionists, he was publicly silent on the topic, he would have known of Britain's having freed and armed large numbers of American slaves not once but twice.¹⁰ He belonged to the Prince Hall Lodge, the major black Masonic organization in the post-Revolutionary North, founded when British troops inducted fifteen black Bostonians in 1775, after the American lodges refused to do so.¹¹ He would have heard of those permanent exiles, the Black Loyalists who fought for Britain during the Revolution, and the *Appeal* refers to fugitive slaves' finding asylum in Canada. Finally, we know from an 1828 speech that much of Walker's admiration stemmed from the efficacy of British abolitionism. The "friends" he had in mind were figures such as Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce.¹² Since the 1780s, they had built a cross-class movement to push Parliament to ban the slave trade.¹³ When that commerce was finally outlawed in 1808, Britain enforced the ban against other maritime powers for half a century, while the toothless U.S. prohibition was publicly flouted, and Americans became the Atlantic's main slave traders. In each case, what mattered to Walker and other black people was Britain's *relative* humanitarianism. Given its leading role in the slave trade over two centuries, this may seem a peculiar perspective, but it was well-informed.

Somerset v. Stewart was the common-law precedent for all subsequent emancipations in the northern states, yet it remains a footnote in American history.¹⁴ James Somerset, a Virginia slave brought to England by his owner, Charles Stewart, in 1769, sued to prevent his being taken to the West Indies. Reluctantly, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, William Mansfield, invoked habeas corpus to prevent

benefactors"), and p. 58 ("If any of us see fit to go away, go to those who have been for many years, and are now our greatest earthly friends and benefactors—the English").

⁹ Slavery remained technically legal in Britain and most of Canada until the 1833 Emancipation Act. For a summary of de facto abolition in the four Canadian provinces, see William Renwick Riddell, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, "General Observations," *Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 3 (July 1920): 376–377. Riddell represents Canada's blend of racial liberalism and national pride; between 1919 and 1932, he published fourteen articles in the *Journal of Negro History* documenting the history of slavery in Canada.

¹⁰ The reasons for this silence are obvious: any mention of black men fighting for Britain validated the notion of a slavish fifth column. Walker was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, where the British had landed during the Revolution, freeing numerous slaves.

¹¹ James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York, 1997), 125–126.

¹² See *David Walker's Appeal*, ed. Hinks, 87–88, for a speech to the Massachusetts General Colored Association, printed in *Freedom's Journal* on December 19, 1828: "That we have very good friends yea, very good, among that body [referring to "our white brethren and friends"], perhaps none but a few of those who have, ever read at all will deny; and that many of them have gone, and will go, all lengths for our good, is evident, from the very works of the great, the good, and the godlike Granville Sharpe [sic], Wilberforce, Lundy, and the truly patriotic and lamented Mr. Ashmun, late Colonial Agent of Liberia." Walker here mentions both Englishmen and Americans, including Benjamin Lundy, editor of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

¹³ See J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilization of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787–1807* (Manchester, 1995).

¹⁴ See chap. 10, "Antislavery and the Conflict of Laws," in David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 469–522; also William M. Wiecek, *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760–1848* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 42–44, on the connection between *Somerset* and the famous Massachusetts cases ending slavery in the 1780s. Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 63–65, stresses Mansfield's finding that without the positive law pioneered by Virginia's 1661 codification of Negro slavery, involuntary lifetime servitude could not exist in England proper.

Stewart from sending Somerset out of England, setting the slave free on narrow grounds, despite his lawyers' best efforts to prove that there was no legal basis for slavery. But Mansfield's decision was immediately interpreted by other judges as invalidating slavery in England. In 1778, Lord Chief Justice Alvanley ruled that a slave brought to England became "as free as any one of us."¹⁵ Several thousand British slaves walked away from their masters, and no slave-owning American could bring his "peculiar species of property" onto British soil. Given the American republic's demands of comity, none of the new states ever reached that standard *de jure*, but the antebellum era saw the spread of "personal liberty" legislation and judicial decisions invoking *Somerset*.

The *Somerset* decision suggested a basic divergence in racial politics between center and periphery. In tandem with other British policies, including the 1774 grant of civil rights to French Canadian Catholics, that is how *Somerset* was read by many Americans. As David Waldstreicher shows, it forced the colonies' London agent, Benjamin Franklin, to dissemble, since he could not simultaneously advocate colonial liberty—freedom to maintain slavery—and welcome *Somerset*'s extension of the liberty of the British subject.¹⁶ Subsequently, this decision, so notable in English history, largely vanished from the narrative of American history. As "an ideological prop to imperial rule," its timing threatened fundamentally Whiggish premises about democratizing colonies versus a repressive metropole.¹⁷ More than two centuries later, it is hard to imagine England guaranteeing liberty while the new United States denied it, but in this case it was undeniable that "it was the royal, rather than the republican, road that seemed to offer a surer chance of liberty."¹⁸ Indeed, the most salient fact about Walker's *Appeal* is that, other than scornful invocations of the Declaration of Independence, he ignores the American Revolution, as if he considered it irrelevant to black people.¹⁹

A judicial decision with no force in British North America could be disregarded, but the November 1775 proclamation by Lord Dunmore, Virginia's royal governor, was harder to ignore. By then, word of *Somerset* had reached some slaves, presumably via black mariners crisscrossing the Atlantic littoral, and from Georgia to Massachusetts slaves took advantage of the brewing uncertainty, offering aid to crown officials such as Massachusetts governor Thomas Hutchinson and his successor, General Thomas Gage.²⁰ In April 1775, just before fighting broke out in Massachusetts, a delegation of Virginia slaves met with Dunmore, proposing to back the crown.²¹ In November, after retreating to a ship on the James River, he promised immediate

¹⁵ Wiecek, *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America*, 39, 34–35.

¹⁶ See David Waldstreicher, *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution* (New York, 2004), 198–202.

¹⁷ Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 101.

¹⁸ Schama, *Rough Crossings*, 17–18.

¹⁹ Walker did pay attention to Thomas Jefferson, but focused his anger on the spurious scientific racialism of *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

²⁰ Schama, *Rough Crossings*, 21–22, notes that Hutchinson and Gage received five different petitions in 1773–1774, and cites a 1775 Georgia advertisement for a runaway slave that says he had tried "to board a vessel for Great Britain from the knowledge he has of the late determination of the Somerset case" (25).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

freedom to any slave who fled a rebellious master.²² The effect in the southern colonies was electric. Over the next six years, slaves of all descriptions sought out British forces, vastly widening the gulf between colonies and metropole, as demonstrated by Thomas Jefferson's charge in the draft of the Declaration of Independence that George III had "excited domestic Insurrections amongst us." Both Sir Henry Clinton and then Sir William Howe, successive British commanders in chief, tried the same gambit.²³ The possibilities were clearly understood by the revolutionaries. As George Washington observed upon hearing of the British offer, "Success will depend on which side can arm the Negroes faster," but his 1780 plan to protect South Carolina and Georgia by enlisting three thousand slaves was frustrated by those states' veto.²⁴

The British willingness to emancipate American slaves has generally been ascribed to a brutal opportunism.²⁵ Just as Jefferson's enormously inflated claims that Virginia lost 30,000 slaves and the colonies 100,000 acquired legitimacy through repetition, it was long asserted that the British were never liberators except by accident, and many fugitives were sold into West Indian slavery by British commanders. Recent scholarship by Cassandra Pybus, examining what actually happened to the perhaps 20,000 liberated slaves, and Christopher L. Brown, assaying the larger shift in British self-understanding forced by the American Revolution, suggests a more complex narrative.²⁶ First, the Black Loyalists were recognized as vital workers for the imperial war effort in places such as New York, as well as valuable "Pioneers" attached to the regular army.²⁷ Second, this recognition produced war's most elemental effect—bonds of loyalty between officers and men.²⁸ Third, most British officers treated the former slaves as well as can be expected, given that thousands were struck down by epidemic diseases, while the colonists often exacted a bloody revenge.²⁹ Fourth, "Contrary to received opinion, the British did not renege on their promises of freedom; they emancipated those survivors to whom they believed they were obligated."³⁰ Finally, British politicians and generals found considerable solace

²² See chap. 5, "Free Virginians versus Slaves and Governor Dunmore," in Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 143, for how "rising aspirations among blacks and mounting fears among whites" set the South on the road to independence.

²³ Clinton's 1779 proclamation promised "to every Negro who shall desert the Rebel Standard full security to follow within the Lines any occupation which he may think proper"; see Arnett G. Lindsay, "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain Bearing on the Return of Negro Slaves, 1783–1828," *Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 4 (October 1920): 393 n. 6, for the full text.

²⁴ Washington is quoted in Blackburn, *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 113–114.

²⁵ See Sylvia Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), although she does concede that "For the vast majority of slaves who actively participated in the Revolution, the arrival of the British army was a liberating moment" (118).

²⁶ Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, 2007); Pybus, "Jefferson's Faulty Math: The Question of Slave Defections in the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (April 2005): 243–264; Brown, *Moral Capital*.

²⁷ See Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 28–29, on the enormous demand for black labor in wartime New York City.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 58–59, 66, 77–78, 148, for instances where British generals recognized the claims of reciprocal loyalty, even long after the war was over.

²⁹ Pybus, "Jefferson's Faulty Math," offers the most careful accounting of the fate of the liberated slaves. Through careful extrapolation, she arrives at the figure of 20,000 fugitives reaching British lines, and further estimates that 8,000 to 10,000 of the 12,000 survivors departed at the war's end for Canada, Britain itself, and the Caribbean colonies.

³⁰ Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 38. Pybus asserts that "Their evacuation of America would have

in claiming the ethical high ground through keeping their promises to the former slaves.³¹

Certainly British policymakers were motivated by self-interest. Arming American slaves was a classic piece of statecraft to undercut restive colonials. But British recruitment had its own momentum, generating "moral purpose from an entirely amoral set of decisions," so that over time, "[e]xpeditents determined practice" and "[p]ractice determined policy," which "drifted toward becoming a matter of principle."³² Dunmore did not turn his black recruits into ditch-diggers, but created an "Aethiopian Battalion." Later, when black troops massed in New York at war's end, observers noted the friendly relations among black and white. Their commander, Sir Guy Carleton, dragged out his discussions with Washington over repatriating ex-slaves, as mandated in the Treaty of Paris, insisting that he would exclude those who accepted British offers through November 1782, as "no Interpretation could be put on the Articles inconsistent with *prior Engagements binding the National Honour which must be kept with all colours*." As he put it in a letter to Washington, "I had no right to deprive them of that liberty I found them possessed of."³³ Meanwhile, lower-ranking British officers freely distributed blank certificates stipulating that "said Negro has hereby his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton's Permission to go to Nova-Scotia, or wherever else [to be filled in "he" or "she"] may think proper."³⁴ The Americans watched in frustration as thousands of their slaves left.

Britain's postwar conduct also cannot be explained by a calculus of expediency. The British maintained a grudging commitment to the Black Loyalists, first bringing 3,500 to Nova Scotia, and then sending 1,200 on to Sierra Leone in 1792, to establish an expatriate colony. While their treatment by local whites and officials in Canada was highly discriminatory, it could have been considerably worse. These were people of no power, stateless orphans, who might have been sold back into slavery, left to wander, or "transported" en masse to Australia like the indigent Irish and Scots. Instead they were able to eke out a precarious living and make use of crown courts to defend their rights against attempts at re-enslavement or forced indenture.³⁵ All of this Walker would have known, as he would have known of the second wave of emancipation in 1812–1814, when Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane offered all slaves in the Chesapeake "their choice of either entering into his Majesty's sea or land forces, or of being sent as FREE settlers to the British possessions in North

to be the most significant act of emancipation in early American history." Similarly, Gary B. Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 23, describes the response to British military emancipation as "the greatest slave rebellion in North American history."

³¹ Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 104–105, on how both Lord Cornwallis after Yorktown and William Pitt in the 1790s, when negotiating with Americans, bestowed this redemption on themselves. Brown, *Moral Capital*, 298, vividly captures the "pleasure" felt by these men in "posturing as liberators."

³² *Ibid.*, 312.

³³ Quoted in Schama, *Rough Crossings*, 146 n. 17, 148.

³⁴ One of the "Birch passes," so-called because they were signed by Brigadier General Birch, is reproduced as an illustration in Graham Hodges, ed., *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile after the American Revolution* (New York, 1996).

³⁵ See W. Bryan Rommel-Ruiz, "Atlantic Revolutions: Slavery and Freedom in Newport, Rhode Island, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the Era of the American Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 354–355, where he describes how a Nova Scotia jury in 1791 sentenced a white American to jail because it found that he had tried to sell a black woman and her children who were "free persons and subjects of King George."

America or the West Indies."³⁶ Finally, like any politically literate American, he must have been aware of how the crown's refusal to offer compensation for these freed-people dragged on for decades. Only in 1827, after years of negotiations, did Britain finally pay \$1,204,960, to be divided among the 1,100 American claimants from the two wars.³⁷

For Walker, these instances would have been preludes to the fundamental divergence after the simultaneous slave-trade abolitions by England and the United States on January 1, 1808. From then until 1861, the U.S. law against trading in slaves was typically a "dead letter," in W. E. B. Du Bois's words, whereas Britain systematically organized its repression, involving almost every European and American nation.³⁸ The British government signed treaties with Spain, Portugal, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, as well as with Sardinia, the German city-states, Naples, the Republic of Texas, and many African states, giving the British navy a right of search.³⁹ In 1815, pressured by a campaign organized by Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, Britain raised slave trade abolition at the Congress of Vienna.⁴⁰ In the starkest contrast, as late as 1860, the British government observed that "the practice is for vessels to sail under an American flag," and tried to draw the United States into a diplomatic conference to discuss enforcement.⁴¹ U.S. policy was to insist on the absolute legal immunity of American-flagged ships. Even after British naval parties boarded ships self-evidently built as slavers, the State Department insisted on their inviolability. It was rare for U.S. courts to convict anyone for engaging in the traffic, and every president from Jefferson to Jackson pardoned slave-traders.⁴²

What lesson would David Walker have drawn from these facts? First, that Britain was capable of aiding African people in good faith; second, that British law could be relied upon; and third, that Britain had tangible global power. None of these claims could have been made for the U.S. government. Yet everything that Walker observed was a prologue to the efflorescence of imperial solidarity from the 1830s on, when American Negrophobia met its mirror image, an emphatic embrace of blackness, leading Frederick Douglass to observe sardonically on his first visit to Britain that it was "an advantage to be a nigger here," even if he was "hardly black enough for British taste."⁴³

³⁶ See Frank A. Cassell, "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812," *Journal of Negro History* 57, no. 2 (April 1972): 144–155, which demonstrates that memories of earlier English emancipations remained strong. As the British navy raided the Eastern Shore, slaves organized parties to aid them as "spies, guides, messengers and laborers," and eventually uniformed soldiers (144).

³⁷ Lindsay, "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain," 418–419.

³⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (1954; repr., Millwood, N.Y., 1973), 109.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 144, for a chart listing this vast diplomatic effort.

⁴⁰ See Jerome Reich, "The Slave Trade at the Congress of Vienna: A Study in English Public Opinion," *Journal of Negro History* 53, no. 2 (April 1968): 129–143, documenting how British abolitionists lobbied the tsar and the king of Prussia seeking immediate abolition of the slave trade by France.

⁴¹ Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 134–135, 149.

⁴² See Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*, ed. Ward M. McAfee (New York, 2001), on official America's blind eye toward massive participation in the trade.

⁴³ R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983), 107.

IN THE DECADES LEADING TO THE CIVIL WAR, black Americans were connected to the British Empire in myriad ways—reading in a newspaper about an anti-slavery appeal by British citizens, or the crowds that greeted Douglass in Birmingham or Glasgow; imagining themselves in emancipated Jamaica, where propertied men of color voted and were elected to office; for a tiny number, enjoying the friendship of British divines, nobles, and merchant-princes. For most, however, the site for concrete solidarity was Canada, which emerged in the 1830s as a sanctuary for escaping slaves. Although slave-catchers crossed the border, it was they who faced arrest.

The Canadian safe harbor developed for several reasons: de facto emancipation in both Britain and Canada following *Somerset*, an unpoliced border stretching from Maine to Minnesota, and the emergence of Canadian identity from a quiet but deep anti-Americanism among the tens of thousands of Empire Loyalists forced out during the Revolution. Historically, Canadians have exaggerated the number of black exiles they succored, claiming 60,000, and their willingness to grant civil equality to ex-slaves has contributed to an enduring mythos of Canada as exceptionally civilized.⁴⁴ Yet there was a hard core of truth to this legend: Douglass stated in 1852 that “in Canada, the black and the white man stand upon a common level before the law,” and two years later, Martin Delany, while advocating that blacks emigrate to Central America, declared that in extremis they should go to Canada (as he himself did in 1856), where they would be “politically equal to the whites.”⁴⁵ From early on, African Americans in Canada voted, sat on juries, testified in courts, and fought in their own militia units under their own officers. Abroad, black Canadians were recognized as British subjects, with the privileges attached to that status. Nowhere in the United States could a black person reach this level of citizenship, since few black Americans voted, none served as jurors, federal law excluded blacks from militia service, and they were rarely granted passports. It is easy to see why in 1856 a former slave told William Still, the Philadelphia conductor of the Underground Railroad, that Canada “is the best poor man’s country that I know of.”⁴⁶

As a consequence, Afro-Canadians became at least as Anglophone as their white neighbors. In Nova Scotia, the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 developed a distinctive “African British North American” identity, which “rested on struggles for freedom, political inclusion, shared experience, and location within the British Empire.”⁴⁷ Across Canada, the expatriates were known for what Harriet Martineau called “the extravagance of their loyalty” to the crown. Almost one thousand volunteered to help suppress the 1837–1838 Mackenzie-Papineau Rebellion, forming

⁴⁴ See Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven, Conn., 1971), 233 for the derivation of the figure of 60,000 and the actual census figures, and 240 for his estimate that “by 1860 the black population of Canada West alone may have reached forty thousand, three-quarters of whom had been or were fugitive slaves or their children.”

⁴⁵ *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, September 3, 1852; Martin Delany, “Political Destiny of the Colored Race, on the American Continent,” in *Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention of Colored People, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, August 24, 1854* (Pittsburgh, 1854), quoted in Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky, eds., *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790–1860* (New York, 2001), 239.

⁴⁶ Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 247.

⁴⁷ Harvey Amani Whitfield, “The Development of Black Refugee Identity in Nova Scotia, 1813–1850,” *Left History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 21, documenting how they were integrated into local politics and ostentatiously celebrated their Britishness.

a Colored Corps long used for policing purposes.⁴⁸ By the 1850s, they had developed a strong political identity as Tories and upholders of British rule, versus the threat of absorption into what William Wells Brown disparaged as "the Republican Egypt" to the south.⁴⁹ Any reader of the *Provincial Freeman*, the newspaper edited by the expatriate Mary Ann Shadd Cary, was consistently instructed that the party which was "the firmest encourager and supporter of British Institutions should receive the undivided support of the colored people; on the other hand, that party [the Reformers] which is found giving its support to Republican Institutions, to the exclusion of Monarchical or British, should receive their undivided opposition."⁵⁰ As H. Ford Douglass put it in March 1857, "Her Majesty's colored subjects" must "resist to the last, every innovation upon the Conservative principles of British liberty and British rule in these provinces. Colored men should become as thoroughly British as they can."⁵¹

Recently, however, some historians have argued that the refugees were "unwelcome guests."⁵² Certainly "British liberty" tolerated a strong admixture of Negrophobia. At the time, however, the mystique of the "North Star" was very powerful. Crossing the border became a transcendent experience. By 1853, evoking that "leap" to liberty was the natural peroration for the ex-slave and recent Liberty Party vice-presidential candidate the Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward, before a respectable London audience, including the Lord Mayor:

Mr. Chairman, there is something in a man's being free (loud applause) . . . It is like a sort of resurrection . . . There is a development and a springing forth, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, armed and equipped for the battle. (Cheers.) . . . an American captain . . . [said] that the most surprising thing there was the leap of the slave to the Canadian shore. Niagara poured down its mighty cascade in vain; there was one sight sublimer still—the leap of the slave to Canada (cheers) . . . It was the transforming power of the sacred aegis of British laws that said to the man who was a chattel, "Be thou free—be a man!"⁵³

However sentimentalized, Canada's status as a free-soil bastion was based on the refusal by crown authorities to extradite fugitives. Extradition was first refused in

⁴⁸ Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 149–152; also Martineau, *Writings on Slavery and the American Civil War*, 34 (from *Retrospect of Western Travel* [1838]): "they exceedingly dread the barest mention of the annexation of Canada to the United States."

⁴⁹ *A Description of William Wells Brown's Original Panoramic Views of the Scenes in the Life of an American Slave, from His Birth in Slavery to His Death or His Escape to His First Home of Freedom on British Soil* (London, n.d. [1849]), 37.

⁵⁰ *Provincial Freeman*, May 12, 1855, an article by "A Descendant of the African Race," probably Shadd Cary, evaluating the two major parties. On September 22 of that year, she (or he) stressed that the free people of color must always favor Conservatives as "composed . . . of materials, that are incapable of a general course of procedure, that will favour cast [sic], because of complexional differences," since they are "the Constitutional party of our much envied country . . . true to the general interest, and loyal to the Crown"; on December 22, the *Freeman* endorsed Colonel John Prince, "The English Gentleman," as a candidate for the Provincial Parliament, on the grounds that he was "a true Patriot and Conservative," and was "thoroughly hated by the yankees."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1857.

⁵² See Jason H. Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800–1865* (Millwood, N.Y., 1985), which documents discrimination that "permeated all levels of black life" (viii), although generally "the black refugees benefited from proper legal proceedings wherein their rights as free men, equal with whites under Canadian law, were protected" (43).

⁵³ Speech of Samuel Ringgold Ward to the Colonial Missionary Society, May 9, 1853, in C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, vol. 1: *The British Isles, 1830–1865* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 336–337.

1819, in response to an appeal from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams.⁵⁴ This led to debates within British government circles, since U.S. officials regarded Canada's policy as encouraging crime. In 1837, London formalized the non-extradition policy, although in 1842 a runaway charged with theft was sent back. Finally, in 1843, the two countries ratified the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, including provisions for extradition that did not specifically exempt slaves. British and Canadian abolitionists lobbied ministers and Parliament intensively, and the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, wrote provincial officials that the treaty should not apply to black refugees.⁵⁵

It was hardly preordained that Canada would play this role. Large-scale emigration of African Americans began because of repression of free blacks in the South, rising white hostility in the North, and abolitionists' commitment to aiding runaways. When black men organized national conventions from 1830 to 1835 to challenge the American Colonization Society (ACS), they exempted Canada from their anti-emigrationism. Although six hundred American blacks had already settled at Amherstburg, Ontario, in the 1820s, the pattern of seeking land from the crown began in 1829, when several hundred blacks left Cincinnati following city authorities' threats to enforce Ohio's Black Code, which required African Americans to post a \$500 security bond as a guarantee of good behavior. Cincinnati's black community successfully petitioned Canada's lieutenant governor for land, which became the community of Wilberforce.⁵⁶ Like most such settlements, it was plagued by financial problems and infighting. But this effort succeeded in injecting a new strategy into the battle for black rights. A reported statement by the lieutenant governor was widely reprinted: "Tell the *republicans* on your side of the line, that we royalists do not know men by their color. Should you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his majesty's subjects."⁵⁷

Migration became a flood after the Compromise of 1850, with its Fugitive Slave Bill that abolished habeas corpus and Fourth Amendment protections for free blacks. Both flight and resistance intensified, exemplified by three famous 1851 episodes hinging on the combination of physical force in the United States and the Canadian escape hatch: the February rescue of former slave Shadrach Minkins from Boston's federal courthouse and his removal to Montreal; the September battle in

⁵⁴ See Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, 102, on how the British chargé in Washington told Adams that the fugitives "by their residence in Canada, become free, whatever may have been their former condition in this country, and should any attempt be made to infringe upon this right of freedom," they could go before judges and expect full satisfaction.

⁵⁵ Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 168–173. In two cases where local officials complied with American requests, they were sanctioned.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 155–157.

⁵⁷ As Winks has pointed out, this comment appeared in many different forms. The earliest version is in the *Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, Held at Putnam, on the Twenty-Second, Twenty-Third, and Twenty-Fourth of April, 1835* ([New York], 1835), 18–19, which reproduced a "Statement in regard to Cincinnati" from the Anti-Slavery Committee of Lane Seminary. It reported that following the efforts of city authorities to expel free blacks, a delegation went to Canada seeking land, and "returned with a favorable answer. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, is characteristic of a noble minded man. 'Tell the Republicans . . .'" This was repeated in William Jay, *Condition of the Free People of Color of the United States* (1838; repr., New York, 1969), 377–378. It also appeared in *The Colored American*, March 7, 1840, reprinted from *The Anti-Slavery Examiner*. In 1838, Harriet Martineau published a slightly different version in "The Martyr Age of the United States," omitting the wonderfully sardonic "royalist"; see Martineau, *Writings on Slavery and the American Civil War*, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (Dekalb, Ill., 2002), 47. All four versions misidentify the lieutenant governor as Colebrook. As with *Somerset*, what matters is how this reported comment was understood.

Christiana, Pennsylvania, between black men led by William Parker and the slave owner Edward Gorsuch's posse, with Parker and others fleeing to Ontario after killing Gorsuch; and the October "Jerry Rescue" in Syracuse, when an interracial abolitionist crowd overpowered federal marshals to spirit a fugitive to Canada.

These and other "rescues" received intense publicity. Finally, in 1858–1859, as the U.S. state's machinery of consent unraveled, Canada became a base for direct attacks on slavery. Some of these developments were famous, some less visible; Harriet Tubman, who returned to her native Eastern Shore of Maryland to free slaves eighteen times, became legendary among northern abolitionists and southern authorities, but it was little noted that she actually organized those raids from St. Catharines, Ontario. In contrast, John Brown's Canadian connection became known within days of his disastrous raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry on October 18, 1859. His captured papers included details of a convention held on May 8, 1858, in Chatham, Ontario, to organize a "provisional government" for a planned guerrilla base in Virginia's mountains. Fearing arrest, extradition to Virginia, and execution, three of the "Secret Six," prominent Bostonians who had financed Brown's insurgency, fled to Canada. So did Frederick Douglass, who was implicated in Brown's conspiracy.

Official toleration of cross-border guerrilla raids was bad enough, but something worse awaited. While escaping in 1853, a Missouri slave killed a pursuer and fled to Canada, where he lived as "John Anderson." In 1859, Missouri tried to extradite him. The case became a transatlantic sensation, since under British law anyone had the right to use mortal force against a kidnapper, while under U.S. law a slave had no rights at all.⁵⁸ At first Anderson lost, as Canada's chief justice applied a narrow interpretation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. The Colonial Office intervened to block immediate extradition, and the Court of Queen's Bench in London asserted jurisdiction, while the prime minister promised Parliament that Anderson would not be surrendered, and the *London Times* huffed that Englishmen were "not accustomed to act as bailiffs or as gaolers for the Slaveowners of the South."⁵⁹ Anderson was eventually freed because a Canadian court voided his extradition warrant, a move that was widely understood as a political decision. Reaching London soon after the Civil War began, he was introduced at a rally of six thousand as "Citizen Anderson," and avowed "All honour to Her Majesty the Queen, for my freedom . . . I thank God I have at last broken the yoke . . . I thought I had seven years ago, but I never did till now, and I have to thank God and Great Britain for it."⁶⁰

When this case is examined through the frameworks of diplomatic history, it seems remarkable: the world's dominant military power had endorsed the most radical doctrine of slave resistance—that slaves could kill in self-defense. Combined with the hands-off attitude toward Brown and Tubman, the Anderson case suggested that the conflict between British and American understandings of liberty had become irrepressible. Here is where the American reader must step back and enter the pastness of this particular past. Just as Canada's historic invisibility to Americans effaces its earlier role in the arc of imperial hegemony, England's recession from power since

⁵⁸ See Patrick Brode, *The Odyssey of John Anderson* (Toronto, 1989).

⁵⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁰ Speech of John Anderson in London, July 2, 1861, in Ripley, *The British Isles*, 494.

1945 obscures how its empire weighed on Americans, especially southerners, in the nineteenth century—their sense of inferiority when confronting John Bull's navy, factory complex, and vast well of investment capital, and his cultural and institutional sophistication. Anderson was not the first murderous slave to benefit from British sanctuary. In 1841, slaves seized an American ship, the *Creole*, off Richmond, killed one of its officers, and imprisoned the rest. It was taken into Nassau, and the fugitives were granted summary freedom by British authorities.⁶¹ The Anderson and *Creole* affairs were reminders that the South was in economic terms a colony of Britain—it had no navy, no merchant marine, no industry, and hardly any schools or railroads. Deprived of the military protection guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution, the slave states could expect only what later theorists dubbed “dependency,” a prospect that haunted southern leaders.

HOWEVER ODIUS TO “SOUTHERN MEN” was the Canadian refuge, the English at home seemed bent on inciting “social equality.” Their courting of escaped slaves such as Douglass, who were “lionized, feted, and patronized by the British aristocracy and men of wealth,” receiving the adulation of crowds and the friendship of genteel white women, constituted the gravest possible insult.⁶² The antebellum campaign uniting sections of England's bourgeoisie and some members of the aristocracy with America's emerging black political class smacked of racial treason. It made England a visible fulcrum for African Americans to direct international obloquy against American slavery. A “well-oiled and pretty efficient propaganda machine” organized mammoth lecture tours; Douglass alone gave three hundred speeches in nineteen months, covering all of the British Isles.⁶³ Slave narratives sold in large numbers—politicized precursors of today's romantic potboilers, utilizing well-established conventions about broken families, sexual abuse, violence, privation, and hair-raising escapes. Given that the authors often toured, the personalization of oppression was intense. Millions were exposed to Ward, Douglass, Ellen and William Craft, William Wells Brown, and others by hearing them or reading a slave narrative, or via a sympathetic newspaper account. By the early 1850s, the enormous impact of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which sold a million copies in eight months, brought anti-slavery feeling to such a pitch that 562,448 Englishwomen led by the Duchess of Sutherland signed the “Stafford House Address,” asking their American sisters to abjure slavery as un-Christian.⁶⁴

It is one thing to assert that British people exerted power on behalf of African Americans; it is another to demonstrate that the latter exerted power *on behalf of themselves*. Yet despite the overtones of patronage, the biracial solidarity politics practiced in England, Ireland, and Scotland offer concrete evidence of African Americans' political agency, with measurable consequences inside the United States.

⁶¹ See Edward D. Jervy and C. Harold Huber, “The *Creole* Affair,” *Journal of Negro History* 65, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 196–211.

⁶² Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*, 204–205.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 13–15, 17, 25–26.

⁶⁴ Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Cooperation* (Urbana, Ill., 1972), 351–352.

Crucially, at every point they retained the initiative, setting in motion the relationship with British abolitionists, and steering it with discretion.⁶⁵

This transatlantic campaign sprang from urgent needs. By the early 1830s, the North's free black leadership saw the ACS as the fundamental threat. Led by prominent political figures, including Henry Clay, in the 1820s it neutered what remained of post-Revolutionary emancipationism; even the venerable Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the main "pro bono agency for escaped slaves and kidnapped free people of color" along the Mason-Dixon Line, refused to condemn colonization and included colonizationists in its leadership.⁶⁶ Then, in 1831, ACS leaders sent Philadelphia Elliot Cresson to London to draw British anti-slavery leaders into their seductive scheme of mass repatriation to Liberia. The choices were stark for black Americans. If Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their powerful circles, then pressing the final abolition of imperial slavery, backed the ACS, African Americans' only allies would be the despised radicals around William Lloyd Garrison. If the ACS were to be isolated, however, English aid could be mobilized for American emancipation. The Reverend Nathaniel Paul, a prominent black minister in Albany, New York, reached London the same year, seeking funds for Canada's Wilberforce settlement.⁶⁷ He toured the country, denouncing the ACS and citing its openly racist pronouncements. In mid-1833, Garrison arrived, and the two in tandem demolished the colonizationists' credibility. Leading British abolitionists published a "Protest" repudiating colonization, and Clarkson told Paul and Garrison that they could quote him as having been deceived.⁶⁸

Paul had established a vital precedent—that only African Americans could speak for their people, and they must be heard. Indeed, Cresson acknowledged his defeat by suggesting that the ACS find a suitable black man to rebut Paul.⁶⁹ Paul's mission was the first of many. In the 1840s, the focus shifted to bringing direct pressure within the United States via external shunning aimed at slavery's weakest link: the spiritual bondage of Christian fellowship. There was no evading the fact that Christians had to recognize the slave as a human being. This was the premise of British anti-slavery's ubiquitous emblem—Josiah Wedgwood's image of a kneeling slave imploring "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" Despite a pervasive rhetoric of American nationhood, the U.S. was very much a postcolonial nation, and its major Protestant denominations were affiliated with English parents. Black abolitionists demanded that British churches "refuse communion" with American denominations that accepted slave owners. Through their public campaigning, they stirred a constant debate, applying significant pressure on American civil society.

Enforcing this isolation was Douglass's focus during his 1845–1847 sojourn. He provoked a historic struggle within the newly founded Free Church of Scotland,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 44.

⁶⁶ Richard H. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 26, 96–97.

⁶⁷ Paul drew upon earlier precedents, from the poet Phillis Wheatley's tour of London in the 1770s, during which she was escorted by Granville Sharp, to Paul Cuffe's visit in 1811. Paul's brother, the Reverend Thomas Paul, Sr., had visited England in 1815, representing the Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, and was "lionized by abolitionists"; see Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York, 1982), 483.

⁶⁸ Blackett, *Building an Anti-Slavery Wall*, 47–67.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 58.

which needed the financial support of America's Presbyterians. In speeches punctuated by the stirring demand to "Send back the money!," Douglass equated those taking slaveholders' dollars with selling him, a devastating charge given the evangelical moral economy, in which each soul was infinitely precious.⁷⁰ British solidarity peaked in the early 1850s after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act brought an influx of hundreds of ex-slaves, followed by Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel and her visit to England, where the U.S. Embassy lobbied intensively to block a planned audience with the queen. Following that final sensation, it had nowhere else to go short of war, and like African American Anglophilism, British outrage over American slavery gradually dissipated.

A denouement to the triangular relationship of the British and American governments and Black America came in 1860, via the black physician and emigrationist leader Martin Delany's efforts to create a British protectorate settled by African Americans in the Niger Delta. Although Delany's venture was a failure, it highlights the ideological bases of English support for a version of black liberation, suggesting how subversive this patronage could be. On the eve of the Civil War, Delany impressed Manchester industrialists anticipating the loss of cheap American cotton. After signing a treaty on December 28, 1859, with the alake (king) of Abeokuta, in July 1860 he convinced his British backers to form an African Aid Society to fund black American cotton cultivators.

The war's onset made emigration irrelevant, however, and Delany's most significant intervention came not in Africa but in London, in a confrontation with his own government that underscored British sympathies. In July 1860, he attended the International Statistical Congress hosted by the British government. The U.S. delegate was a South Carolina judge, Augustus Longstreet. The former lord chancellor and venerable abolitionist Lord Henry Brougham chaired the opening plenary.⁷¹ Brougham had introduced Prince Albert, the president of the congress, and after the latter's address was commending foreign dignitaries in the audience when he spotted Delany. Turning to the American minister, former vice-president George Mifflin Dallas, Brougham announced "that there is a negro gentleman present," producing "loud and vociferous cheering." Various personages then spoke, and eventually Delany rose and addressed Prince Albert, "to thank, his lordship, the unflinching friend of the negro, for the remarks he has made in reference to myself, and to assure your royal highness and his lordship that *I am a man*."⁷² Judge Longstreet walked out, but Dallas remained, saying nothing. What seemed to many white Americans to have been a deliberate insult produced one more diplomatic furor. Brougham's

⁷⁰ See Alasdair Pettinger, "Send Back the Money: Douglass and the Free Church of Scotland," in Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford, eds., *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (Athens, Ga., 1999), 33, for Douglass's March speech, in which he depicted his old master selling the young Frederick to raise money for the Free Church.

⁷¹ Brougham was famous for his July 1830 speech in the Lords, launching the final campaign for West Indian emancipation: "There is a law . . . the same throughout the world, the same at all times . . . written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man!" Quoted in Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 196.

⁷² All quotations but one are from the *Manchester Weekly Advertiser*, July 21, 1860, quoted in Blackett, *Building an Anti-Slavery Wall*, 33. Details, including Delany's response to Brougham, are from his account; see Frank A. Rollin, *Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany* (Boston, 1868), quoted in Robert R. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 358–361.

apologies were less than wholehearted, while his government remained mum. Secretary of State Lewis Cass wrote Dallas that he should have told the prince "that finding your Country through you exposed to insult, without any effort for your protection you would quit the meeting, and . . . followed this annunciation by an immediate departure."⁷³ This would have constituted an insult to the queen herself, so Dallas was caught in a no-win situation.⁷⁴ Diplomatic relations between nations function like a minuet, through precisely demarcated steps. Via Delany, African Americans had pushed themselves onto the world stage, shaming America. There was no question who bore the final responsibility: Britain's government, whose studied indifference spoke unmistakably.

CANADIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS AND LECTURE TOURS in Great Britain hardly exhausted the empire's reach. Slaveholders were constantly alert to British interventions around North America's periphery, from the insistence that slaves who found themselves in British ports became automatically free, to offers to support an independent Texas in exchange for emancipation in the early 1840s, the later promotion of emancipation in Cuba, and an 1853–1854 campaign to block U.S. annexation of Hawaii by warning its king about American racism.⁷⁵ While the "paranoid style" of southern statesmen seems farfetched now—Congressman Henry A. Wise even alleged in 1842 that England was ready to "pour in armies of trained free blacks upon the whole South" from the West Indies—there were manifold reasons to recognize Britain's containment policy.⁷⁶

What were the results of British solidarity within the United States? Clearly, if all the British Empire provided was a respite, safe havens, and funding (such as almost \$2,500 raised by Douglass's English friends to start his newspaper *The North Star*), that aid mattered considerably. But the import of a visible Anglo–African American connection was considerably greater, in psychologically arming black Americans and discombobulating their oppressors. Given the stakes involved—an entire political-economic structure—what ultimately mattered was the balance of force, as Lincoln recognized in calling for a servile rebellion and arming 140,000 slaves in 1863–1864. It took a generation of intermittent political crises to reach that point, however, and a major factor in making the North's confrontation with the Slave Power inevitable was white southerners' mounting fear of British encirclement.

After 1830, a potent brew of southern nationalism based on fratricidal Anglo-

⁷³ Cass to Dallas, September 11, 1860, quoted in Blackett, *Building an Anti-Slavery Wall*, 38.

⁷⁴ Nor was this the first humiliation of an American minister. In 1838, the Irish parliamentary leader Daniel O'Connell had publicly damned Minister Andrew Stevenson, labeling him a "slave breeder"; see Howard Temperley, "The O'Connell-Stevenson Contretemps: A Reflection of the Anglo-American Slavery Issue," *Journal of Negro History* 47, no. 4 (October 1962): 217–233.

⁷⁵ Between 1830 and 1840, 326 slaves from four American ships were freed in Bermuda or the Bahamas; see Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, 102–107, on the diplomatic battles over these emancipations. The British paid compensation only for those freed before 1833. On the 1842–1843 imbroglio over Texas (during which the foreign secretary avowed "the well-known policy and wish of the British Government to abolish slavery everywhere," declaring "abolition in Texas . . . very desirable"), see William Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854* (New York, 1990), esp. 355–417. On British efforts in Hawaii, see Merze Tate, "Slavery and Racism as Deterrents to the Annexation of Hawaii, 1854–1855," *Journal of Negro History* 47, no. 1 (January 1962): 1–18.

⁷⁶ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 315.

phobia germinated.⁷⁷ It enjoyed one more spectacular airing before the war. In December 1859, after John Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, the assertion of British responsibility found a paladin in Virginia governor Henry A. Wise. Wise was the Old Dominion's premier antebellum politician. For decades he had denounced the "British Abolitionist-dissolutionist Party."⁷⁸ One of President James Buchanan's key allies, he made a bid for fame by interviewing the wounded Brown in jail and overseeing his trial. His slashing rhetoric following Brown's hanging opens a window into how Anglophobia helped forge secessionism and civil war.

On December 5, 1859, Wise told his legislature that England was to blame for Brown's raid: "this predatory war . . . has its seat in the British provinces, which furnish asylum for our fugitives, and send them and their hired outlaws upon us from depots and rendezvous in the bordering states."⁷⁹ This was a relatively measured statement, however impolitic it may have been diplomatically. In late December, however, he spoke at a tumultuous Richmond meeting to welcome two hundred medical students returning home to protest northern sympathy with Brown. He repeatedly roused the crowd with calls to war against the Massachusetts "fanatics" who had armed Brown. Then, however, Wise asserted that "The real groundwork of dissension in this country . . . is the foreign influence of Great Britain." Sensing his listeners' zest for war against the world's premier military power, Wise insisted that the fight "shall be carried north into Canada," for which he received "Tremendous applause." Finally, at the speech's climax, he put his anger against "Fred. Douglass" into lethally personal terms.

this negro has published his proclamation against Governor Wise. [Laughter and applause.] He has said that he has no idea of going back to New-York or Pennsylvania, for fear that Governor Wise, through Federal agents, will bag him. [Laughter.] I will never put my hemp in the form of a bag for him; it shall be in the shape of a rope. [Laughter.] . . . Fred. Douglass says that he is bound for England. Let him. Oh! If I had had one good, long, low, black, rakish, well-armed steamer in Hampton Roads, I would have placed her on the Newfoundland Banks with orders that if she found a British packet with that negro on board to take him. [Tremendous applause.] And by the eternal Gods he should have been taken, taken with very particular instructions not to hang him before I had the privilege of seeing him well-hung. [Laughter and applause.]

One can imagine the derision with which Douglass read this hyperbolic bloodlust, and it is clear that black people did read it, since in the weeks afterward, speakers at meetings in northern cities referred to Wise's speech with considerable glee.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ For Anglophobia as a popular phenomenon in the 1830s, see Leonard I. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (London, 1970), 62–71. The abolitionist Arthur Tappan became the "symbol of a well-planned British plot to destroy the American way of life" (65). Regarding the South, the chapter titled "From Anglophobia to New Anglophobia" in Kenneth Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), illuminates how "traditional Southern anxieties" about England "underwent a slow transformation into a fear of New England and the North" (108), becoming "perhaps the central . . . ingredient in the movement of Southern nationalism" (120).

⁷⁸ See Craig M. Simpson, *A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985). The quotation is from an 1842 congressional speech attacking Liberty Party presidential candidate James Birney.

⁷⁹ *New York Times*, December 6, 1859, a summary of Wise's address, reprinted from the *New-York Herald*.

⁸⁰ For instance, the New York activist Jeremiah Powers said at a January 1860 meeting: "Henry A.

After all, Wise was essentially accurate: the British *had* created an open border as a standing invitation for slaves to kill their masters and steal themselves. The British *had* allied with the most radical "New-Englandish" abolitionists to extol the slave's humanity against the master's depravity. They *did* shield terrorists—or, as Douglass and Tubman understood themselves, liberators. Indeed, the premise of Wise's speech was fantastic: he declared as self-evident fact the political alliance between a subhuman chattel and a power that bestrode the world. He announced his own impotence, a Negrophobia turned pathetic, reduced to fantasies of a dangling black man; no amount of phallic braggadocio about a "good, long, low, black, rakish, well-armed steamer" could conceal the fatuity of this saber-rattling. British power linked to John Brown's bloody sacrifice had forced the white South to recognize Frederick Douglass as an international political actor. Wise's speech thus underlines how white southerners agreed with David Walker: the British were the "best friends" of African Americans. With the advantage of thirty years, they accurately foresaw a state-mandated emancipation, as in the West Indies, and the indignity of their former slaves sitting in assemblies, ruling over them.⁸¹ We can dismiss Wise's theatrics, but their consequences were deadly: only sixty-four months later, Abraham Lincoln was cheered by slaves as, guarded by black troops, he walked through the smoking ruins of Wise's Richmond. Wise's opponent, the impudent Negro Fred. Douglass, played the same game of martial challenge, proclaiming that British power might settle accounts with the Slave Power. It was Douglass who had the last laugh.

IF POLITICAL DISCOURSE CAN BE USED to trace engagements, the years 1848–1855 were the apex of Anglophile politics among African Americans, when they and their white allies continually employed the trope of the British Lion sheltering the escaped slave from the talons of the American Eagle. In 1866, the black expatriate E. C. Cooper remembered "when men of my complexion used to come to Canada on a keen trot, by broad day light, when we used to love to sing of the lion's paw."⁸² This imagery had long been available. In 1841, the Reverend Amos Beman, addressing New York's Vigilance Committee, described slaves escaping "the American eagle—proud and cruel bird . . . may the poor victim escape and stand on free soil, and breathe free air by side of the British lion."⁸³ In 1844, Douglass had transfixed an audience by acting out the roles of Calhoun, Clay, and Daniel Webster in their confrontation with Britain over Texas. Years later, an admirer remembered "the bitter burlesque of the American Eagle, with the Secretary's missive tucked under his wing, pouncing down

Wise . . . when he was speaking of that great man—I mean the nigger, Frederick Douglass—I use the American term—(laughter) . . . he spoke of him as of any other man, because he knew the power of that man's argument, and his ability, and he quailed before it. He said if he had known what vessel Douglass was in he would have gone after him. It would have taken more soldiers than he had in the murder of John Brown to have induced him to have gone after Frederick Douglass. (Great applause.)" Quoted in the *Weekly Anglo-African*, January 28, 1860.

⁸¹ See Joe Bassette Wilkins, Jr., "Window on Freedom: The South's Response to the Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West Indies, 1833–1861" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1977), on the obsessive interest in Jamaica post-1834.

⁸² *The Christian Recorder*, May 12, 1866.

⁸³ *The Colored American*, May 22, 1841.

upon the British Lion, and screaming in his ears, 'not those words of mortal terror to the tyrant beast—all men are free and equal—so ruefully remembered . . . but—but—I want my niggers!'"⁸⁴

The eagle humbled by the lion may have been an oratorical commonplace, but after 1848, it moved into black vernacular culture via Joshua McCarter Simpson's popular ballads, such as "Away to Canada," sung to the tune of "Oh, Susannah," with its jaunty refrain

Farewell, old master!
That's enough for me—
I'm going straight to Canada,
Where colored men are free . . .⁸⁵

Finally, in 1854–1855, the celebration of "British freedom" became noticeably Hibernophobic after the pro-slavery Irish exile John Mitchel and his collaborators boasted of invading Canada. Douglass sneered that such foolery by "the Patricks and Fitzgeralds of this ridiculous movement" would "lead them into the jaws of the British Lion to be crushed without mercy . . . there are fugitive slaves enough in Canada, loyal subjects of their beloved Queen, to attend to any army that may be ordered in the neighborhood of their adopted home."⁸⁶

From 1856 on, however, African American polemicists rarely spoke of England chastening the Eagle. They had entered the endgame, with powerful potential friends at home—not a few anti-slavery Whigs, such as Senator William Seward or Representative Joshua Giddings, but the newly founded Republican Party. In this context, the British connection could easily become embarrassing. In Britain itself, solidarity also waned, as a new pseudoscientific racism came to the fore, using the endemic poverty of the West Indian freedpeople to debunk concerns for the slave.⁸⁷ As an organized force, British abolitionism was now largely spent, from the aging

⁸⁴ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 5, 1853, reprinting an article by "E." in *The National Era*. For representative uses of this trope, see Charles Lenox Remond's speech at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, *The North Star*, June 23, 1848; also letter in *ibid.*, August 11, 1848, describing black fugitives in Mercer County, Ohio ("a cheering onward to repose 'under the Mane of the British Lion,' attends"); *ibid.*, May 11, 1849, on Madison Washington in Canada, "nestled in the mane of the British Lion"; *ibid.*, September 28, 1849, on an "Indignation Meeting" of white abolitionists referring to "the jaws and paws of the British Lion"; *ibid.*, April 10, 1851, a letter ("God bless that lion! May her neck grow thick with mane for the slave to settle in"); *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, July 24, 1851, a letter from England ("The American Eagle . . . dares not attempt to seize them beneath the protection of the British Lion"); *ibid.*, October 2, 1851, another letter ("the British Lion still promises protection to those unfortunates"); *ibid.*, February 12, 1852, an angry letter to the *New York Herald*, on "why the colored people go to Canada . . . [they] feel themselves secure in life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness under the 'British Lion'"); *ibid.*, September 3, 1852, Douglass in Ontario ("We wished to see the men who . . . found protection in the mane of the British Lion"); *ibid.*, October 22, 1852, Douglass at the Massachusetts Free Democratic Convention ("Our citizens are compelled to fly from a Republic to a Monarchy for liberty . . . to the paw of the British Lion"); *ibid.*, March 11, 1853, Douglass's *roman à clef* about Madison Washington of *The Creole*, "The Heroic Slave, Part II" ("I nestle in the mane of the British lion, protected by his mighty paw"); *ibid.*, April 27, 1855, a letter from Australia ("a goodly number of our suffering brethren . . . [have] taken shelter under the lion's paw").

⁸⁵ Simpson was a well-known black poet who lived in Zanesville, Ohio, where he taught, preached, and ran a store. Vicki L. Eaklor, *American Antislavery Songs: A Collection and Analysis* (New York, 1988), 367–376, 384–388, 396–397, lists numerous songs about the Canadian refuge, including ten by Simpson, such as "Queen Victoria Conversing with Her Slave Children."

⁸⁶ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 14, 1855. Earlier, he baited Mitchel as a "monkey compared to a lion . . . too confident of his power to recognize his inferiority"; *ibid.*, April 21, 1854.

⁸⁷ Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-*

of its cadre and the muting of those class differences that propelled unifying reform efforts.⁸⁸ In addition, the British government sought a normalization of relations with the United States over longstanding conflicts, conceding an American sphere of influence in Central America, which resolved the most pressing diplomatic conflict.

At home, African Americans became less ready to listen to claims about the virtues of Canadian emigration as a permanent solution. At the Convention of the Colored Citizens of Massachusetts in August 1858, "Father" Josiah Henson, known as the real-life model for Stowe's Uncle Tom, was publicly chastised when he "thanked God he ever put foot on British soil" and suggested that others should join him. Charles Lenox Remond called such men "cowards, and time-servers, and apologists," while the lawyer Robert Morris, close to the state's Republican leaders, insisted that the time had come to stay and fight, as slavery "will be abolished by the strong arm."⁸⁹ It was not that African Americans repudiated their English friends. As late as the Prince of Wales's October 1860 visit to Boston, that city's "colored citizens" presented him with an address expressing their "profound and grateful attachment and respect for the Throne which you represent here, under whose shelter so many thousands of their race . . . find safety and rest."⁹⁰ But the importance of that asylum was fast receding. Douglass went to England only briefly after Harper's Ferry, and came back again.

On April 12, 1861, the newly organized armed forces of the Confederacy attacked the U.S. naval base at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, beginning the American Civil War. The tensions over Britain's pressing on America's borders were now anachronistic. Rather than Queen Victoria, African Americans evoked the body of John Brown, "mouldering in his grave." The Canadian refugees returned by the thousands to fight and enjoy their freedom. Few abolitionists bothered to cross the Atlantic; instead they began crisscrossing the northern states to recruit black troops once Lincoln opened that door in late 1862. An era had suddenly closed, as England itself divided over which side to support.⁹¹

WHAT MOTIVES CAN BE DIVINED for the Anglo-African American partnership? On one level, black Americans sought British public and governmental backing for obvious reasons; they shared the logic of all revolutionary movements, which seek external aid (a border, a source of funds, a diplomatic backer) merely to survive. However, the motives for British solidarity are not so evident. Why did a succession of Whig

Nineteenth Century (London, 1978), offers the most complete explanation for the waning of abolition and the philanthropic impulse.

⁸⁸ See R. J. M. Blackett, "Cracks in the Antislavery Wall: Frederick Douglass's Second Visit to England (1859-1860) and the Coming of the Civil War," in Rice and Crawford, *Liberating Sojourn*, 188-189, on the "disturbing signs of a loss of interest."

⁸⁹ *Liberator*, August 13, 1858.

⁹⁰ "Address of Colored Citizens of Boston to the Prince of Wales, October 18, 1860," quoted in Annie Heloise Abel and Frank J. Klingberg, eds., *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (Washington, D.C., 1927), 1 n. 1.

⁹¹ See R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, La., 2001), on how the anti-slavery consensus fell apart in the face of claims for southern self-determination.

and Tory ministries encourage a proliferation of black settlements in Canada, and an open border for runaways? Why did they shelter Douglass, Brown, and Tubman? Was their stated willingness to sustain a free-soil republic in Texas “sheerly ideological . . . sheerly moralistic,” a diplomatic *divertissement*, in William Freehling’s words?⁹²

Why British civil society developed first an abolitionist (seeking to end the slave trade) and then an emancipationist (seeking to end imperial slavery) consensus has long been debated.⁹³ But those arguments do not explain why the British government and public extended their emancipationist mission to the United States even before ending imperial slavery. Consider their options. The British could have freed their own slaves in the 1770s and, sixty years later, the vast numbers in their sugar colonies, but for reasons of state they still could have agreed to return American slaves who reached Canada. They could have discouraged the presence of American abolitionists, black and white, in Britain by refusing them entry, deporting them, banning their lectures, or publicly shunning them. There is no obvious reason why they worked for decades to prevent the Americans, Brazilians, and Cubans from obtaining as many slaves as they wanted. Turning a blind eye while proclaiming moral superiority has been common behavior in the history of the Great Powers. Indeed, this was the posture adopted by the British toward their white-supremacist settler colonies during colonialism’s Indian summer in Africa after World War I, and toward Anglo-Protestant settlers in Ireland over many centuries. The latter’s quasi-racial domination over indigenous Catholics underscores the selectivity of British humanitarianism. At the height of the British people’s sympathy for the slave, this same public was indifferent to the starvation of the neighboring Irish. The Irish peasantry died or emigrated, and most English people regarded their departures as “providential.”⁹⁴

While noting Britain’s ethical selectivity, we must avoid the urge to debunk, as such a comparison was the standard retort of those who justified slavery. No historian has explained why the world’s hegemon cast its eye upon the oppression of black Americans, yet there is little doubt that Walker, Douglass, and their associates accepted the British explanation at face value: they valued human liberty more than the “American Republicans” and had finally come to realize that slavery was singularly “inhumane and unjust,” in the language of British diplomats. The theme of redemption was always present. As the historian of British abolition John Seeley wrote in 1883, “we published our own guilt, repented of it, and did at last renounce it.”⁹⁵ Seeley’s declaration paralleled that of Samuel R. Ward in his 1855 *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro*. After many pages describing the marvelous condescension of Lords Argyll and Elgin, the Marquis of Cholmondeley, and “the noble Earl of Shaftesbury,” Ward trumpeted how “British hands had become red with the innocent

⁹² Freehling, *The Road to Disunion*, 399.

⁹³ See Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolition as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), with essays by David Brion Davis, Thomas L. Haskell, and John Ashworth; also Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, 1977), and Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1987).

⁹⁴ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (Harlow, 2000), 95: “large segments of British public, journalistic and government opinion regarded the famine as a heaven-sent opportunity to stamp out Irish laziness, ingratitude, violence and ignorance.”

⁹⁵ John R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, quoted in Brown, *Moral Capital*, 8.

blood of millions of slaves . . . oh, these darkest, most guilty pages of British history, are not easily to be forgotten!" He insisted that West Indian emancipation was hardly "fruits meet for repentance," and the English must seek "to counteract the effects of their own evil example, by something more than meekly emancipating their own slaves." After this bracing exhortation, however, Ward concluded on a note evoking Walker's *Appeal*: "They have sinned, and they have repented . . . The Negro in America looks to the Englishman as his friend. It is with his especial consent that the Englishman speaks in his behalf."⁹⁶ Hardly foolish enough to disparage powerful allies, Ward recognized that what ultimately matters in politics is facts, not intentions. He might question the obtuse character of British sympathies, but no one lost sight of its decisive effects.

Like the empire itself, however, such an effort hardly resulted from a fit of absentmindedness. Britain's conscious internationalization of abolition had two points of origin. It began with Britain's fortuitous self-discovery as a liberator of slaves during the American Revolution, which forged an informal coalition of politicians, agitators, colonial administrators, Black Loyalist leaders, and men such as Clarkson, Sharp, and Wilberforce. As Christopher L. Brown has explained, British elites learned from this crisis that potent stocks of "moral capital" could be salvaged from defeat, enabling a state and people to claim a psychological advantage, and perhaps future allies, since moral capital functions best as a promissory note. From that point on, the new United States' inability to repudiate slavery, signaled by the Constitution's pregnant silence on the subject, represented a moral deficit visibly counterposed to England's windfall.⁹⁷

In the post-Napoleonic era, when England's power reached its zenith, the British became skilled at replenishing this particular form of capital.⁹⁸ After 1815, and especially after 1833, British policies toward African Americans in Canada, on the high seas, and in England itself were an opportunity to demonstrate how their authority operated in all spheres—cultural, economic, military, diplomatic, even spiritual. Rather than simply providing a fund of moral capital, the British state and nation had the opportunity to do much good not merely *while*, but *through*, extending its dominance over the Atlantic world. Building on Britain's political-ethical investments, they turned the whole Atlantic into a British-run moral economy paralleling the extension of their political economy. In 1896, when Britain was still a world power, Du Bois caught the larger rationale of slave trade abolition: "the maritime supremacy of England, so successfully asserted during the Napoleonic wars, would, in case a Right of Search were granted, virtually make England the policeman of the seas."⁹⁹ Succoring African Americans was an ideal means to demonstrate the benevolent modernity of the imperial project, while reminding other nations that the empire's writ ran to their water's edge. British anti-slavery was thus a legitimating

⁹⁶ Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Antislavery Labours in the United States, Canada & England* (1855; repr., New York, 1968), 251, 291, 295, 300.

⁹⁷ Brown, *Moral Capital*.

⁹⁸ Matthew Mason, "The Battle of the Slaveholding Liberators: Great Britain, the United States, and Slavery in the Early Nineteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (July 2002): 665–696, demonstrates how battlefield emancipations in 1812–1814 exacerbated the competition to be "standard bearers of human liberation" (666), leading to angry diplomatic exchanges and a pamphlet war over whether England freed slaves at all.

⁹⁹ Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 136.

process, similar to post-imperial Mexico's friendship with the Cuban Revolution and patronage of Central American insurgents in the late twentieth century, or the Soviet Union's underwriting of anticolonial struggles from the 1920s to the 1980s, and the welcome extended to Cold War dissidents from the U.S., such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, and Angela Davis.

Explaining this version of British philanthropy also requires taking into account the deep sympathy for African Americans felt by millions of English people. The pressure applied to government by an aroused humanitarian public was key to the entire trajectory of liberal imperialism in the nineteenth century. As Andrew Porter shows, "questions about the ethics of economic exchange, the politics of equal rights or racial differences, and the purpose of Imperial power" were at the center of British politics. Abolitionists relied upon "a symbiotic relationship with Empire . . . [as] the sphere within which benevolent government action was most readily conceivable."¹⁰⁰ African Americans sought the same symbiosis, and their embrace of Britain's ideological imperatives from inside the belly of its rival was subversive at home while necessarily reinforcing the empire's claims. Given the disparity between a global state apparatus and a stateless, beleaguered political community, it could hardly have been otherwise. Indeed, it is remarkable that black American activists got as much as they did while maintaining their dignity.

A final verdict on how African Americans viewed this relationship was given by the Reverend William Newby at a black state convention in California in 1856. Newby spoke out strongly against a pro forma resolution affirming the delegates' willingness to defend the United States in wartime, pointing out its illogic, given the likely enemy:

England has done her duty towards us; she has abolished slavery in her colonies, and is doing what she can to destroy the system from the earth . . . her example, her influence is on the side of freedom. Would we, could we do battle against England? There is in men an innate sense of justice—we feel it; let us not stultify ourselves. I trust the resolution will not be adopted.¹⁰¹

This formulation, redolent of Admiral Nelson's foredeck at Trafalgar—"England has done her duty towards us"—articulates a modern understanding of the correct posture for white colonizing nations toward those of African descent. It suggests the terms of a mutually satisfactory bargain between peoples materially unequal but politically sovereign. The British were defined not as patrons but simply as one side of a partnership, as "friends" in the archaic sense that Walker meant. By the time Newby spoke, that bargain had run its course, and it had paid off for both partners. It provided a platform for an emerging black political class as the Union collapsed, part of a larger revolutionary dynamic within which African-descended people were always actors as much as they were acted upon, a fact made evident by the British Lion's welcoming embrace.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Porter, "Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism," in Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 3: *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 198, 204.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, vol. 4: *The United States, 1847–1858* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 357.

THERE ARE LARGER HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS to this narrative mixing national and racial self-interest, personal and political opportunism, and spectacles of high-minded vindication, on both sides of the Atlantic. The relationship between African American abolitionists and the British Empire suggests a deep continuity in the politics of the United States since its, or their, founding. If we understand the republic's formation between 1790 and 1860 as fundamentally postcolonial, it becomes impossible to tell a strictly "national" story of American politics, any more than one could of Ireland or India. Yet over several generations, the historiography of the early republic has traced a self-contained, ever-expanding continental polity upon which was briefly intruded, treating "the nation as hermetically sealed, territorially self-contained, or internally undifferentiated."¹⁰² Focused on the rise of the world's first mass democracy, it has minimized how the American state was embedded in larger processes, including the Canadian staging ground for black refugees and revolutionaries; how black abolitionists were embraced in the British Isles, so at odds with how they were mobbed in the American North; and how policymaking and partisan contestation were fueled by popular *ressentiment* of the former imperial master, including memories of Britain's military emancipations in two wars. Including these subjects will require that we finally give up the mythos of an organic state-nation fully formed in 1789, especially given that, until the Union victory in 1865, the U.S. was more a confederation of semi-sovereign statelets, each jealously regulating its own "State citizenship," than a genuine *national* state in the modern sense.¹⁰³

As men such as David Walker clearly understood, from the 1790s on, American domestic politics were driven largely by the currents of the larger Atlantic world. Americans were emphatically "Atlanticist" when the vagaries of Europe's wars and the Haitians' defeat of a French expeditionary army in 1802–1804 brought Jefferson the windfall of the Louisiana Purchase; they were even more so when Jefferson's futile trade embargo of 1806–1808 demonstrated that any market-based economy along the U.S. seaboard was reliant on European ships, shippers, and buyers. But the largest reason why the United States could never isolate itself was that its vaunted revolution had stalled at the outset. As Gary Nash has argued in *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*, creole republicans in the U.S. had the opportunity to rid themselves of slavery circa 1787–1794, as the Revolution institutionalized itself. In an overdetermined loss of nerve, they failed, primarily because the southern states demonstrated their willingness to block any national functioning if their peculiar political economy was threatened. The possibility of a truly egalitarian republic disappeared in that moment, as it was plantation slavery on a vast scale, filling the new southwestern territories with a million chattels in a Second

¹⁰² Bender, "Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives," 3.

¹⁰³ One notes that before the Civil War, the word "state" itself was always capitalized when referring to a specific polity. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, powerfully historicizes the contested character of citizenship and thus state formation in the early republic, as an antidote to the continuing influence of nationalist histories. See also Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York, 1982), 163, for the argument that the largest consequence of Reconstruction, "the substance of its historic task," was "asserting the supremacy of the national state" in "an enterprise of national unification."

Middle Passage, that led the United States' development after 1800.¹⁰⁴ That failure meant that black Americans, enslaved and free, would occupy a central place in U.S. politics despite all efforts to deny their existence. Their physical presence, whether as millions of slaves or as a free people of color that grew from sixty thousand in 1790 to almost half a million by 1860, constituted a permanent "entering wedge" of national vulnerability. The British Empire twice demonstrated its willingness to arm slaves so as to intimidate their masters, and there was no reason to think that it would not do so again. Indeed, the lethal combination of British power and black troops was a part of every American's political imaginary. In early 1840, Calhoun pushed a resolution through the Senate threatening Britain for its refusal to pay compensation for slaves freed from American ships. Disgusted, Judge William Jay, an eminent abolitionist and the son of John Jay, scoffed in a letter to James G. Birney, the Liberty Party's presidential candidate, that Calhoun "knows as well as you and I, that we are not going to war in their support. He and every slaveholder, bluster as they may, dread a war with G. Britain, for they cannot forget the black regiments of Canada and the West Indies."¹⁰⁵

Instead of war, however, Great Britain authorized, fostered, or tolerated multiple pressure points aimed at this fault line in the U.S. polity. Solidarity with African Americans became an effective, safe way to remind the fractious Americans of British power. Further, it suggested that the Revolution was no revolution at all, but merely a misguided colonial secession. During the seventy years prior to the Civil War, from the perspective of African Americans and their British allies, that was a reasonable argument; historians of the United States will have to recognize its force, to acknowledge the deeply contingent character of the American Revolution, indeed of all American democratic development.

¹⁰⁴ See Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), for an especially acute analysis of this fundamental shift in the direction of slavery hard on the heels of the Revolution.

¹⁰⁵ Jay to Birney, April 20, 1840, in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831–1857*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966), 1: 559.

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AHR Forum
**The General Crisis of the
Seventeenth Century Revisited**

Introduction

Few historical controversies have been as prolonged, wide-ranging, and fruitful as the debate over “the crisis of the seventeenth century.” Initiated by Eric Hobsbawm in a pair of articles appearing in consecutive issues of *Past and Present* in 1954, the theme was picked up by Hugh Trevor-Roper in his rejoinder in the same journal in 1959, and then became the focus of a series of articles by several other historians, again in *Past and Present*, in 1960. But the debate soon transcended the confines of that esteemed journal. Indeed, for the next two decades and more, the seventeenth-century crisis was a staple of research, publishing, and debate among historians across the Western world, and virtually dominated the reading lists of several generations of graduate students in European history. The appeal of this debate was both in the capaciousness of its themes and in the way it managed to touch on so many profound issues, not only in early modern European history but in history *tout court*. The emergence of capitalism, the development of the modern state, the history of revolts and rebellions, population growth, price history, the question of unequal development—these are just some of the subjects that fell within its purview. In addition, the crisis debate drew upon and stimulated some of the best and most interesting new developments in historical methodology, coming from such disparate quarters as British Marxism, historical sociology, the Annales school, the new social history of the 1960s, modernization theory, historical demography, and world systems studies. No wonder the discussion attracted the attention not only of virtually all students of European history but of those across the historical profession as well.

This *AHR* Forum takes a look back at the crisis debate and offers several perspectives on its history, its import, and its contemporary relevance. In the introductory essay, “Crisis, Chronology, and the Shape of European Social History,” Jonathan Dewald surveys its roots and development, taking us from well before the crisis debate proper emerged, to the subsequent fragmentation that undermined its conceptual unity, to more recent attempts to expand and update the notion of a crisis of transition in a globally expanding Europe. He emphasizes both the variety of approaches and the historiographical perspectives that structured the debate, but he also reminds us of the core terms of modernity and economic development that guided the discussion. In “Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered,” Geoffrey Parker, who was one of the participants in the crisis debate, adds a global dimension to the discussion, arguing that climate

change supplies the necessary condition for understanding the crisis conditions in many parts of the world. He ends his article with some suggestive comments on the lessons that might be learned today from how people in the seventeenth century reacted to climatic hardship. In the first of two comments, "Locating Linkages or Painting Bull's-Eyes around Bullet Holes? An East Asian Perspective on the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," Michael Marmé both raises questions about the comparative and analytical aspects of the crisis literature and offers empirical evidence regarding the particular experiences of Japan and China in the period. Finally, J. B. Shank takes issue with the concept of "crisis" itself. His critique, "Crisis: A Useful Category of Post-Social Scientific Historical Analysis?" raises fundamental questions about how historians have, often unthinkingly, deployed the term and suggests how it might be understood in more properly historical ways.

AHR Forum
Crisis, Chronology, and the Shape of
European Social History

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IT REQUIRES NO SPECIAL HISTORICAL THEORY to view the seventeenth century—with its wars, assassinations, plagues, and rebellions—as an age of plural crises. But it is another story to speak of these multiple events as somehow linked, manifestations of a single European or even global crisis. Locating such linkages and defining their nature have been the central issues in debate over “the general crisis of the seventeenth century,” a discussion that began some seventy years ago and remains lively today. Astonishingly lively, in fact: a recent bibliography lists ninety-nine works on the topic, the earliest from 1954, and twenty-four of them have appeared since 1990.¹

Why this startling longevity? One approach to that question is to examine how ideas about a seventeenth-century crisis have functioned within two historiographical traditions: on the one hand, that deriving from Anglo-American social science, Marxist and non-Marxist alike; on the other, that associated with the French *Annales* school. Of course, these are only two of the numerous forms that historical thought has taken over the last century, but each has had a disproportionately powerful influence on historical practices worldwide, suggesting research topics and methods that historians in a variety of other circumstances have taken up. The idea of a general crisis played an important role in the development of each tradition; and in each it has resisted disappearing “into the limbo of forgotten historiography” (H. G. Koenigsberger’s prediction for it in 1984) because it raises basic issues about the history of Europe and of the wider world. At the center of the debate are questions about preconditions for Europe’s eighteenth- and nineteenth-century successes, notably its industrialization and imperial expansion. What happened in earlier years, the participants have been asking, to position Europe for the global domination it would enjoy into the mid-twentieth century? The concept of a seventeenth-century crisis has endured, in short, less because of what it says about specific events in the early modern period than as an effort to understand European modernity, economic, po-

This essay has benefited immensely from the careful reading and thoughtful suggestions of André Burguière, Paul Monod, Michel Nassiet, Geoffrey Parker, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*. An earlier version was presented at the Maison des Sciences Humaines of the University of Angers.

¹ Philip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann, eds., *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability* (Newark, Del., 2005), 25–30. A list of all the works relevant to the question of crisis would of course be far longer. For a thorough and insightful analysis of the debate from 1954 to about 1970, despite the authors’ Marxist terminology, see Miroslav Hroch and Josef Petrán, *Das 17. Jahrhundert—Krise der Feudalgesellschaft?* trans. Eliska and Ralph Melville (Hamburg, 1981), 11–61.

litical, and cultural. Partly for that reason, the debate constituted an early and forceful stimulus for Europeanists to think in global terms and to compare Europe's experiences with those of other regions.²

THE IDEA ITSELF EMERGED HESITANTLY in the 1930s, a moment when historians could well be expected to interest themselves in past crises. In 1932, the Frenchman Paul Hazard—a specialist in comparative literature—spoke of a seventeenth-century “crisis of the European mind”; he meant primarily a crisis among intellectuals, although he saw its effects extending beyond them. In 1938, the American historian Roger Merriman devoted a book to the political revolutions of the century's middle years, and he referred explicitly to the topic's contemporary implications. “Is the ‘world revolution,’ of which we hear so much, an imminent probability?” he asked, in light of the comparative data that he had assembled. He thought not, and his book stressed differences among the revolutions that he considered rather than their similarities.³

But these were essentially harbingers, and real debate began only in the more settled conditions that followed World War II. In 1954, the historian Roland Mousnier, soon to be an important influence at the Sorbonne, made crisis a central theme in his general history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Having reviewed the combination of political, social, and cultural upheavals that marked the period, Mousnier concluded that “the century was mere trouble, agitation, chaos. Europe's societies seemed to be headed toward anarchy, dissolution, the abyss.” Mousnier's crisis was thus essentially negative, a breakdown of social and political order, from which the continent was rescued by the strong governments that emerged after 1650.⁴

Far more influential, partly because they offered a more complex view of societal disruption and its consequences, were two articles from the same year by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm, in the fifth and sixth issues of the fledgling journal *Past and Present*. These extended the discussion to economic and social history, arguing that the seventeenth century's apparent chaos should be understood as a single, transformative social crisis, a crisis that crossed national boundaries and touched varied domains of life. Writing partly in response, five years later Hugh Trevor-Roper focused mainly on politics, but he too suggested the underlying unities of the century's chaotic events, and hence the suitability of labeling them a “general crisis.” With Trevor-Roper's article, debate over the general crisis was officially launched. In the following year, *Past and Present* invited several other distinguished specialists to discuss whether such a crisis existed and what its nature might be; and over the following decades, further commentary and research accumulated. Why the mid-

² H. G. Koenigsberger, “The Crisis of the 17th Century: A Farewell?” in Koenigsberger, *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (London, 1986), 149–168, 149.

³ Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne (1680–1715)*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1935); Hazard had published what he termed “various fragments” of the work in two literary reviews, in 1932 and 1933 (*ibid.*, 1: 6 n. 1). Roger Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Oxford, 1938), 209. Geoffrey Parker has pointed to earlier intimations of crisis, starting in the seventeenth century itself.

⁴ Roland Mousnier, *Les XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Les progrès de la civilisation européenne et le déclin de l'orient (1492–1715)* (Paris, 1954), 207, 208.

1950s and early 1960s proved to be such “unusually crisis-conscious” years is a question that will require consideration at a later point.⁵

What can such discussions matter to twenty-first-century readers? An important recent work suggests that there are still real issues at stake, and that these concern Europe’s contributions to global modernity. Jonathan Israel’s recent reinterpretation of the Enlightenment argues that this period in fact represented a key turning point in human history. Despite the upheavals of the sixteenth century, he writes, the Renaissance and Reformation constituted “really only adjustments, modifications to what was essentially still a theologically conceived and ordered regional society, based on hierarchy and ecclesiastical authority, not universality and equality.” European thinking was transformed only by what he describes as “the unprecedented turmoil which commenced in the mid-seventeenth century.” Ultimately, he suggests, that period produced “one of the most important shifts in the history of man.” Nor were these changes limited to intellectual life; Israel pursues them into the domains of politics, social interactions, and gender relations. In its unabashedly teleological framing, Israel’s argument points to an essential element underlying many discussions of the seventeenth century. As he describes it, the mid-seventeenth century witnessed the birth of global modernity—the crisis was truly general, and truly a turning point on Europe’s path to the present.⁶

Although his specific subject matter was different, in his 1954 articles Hobsbawm expressed a teleology akin to Israel’s. He too sought to understand the emergence of European practices that eventually would dominate the world, and he too saw their origins in the mid-seventeenth century. It was then, he wrote, that “the fundamental obstacles in the way of capitalist development disappeared.” His real concern, he added five years later in response to Trevor-Roper, was with Europe’s long-term development, rather than with the seventeenth century. “If there is any revolution with which my articles were concerned, it is the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century, on whose genesis I wished them to throw some light.” His answers stressed the role of English capitalism. “We both agree,” he added—“it is scarcely possible not to—that what happened in England was crucial for the subsequent development of an industrialised world economy. Britain was, after all, the basis from which the world was subsequently revolutionized, and the changes it underwent in the seventeenth century were far more profound than those which took place among its rivals.” The seventeenth century was the key moment in this history, Hobsbawm argued, because England then became the world’s first bourgeois society. Earlier, it had resembled other European countries. Thereafter it was unique, and

⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm, “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century,” *Past and Present* 5 (May 1954): 33–53; Hobsbawm, “The Crisis of the 17th Century—II,” *ibid.* 6 (November 1954): 44–65; H. R. Trevor-Roper, “The General Crisis of the 17th Century,” *ibid.* 16 (November 1959): 31–64. The phrase quoted is J. H. Elliott’s, looking back fifteen years after the controversy began; “Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe,” in Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 92–113, 92. For Elliott’s more recent reflections on the debate, see his “The General Crisis in Retrospect: A Debate without End,” in Benedict and Gutmann, *Early Modern Europe*, 31–51. Most of the articles from the first generation of debate are conveniently available in Trevor Aston, ed., *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660* (Garden City, N.Y., 1967).

⁶ Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), quotations from 17, 14, vi. In 1975, Theodore Rabb pointed out the value of using the term “crisis” in this specific way, as referring not just to hard times, but to a genuine turning point; see Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1975).

important consequences followed from that uniqueness. With bourgeois values firmly in place, it could provide a suitable environment for capitalism and an eventual technological breakthrough.⁷

Although his main concern was social change, Hobsbawm did not neglect political events. The string of rebellions that marked the mid-seventeenth century allowed him to define the crisis as a precise historical moment, but they also confirmed his belief that societal transformation could be detected by its political manifestations. Creating a bourgeois society, he suggested, was bound up with conflict, for new societal formations emerged at the expense of older ones. The process produced winners, losers, and conflicts over resources.

Hobsbawm wrote as an enthusiastic Marxist, and in later years he would emphasize the close connections between his scholarly and political commitments. These help to explain an irony that attended 1950s discussions of the seventeenth century: a debate that significantly shaped the emerging field of early modern studies was initiated by a modernist, who had little interest in the seventeenth century for its own sake. In fact, having launched the debate, Hobsbawm withdrew from it almost completely. He has devoted the remainder of a prolific career to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, producing a series of important books that cover world history up to the present, without ever returning to the early modern period. His recently published memoirs recount as well his close attention to political movements around the world and his interest in twentieth-century popular music, but make no mention of his contribution to early modern history.⁸

Their Marxist language and antecedents already gave Hobsbawm's arguments a dated quality in the mid-1960s, as the crisis debate turned increasingly toward questions of politics and culture, and so also did the muted Anglo-centrism that survived in his argument, despite his efforts to widen the profession's vision. Pushed partly by the events of 1956, partly by changes within the profession itself, historians had already begun questioning the frameworks within which Hobsbawm worked. With the events of 1989 and the rightward drift over the last generation of European academic culture, his commitments seem still more distant, as he himself has noted. But it is also important to recognize the resemblances between Hobsbawm's claims and those of other social science traditions; despite the political tensions of the early 1950s, an era of vigorous anti-communism in both Britain and the United States, Marxists and non-Marxists shared important assumptions and methods. As Hobsbawm put it, years later, "in spite of patent ideological differences and Cold War polarization, the various schools of historiographic modernizers were going the same way and fighting the same adversaries—and they knew it."⁹

As a first point of resemblance, Hobsbawm's belief in linkages between social change and political crisis was shared by almost all branches of Western social science. From the outset, this mode of thought displayed, as Bjorn Wittrock puts it, "a

⁷ E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," in Aston, *Crisis in Europe*, 31; Hobsbawm, "Trevor-Roper's 'General Crisis,'" *Past and Present* 18 (November 1960): 12.

⁸ Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (New York, 2002). Hobsbawm's thinking about these issues was heavily influenced by the Marxist economist Maurice Dobb, with whom he associated closely during his time at Cambridge University; as examples of Dobb's thinking, see his *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (London, 1946), 14, 12, 185, 186.

⁹ Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times*, 127, 288.

continuous sense of crisis,” a by-product of the circumstances of its birth in the early nineteenth century. Its founders had watched revolution around them, and took for granted its presence in the modernization process. The same was true of their mid-twentieth-century intellectual heirs. In 1968, developing his “theory of modernization,” for instance, the influential liberal American sociologist Neil Smelser took as obvious that “traditional standards are among the most intransigent obstacles to modernization; and when they are threatened, serious dissatisfaction and opposition to the threatening agents arise.” As a result, there was a high “probability that periods of early modernization will erupt into explosive outburst,” often involving political rebellions. In the mid-twentieth century, Marxists were not alone in thinking that significant social change required violence, or that the benefits of long-term economic development would outweigh the costs paid in political disruption.¹⁰

Likewise, Hobsbawm shared with liberal contemporary social scientists a vision of modernization as a fundamentally unitary process. Different societies, it was understood, might experience this process in specific ways, but all of them were expected to undergo parallel change in a variety of domains, extending from intimate personal relations to politics and economic organization. As Smelser put it, “as a society develops, its social structure becomes more complex . . . This principle is clear enough in the case of the economic division of labor. But . . . rapid social development involves the same increasing complexity of structure in other institutions as well—in education, religion, politics, the family, and so on.” This essentially structural vision of societal change found its way even into scholarship that resisted modernization theory. In 1963, for instance, Clifford Geertz explained “agricultural involution” in Indonesia as involving an “increasing tenacity of basic pattern,” which “increasingly pervaded the whole rural economy.” The system’s pervasiveness ensured that “the transition to modernism, never a painless process,” would be especially difficult. Modernization, social structure, and crisis supplied mid-twentieth-century social thought with its basic conceptual apparatus.¹¹

Given these widely shared views about how societies hold together and how they change, it is not surprising that the idea of social crisis reappeared in a variety of non-Marxist historical writing on the seventeenth century. Lawrence Stone’s *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641*, from 1965, offered a modernization narrative much like what Smelser proposed. “It is between 1560 and 1640, and more precisely between 1580 and 1620, that the real watershed between medieval and modern England must be placed,” he wrote, adding a long list of the specific changes that this transition brought to English politics, economics, psychology, and knowledge. Also like Smelser, Stone linked societal transition to violence. As it reconfigured its tools of social control, the English nobility found itself unable to respond to challenges

¹⁰ Bjorn Wittrock, “Early Modernities: Varieties and Transitions,” *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 19–40; Neil Smelser, *Essays in Sociological Explanation* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 140, 145. For an excellent overview of the modernization idea and its cultural context, see Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore, Md., 2003). The best-known example of this mode of thought was Walt W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 1960), which attracted an enormous readership both within the university and outside it.

¹¹ Smelser, *Essays*, 78–79; Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 82.

from other social groups. The result was civil war and a long aftermath of political instability before the modern order came to prevail late in the century.¹²

A decade later, in *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750*, Jan de Vries likewise made crisis the organizing concept for a long stretch of European economic history, and he defined it in terms that Hobsbawm could easily have endorsed. Although industrialization came only later, the “age of crisis” was necessary to change the rules of European economic life. Increasing the supply of Europe’s productive resources “could not be accomplished without altering the very structure of the society, for they were hidden in an economy of households, villages, and economically autonomous market towns and small administrative cities. Primarily labor, but also foodstuffs, raw materials, and capital had to be liberated from this bound, localized economy to be marshaled for use in the larger-scale regional and international economies.” The seventeenth century’s harsh conditions—its wars, soaring taxation, bankruptcies, and famines—did the job. The eighteenth century could advance in fundamentally new directions, with market-driven labor and large agrarian enterprises, sufficiently capitalized to supply the needs of a growing non-agricultural population. Liberal economic history here taught the same empirical lessons as its Marxist rival, although the moral implications were perhaps rather different.¹³

LIKE THEIR BRITISH COUNTERPARTS, French scholars in the postwar period inherited complicated ideas about the seventeenth century. Until well into the twentieth century, most French historians viewed the period in mainly positive terms. Voltaire had described it as one of the great ages of human history, and many nineteenth-century scholars agreed. The socialist professor Jean Jaurès and Lucien Febvre, co-founder of the journal *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*, both believed that only the advent of seventeenth-century rationalism, starting with Descartes, had ended the intellectual chaos that darkened previous eras; these Cartesian tools allowed European society to move on to the conquest of nature. More traditionally minded historians, of course, celebrated as well the grandeur of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, which they saw as having laid the foundations for contemporary France. The journal *XVIIe Siècle*, newly founded in 1949, expressed these ideas in its governmental charter; it proclaimed “that the seventeenth century was not only one of the summits of French civilization and, because of its influence, of world civilization, but also offers contemporary society still-precious and constantly renewed lessons.”¹⁴

But during the first decades of the twentieth century, the historical sociologist and economist François Simiand laid out a very different way of thinking about the period. Simiand came to have enormous influence on those scholars who were seeking to establish a new social history in France, partly because he was an early critic of historical study as practiced in the French universities. Already in 1898 he had at-

¹² Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), 15–17. For Stone’s somewhat later overview of the crisis literature, see his “The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” in Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston, 1981), 133–144.

¹³ Jan de Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750* (Cambridge, 1976), 3.

¹⁴ I discuss these modes of thought in *Lost Worlds: The Emergence of French Social History, 1815–1970* (University Park, Pa., 2006) (the title of Febvre’s journal, of course, would evolve over the following decades, to the current *Annales, histoire, sciences sociales*); *XVIIe Siècle* 1, no. 1 (1949): inside cover.

tacked conventional narrative history, calling for a history that would address questions raised by social science and thus contribute to illuminating contemporary social phenomena. Views such as these made Simiand especially influential among the *Annales* group of historians, who from the 1920s on likewise pushed for the development of social history. Eventually he and Febvre taught together at the Collège de France; he was also close to Maurice Halbwachs, another *Annales* collaborator.¹⁵

From 1930 to 1932, in a series of courses, Simiand offered what would prove to be an immensely influential reading of early modern economic history. He began by reviewing the data that historians had assembled on prices across western Europe from the sixteenth century forward. From these, he concluded that prices moved in accord throughout the region, despite differences in political and social organization. Second, he detected a broad pattern within these coherent price data: he saw long periods—lasting about a century—of rising prices, followed by equal periods of stable or declining prices. These “phases,” as he termed them, brought qualitative as well as quantitative changes to the European economies. During times of rising prices (phase A), producers profited. Consumers were eager to buy their goods, knowing that these would only become more expensive in the future. The opposite conditions prevailed in phase B, when prices turned downward, but by this point economic actors had accustomed themselves to a certain level of prosperity, and they fought to preserve it. Hence phases of declining prices brought organizational and technological innovation, for producers could defend their situations only by selling more, at lower prices. Those times “required the diffusion of better utilization of human labor, of raw materials . . . Even if some improved productivity was achieved, or might have been achieved, in earlier periods, only in this period did [new techniques] of necessity become generalized.” Both phases played important roles in Europe’s economic development. Phases of rising prices generated profits and expectations; the ensuing phases of decline enforced efficiency and innovation.¹⁶

Simiand located the first turning point from a phase A to a phase B in European history precisely in the mid-seventeenth century, and he found there just the sorts of structural changes that his theory predicted. From 1650 on, he argued, governments across the continent found themselves suddenly unable to raise sufficient revenues for their international ambitions; new attention was given to economic issues, as contemporaries sought to make sense of their new circumstances; in the countryside, a dramatic consolidation of properties took place, with the wealthy buying out working peasants; in the manufacturing sector, there took place both a concentration of firms and a diffusion of new techniques, as long-familiar methods suddenly acquired economic pertinence. Simiand did not use the term “crisis” to describe this collection of changes. Indeed, although he wrote during the depression of the 1930s, he tended to view moments such as the mid-seventeenth century as

¹⁵ François Simiand, *Le salaire, l'évolution sociale et la monnaie: Essai de théorie expérimentale du salaire, introduction et étude globale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1932), 1: xi; Simiand, *Méthode historique et sciences sociales*, ed. Marina Cedronio (Montreux, 1987), 99–265, provides a selection of his most important comments on history, including his critique of the historical manual published by Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, a favored target also of *Annales* historians. Simiand dedicated his most famous work to Halbwachs, who in turn served on the first editorial board of the *Annales*; Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, *Correspondance*, ed. Bertrand Müller, 3 vols. (Paris, 1994–2003), 1: xix, xxvii.

¹⁶ François Simiand, *Recherches anciennes et nouvelles sur le mouvement général des prix du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1932), 550.

essentially positive, necessary steps in what he termed “the general consolidated advance of economic results.”¹⁷

What, then, caused so fundamental a change? Strikingly, given his own socialist sympathies, Simiand attached almost no importance to class conflicts, and he described technological change as a secondary phenomenon, the result of changing prices rather than their cause. For Simiand, the cycle of long-term price change itself constituted the unmoved mover of the economic system; and that cycle was governed by exogenous, even accidental, forces, which brought either rapid or slow growth to Europe’s money supply. The arrival of American silver in the sixteenth century supplied the motive force for the long sixteenth century’s monetary expansion. The fall-off of silver imports in the seventeenth century reversed that effect, before new monetary events intervened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁸

Simiand thus offered French social historians an array of powerful ideas about the chronology of Europe’s development, about causation in history, and about the nature of historical research itself. These ideas, moreover, came in the form of apparently pure social science, without visible ideological baggage. Themselves proponents of lofty ideas of scientific history, Febvre and his colleague Marc Bloch—the other co-founder of the *Annales*—listened closely. In the late 1920s and 1930s, as they finally succeeded in establishing their journal, Febvre and Bloch repeatedly sought Simiand’s collaboration; and stimulated by his example, even before the journal’s first issue they planned their own collective inquiry into the history of prices. Bloch also wrote a lengthy review of Simiand’s major work on the history of French salaries. The review emphasized the book’s significance for early modern studies, drawing attention to 1650 as a turning point and underlining the changes that it brought: Simiand’s phases, wrote Bloch, “rise to the dignity of periods in economic life,” and the phases of stagnant prices were especially important, for they constituted the “periods of vigorous mutation.” “One can no longer be tempted to doubt, I believe, that a rhythm of alternating long waves dominated French—even European—economic evolution from the end of the fifteenth century onward . . . Henceforth anyone studying a fragment of that history— . . . in particular, the vicissitudes of rural society—will have to hold fast to the guiding thread that M. Simiand has provided us.”¹⁹

In France, as in England, Bloch’s comments show, ideas about a seventeenth-century crisis grew up in close connection with the idea of social history itself. The conjunction was especially visible in the development of the primary journal of French social history, the *Annales*, just as discussions of the seventeenth century were to figure in the development of the British *Past and Present*. This early association meant that already before World War II, French social historians viewed 1650 as a turning point—not merely as an economic downturn, but rather as a moment of

¹⁷ Simiand, *Le salaire*, xvii.

¹⁸ On Simiand’s politics, see Marina Cedronio, “Présentation,” in Simiand, *Méthode historique et sciences sociales*, 3–37, 5.

¹⁹ Bloch and Febvre, *Correspondance*, 1: 82; Bloch, “Le salaire et les fluctuations économiques à longue période,” *Revue historique* 173 (January–June 1934): 1–31, 17, 18, 30. It should be noted that Simiand’s treatment of rural economic change rested almost entirely on Bloch’s own scholarship; conversely, it should also be noted that Bloch’s overview included important critical queries, especially concerning Simiand’s insistence that the money supply was an autonomous historical force rather than a response to the economy’s changing need for monetary instruments.

structural change, whose effects remained visible in their own times. Simiand's example and the enthusiasm for it of Febvre and Bloch also suggested research programs that would fill in the details in his chronological sketch.

As a result, the history of money and prices assumed startling importance in postwar French historical research, and so also did a broad approach to the seventeenth century. The first great *Annales* school work to appear after the war, Fernand Braudel's 1949 study of the Mediterranean, framed its questions in the terms that Simiand had established. Of the seventeenth century's economic history, he asked, "is it—as I have repeatedly asked in this investigation—that the whole world, Mediterranean included, was falling headlong into that astonishing backward movement that the seventeenth century was to bring? Can François Simiand have possibly been correct?" In keeping with this awareness of Simiand's schemas, Braudel included in his study a long investigation of money and prices. But his conclusions differed from Simiand's in one important respect. Whereas Simiand had stressed the creative results of seventeenth-century deflation, Braudel instead saw "chasms" opening up between rich and poor across Europe; "the seventeenth century would show in the full light of day the incurable wounds" that this social differentiation had created.²⁰

In the mid-1950s, Pierre and Huguette Chaunu's investigation of Spanish commerce with the Americas, in the *Annales*-sponsored publication series "Money, Prices, and Conjuncture," likewise demonstrated Simiand's powerful influence. The Chaunus found a drop in the importation of precious metals from New Spain roughly where Simiand had predicted; like him, they viewed precious metals as an autonomous variable, whose diminishing quantities brought stagnant prices to seventeenth-century Europe. Reflecting on this work twenty years after its appearance, Pierre Chaunu noted that under Simiand's influence, "we all were narrowly monetarist, even bullionist, back then." Yet if the engine of change was monetary, for the Chaunus its effects touched all elements of human life. Their ambition, they wrote, was to show the extent to which "prices, merchandise . . . , business, interactions of groups with one another and with the State . . . , more or less everything human obeyed the obscure rhythms of the economic cycle." In developing this argument, furthermore, the Chaunus explicitly emphasized an idea that for the most part had remained implicit in Simiand: European history could not be understood in merely European terms. Instead, they sought to show, what happened in Europe derived directly from social processes taking place in the Americas.²¹

Given this background, French social historians were prepared to welcome Hobsbawm's vision of a turning point coming in the mid-seventeenth century, and indeed Frédéric Mauro praised Hobsbawm's efforts in a long review in the *Annales*. On the other hand, Mauro also noted that there were "not enough numbers" in

²⁰ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), 660. Braudel retained these formulations in the second edition of his book, which appeared in 1966. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972), 2: 756.

²¹ Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Amérique aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris, 1977), 11; Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504–1650)*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1955–1959), 1: 22–23. For an especially helpful overview of the Chaunus' work, see J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1970), 68–70.

Hobsbawm's discussion, and that Hobsbawm had failed to pay attention to "the role of money and credit . . . Let us not forget that the asphyxiation of the seventeenth century was due above all" to monetary forces. If Mauro's comments demonstrated French receptiveness to Hobsbawm's arguments, they also showed the force of a specifically French vision of the seventeenth century, a vision that emphasized monetary patterns and questioned the significance of class differences and conflicts. Despite much goodwill on each side, these remained alien historical cultures.²²

But French historical culture would undergo a significant redirection in the very next year, with the appearance of Pierre Goubert's *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis*. The work almost immediately came to dominate French historical thinking about the seventeenth century, and indeed Goubert opened it by proclaiming that "it is the seventeenth century itself that is the subject matter, the heart of the inquiry." Very much in keeping with the problematic that Simiand had established, Goubert devoted much of his book to tracing commodity prices from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries. He too found a shift, which he dated to the 1630s, from a long period of rising prices to one of decline; and he made explicit his debt to Simiand, speaking of "those great human respirations that are phase A and phase B." In its main contours, Goubert's seventeenth century still resembled Simiand's.²³

But Goubert gave this picture a specific coloration, which significantly changed its meaning. First, he dropped altogether the stress on economic innovation that marked Simiand's account. For Goubert, the broad decline in prices that began in the mid-seventeenth century constituted only a sign of economic trouble, characteristic of "an economy that was barely advancing or actually declining, production that was dropping, revenues that were dropping, stagnation, malaise." No economic advances emerged in response to these circumstances; this was a purely "tragic seventeenth century," in Goubert's phrase. Second, and closely related, Goubert gave particular emphasis to shorter-term ups and downs that interrupted Simiand's century-long phases. Indeed, dramatic short-term movements seemed to form a fundamental structure of seventeenth-century life. Their "enormous presence, immediate consequences, long-term implications, and terrible threat," he wrote, "constituted fundamental facts" in the region's history. Their presence added further weight to Goubert's pessimistic reading of the period, and he also found that they became dramatically more frequent after the mid-seventeenth century. Finally, Goubert explored the social impact of the seventeenth century's price history, and in this respect, too, his conclusions differed from Simiand's. Whereas Simiand had seen wage earners successfully defending their position during times of declining prices, Goubert instead saw a widening separation between seventeenth-century haves and have-nots. Short-term crises actually benefited the former, since they had goods to sell, but often pushed the poor to outright starvation, producing unnecessary deaths "because of the price of bread."²⁴

Like Simiand, Goubert faced problems of explanation—how to account for the

²² Frédéric Mauro, "Sur la 'crise' du XVII^e siècle," *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 14, no. 1 (January–March 1959): 181–185, quotations from 182, 184.

²³ Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730: Contribution à l'histoire sociale du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), vii, 576. Elsewhere in the work, he spoke of "une 'phase B' démographique," lasting from the 1650s through the 1720s (616).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 504, 77–81.

generally downward drift of seventeenth-century prices, and how to account for shorter-term movements as well. His explanations ignored monetary forces almost entirely. Instead he turned to causes of an altogether different order, to climate on the one side, demography on the other. Seventeenth-century economic conditions, he argued, reflected "a kind of periodic disequilibrium between an irregular food supply and a prolific population, subject to fitful and uncontrolled increase." Changing weather was more mysterious but equally important in an economy dominated by agriculture, and Goubert raised the possibility of thirty-year climate cycles, which might explain the periodicity of harvest failures. Whereas Simiand had proposed a primarily sociological explanation for seventeenth-century experiences, Goubert looked to nature, in the forms of weather and human reproduction.²⁵

These contrasts suggest the extent of the historiographical revolution that Goubert proposed. His data roughly conformed to Simiand's vision of the seventeenth century, but Goubert largely dismissed the economic creativity that Simiand had seen in the period, as in all phases of declining prices. At a more fundamental level, the two scholars explained seventeenth-century phenomena in different ways. Simiand believed that essentially the same forces governed the seventeenth century and the twentieth—the market and the monetary interactions that took place there. Goubert instead viewed seventeenth-century France as fundamentally different from twentieth-century France. It was a backward society, shaped mainly by natural forces. No other economic domain approached agriculture in importance, and when it failed, all others failed as well; manufacturers lost their markets as higher percentages of incomes went to buying food, and manufacturing workers found themselves unemployed just as food prices were highest.²⁶

Every element in this historiographical shift received reinforcement from a second great *Annales* historian of the 1960s, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. His *Les paysans de Languedoc* appeared in 1966, followed a year later by a long-term study of climate change; over the following decade, he published a series of additional empirical studies and theoretical reflections that built on these works. Like Goubert, Le Roy Ladurie viewed the seventeenth century as a time of economic crisis, and he too occasionally used Simiand's terminology, speaking, for instance, of "la phase B colbertienne." Like them, he viewed the history of prices as a useful way to get at the century's economic evolution. But also like Goubert, he simply ignored Simiand's claim that economic innovation derived from sagging prices; and even more firmly than Goubert, he argued against understanding seventeenth-century troubles in terms of markets, prices, and money supplies. Instead he directed attention to the natural forces with which seventeenth-century men and women contended. For Le Roy Ladurie, the real forces governing the century's social history were weather and sex, the former determining agricultural success and failure, the latter determining

²⁵ Ibid., 511; Pierre Goubert, "The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: A Regional Example," in Aston, *Crisis in Europe*, 150–176, 169.

²⁶ Goubert borrowed these formulations from his thesis director, the eighteenth-century specialist C.-E. Labrousse, whose analysis is carefully summarized by Bernard Lepetit, "L'expérience historique: À propos de C.-E. Labrousse," in Lepetit, *Carnet de croquis: Sur la connaissance historique* (Paris, 1999), 45–79; see also an important discussion by Pierre Vilar, "Réflexions sur la 'crise de l'ancien type,' 'inégalité des récoltes' et 'sous-développement,'" in Vilar, *Une histoire en construction: Approche marxiste et problématiques conjoncturelles* (Paris, 1982), 191–216. Goubert dedicated *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* to Labrousse.

how many mouths agriculture would have to feed. Le Roy Ladurie argued that a long span of cold weather reduced seventeenth-century harvests, accounting for the period's limited food supply. Families, meanwhile, reproduced to the extent of their resources, straining food supplies and, as population rose to meet the limits set by agricultural technology, encountering episodic subsistence crises. In his writings, then, a vigorous neo-Malthusian theory became the key to understanding early modern society. Nature rather than man-made markets and monetary exchanges played the key roles.²⁷

In a 1968 overview, Denis Richet underlined the tendency among his contemporaries to model early modern economic development in terms of contrasting zones of backwardness and progress. In the seventeenth-century French countryside, he wrote, there prevailed "a cyclical rhythm, where advances were mere recuperation, where limits were of a cruel rigidity, periods of decline heartbreaking . . . A world of inexorable constraints. On the other hand, in the folds of traditional society, there developed the activities of labor and long-distance trade . . . [where] from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, the overall movement was upward. There, achievements were definitive. Bit by bit the city irrigated the countryside, and it is within its walls that we must no doubt seek the secrets of that 'primitive accumulation' that Marx believed he found in the expropriation of the peasants." In this vision of a dual society, divided between modern and traditional sectors, Richet expressed what had become a consensus among French historians—a consensus with contemporary implications, to which Richet himself drew attention: "we live in a world where the underdevelopment of an enormous sector of the universe, the rapid development of the 'have' nations, requires us to look closely at the conditions, the stages, the discontinuities of economic growth." Le Roy Ladurie likewise spoke of "that traditional, ethnological, neurosis of traditional societies, which today is disappearing from the more advanced societies." Their research concerned sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, but (so such comments indicated) it had implications for understanding "traditional society" in the present as well.²⁸

BY THE 1970s, THEN, TWO VERSIONS of seventeenth-century social crisis had emerged. British and French historians agreed on the fact and timing of crisis, as manifested in stagnating prices and populations, and in political upheavals as well. They also shared an attentiveness to commonalities that cut across the continent's political boundaries, suggesting that a truly European history of the period could—and should—be written. Beyond these agreements, they differed significantly in orientation, with British historians emphasizing the period's structural changes and in-

²⁷ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Les paysans de Languedoc*, abridged ed. (Paris, 1969), 259 and *passim*. In 1968, Denis Richet noted the lack of attention to commerce in his contemporaries' idea of a tragic or crisis-ridden seventeenth century: "Croissances et blocages en France du XVe au XVIIe siècle," *Annales ESC* 23, no. 4 (July–August 1968): 759–787, 781; Le Roy Ladurie, "L'aménorrhée de famine (XVIIe–XXe siècle)," in Le Roy Ladurie, *Le territoire de l'historien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1973–1978), 1: 331–348. Geoffrey Parker discusses questions of climate change in detail elsewhere in this forum and argues for building on Le Roy Ladurie's findings.

²⁸ Richet, "Croissances et blocages," 787, 759; Le Roy Ladurie, *Les paysans de Languedoc*, 359, 360. For a related example from a rather different perspective, see Vilar, "Réflexions."

novations, the French its traditionalism and “blockages.” But there was enough overlap to encourage close reading of one another’s work. Pierre Goubert, for instance, published a substantial summary of his findings in the tenth issue of *Past and Present*, and the editors chose to include it in their collective volume on the crisis, published in 1965. Together these views informed most writing on the seventeenth century, and on the early modern period more generally. In 1970, a German historian described the crisis concept as “at the center of scientific discussions . . . , a central problem, whose explication interests historians of the entire world, of the most varied approaches.”²⁹

To some extent, this powerful influence reflected the state of the profession itself. The idea of crisis was almost coeval with extensive scholarly interest in early modern social history, and in stressing structural parallels between disparate national histories, it for the first time brought coherence to what Theodore Rabb termed “a splintered specialty.” Among Anglo-Saxon historians, even the term “early modern” was new, and the situation was similar in France. The fact that two non-specialists—Hobsbawm in England, Simiand in France—supplied the field with some of its most influential interpretive schemas confirms these observations.³⁰

But the impact of the crisis idea also reflected contemporary beliefs about the place of historical study in the wider world. British and French historians alike stressed parallels between seventeenth-century conditions and those of developing regions in the twentieth century. Early modern Europe offered a model for understanding both the preconditions for development and the strains that it would likely bring—for, as sociologists such as Smelser made clear, crisis was assumed to be part of the “modernization” process in the twentieth century as it had been in the seventeenth. This attentiveness to contemporary life helps explain a feature common to the different versions of the crisis idea, a stress on the sharp division between pre-industrial and modern societies. British and French historians alike emphasized the fundamental nature of the changes needed to move from one to the other, and both groups suggested the fundamental similarity of all pre-industrial societies.

Awareness of contemporary relevance also ensured that discussions of the seventeenth century, however scholarly they might be, would carry political overtones, most of them tending toward the left. Hobsbawm’s Marxism supplied the visible theoretical framework for his interpretation. Goubert and Le Roy Ladurie offered their work as in some sense an alternative to Marxism, but their focus on ordinary people’s suffering also tended to undercut received ideas about French culture and the French state. Grand moments of French history, their work suggested, rested on the terrible sacrifices of millions; and a real history of the nation would need to tell

²⁹ Goubert, “The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century”; Stephan Skalweit, “Frankreich und der englische Verfassungskonflikt im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Congrès international des sciences historiques, XIII Kongress der historischen Wissenschaften, Moskau* (Moscow, 1970), 1. Hroch and Petrán likewise stress this conceptual domination of the field, as shown by the attention devoted to it at the 1970 International Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow (*Das 17. Jahrhundert*, 32–35, 39–42).

³⁰ Elliott, “Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe,” 93; Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability*, 7–11; Randolph Starn, “The Early Modern Muddle,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 6, no. 3 (2002): 297–298. In the introductory issue of the French journal *XVIIe Siècle*, Roland Mousnier spoke of “nos connaissances si minces sur le XVIIe siècle”: *XVIIe Siècle* 1, no. 1 (1949): 23 (“La vie de la société”).

these previously hidden stories—a point suggested in Goubert's title for his synthetic study of the period, *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen*. Yet while these visions of crisis confirmed a certain political radicalism, they fitted as well with liberal social science, and even with the conservatism of historians such as Pierre Chaunu. Consensus around the idea of crisis was strong enough to blur important political differences.³¹

Since about 1970, however, consensus has tended to fragment, partly because of the development of the early modern field itself. The “splintered specialty” of the early 1950s has grown dramatically, and in the two generations since Hobsbawm wrote, an immense quantity of detailed research on the period has emerged. In the process, once confidently held generalizations have been tested against archival realities, and many have been replaced by a growing array of nuances, exceptions, and microhistories. But revisions of the crisis idea have also resulted from deeper changes in how historians understand their own tasks and the world around them. Just as the idea's initial emergence responded to contemporary assumptions about modernization and its traumas, as well as to scholarly discoveries, so also revisions to it express historians' growing skepticism about concepts such as modernity and tradition, in past and present alike.

A first source of change has been a retreat—among historians as among other intellectuals—from what might be termed structuralist thinking. For some scholars in the 1950s and 1960s, structuralism was a label explicitly assumed, whether in the form of Hobsbawm's Marxism or Smelser's “structural functionalism,” the dominant sociological model in 1950s America. Others used the idea more loosely, partly because they took its pertinence so much for granted. Both Braudel and Goubert began their major works with long sections on “structures,” without worrying about defining the term. Stone's *Crisis of the Aristocracy* used the idea more loosely still, simply arguing that changes at every level of aristocratic life advanced together. Despite important differences among them, all of these historians shared the idea that overarching systems gave form to societies' multiple parts. Since about 1970, however, historians have moved into a poststructuralist age, some of them influenced by theoretical reflections from neighboring disciplines, many more responding to broader cultural changes around them. They have become readier to see the elements of past societies functioning in relative autonomy from one another; and they have become skeptical about linkages among politics, culture, social relations, and economic practices.

The retreat from structuralism has shown itself with particular vivacity in historians' treatment of politics. Hobsbawm and his contemporaries shared the belief that political turmoil expressed deep social trouble. More recently, however, revisionist scholars in a variety of fields have reemphasized the autonomy of political forces, questioning the importance of social causes in bringing on such events as the English and French revolutions. Politics, they have argued, follows its own logic, even

³¹ A point suggested by the title of one of Le Roy Ladurie's articles, “En Haute Normandie: Malthus ou Marx?” reprinted in Le Roy Ladurie, *Le territoire de l'historien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1973–1978), 2: 398–413; Pierre Goubert, *Louis XIV et vingt millions de français* (Paris, 1970). For Chaunu's political outlook, see Steven Lawrence Kaplan, *Farewell Revolution: The Historians' Feud, France, 1789/1989* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 25–49.

in extreme moments such as these. Among early modernists, this theme emerged already in 1959, when Trevor-Roper responded to Hobsbawm by suggesting that the real crisis of the seventeenth century was a struggle among social elites for political power, unrelated to changes in social or economic structure. A decade later, J. H. Elliott took a further step in this direction. He stressed that widespread political violence was no specialty of the seventeenth century—similar groupings of rebellions could be found in the sixteenth, and presumably (Elliott did not pursue this implication of his argument) earlier as well. In 1986, H. G. Koenigsberger pushed the argument farther still, suggesting that political violence was in fact the normal condition of early modern life. Models imported from the social sciences, he suggested, had misled historians into imagining a baseline equilibrium against which the seventeenth-century rebellions exploded. In fact there was no such equilibrium. Instead, he suggested, the chaos and competition of early modern life ensured that some form of rebellion could be found throughout the period.³²

This rereading of early modern politics parallels a second change, a new understanding of the place of elites in early modern Europe and of how events of the period affected them. The evolution in such ideas can be seen by comparing two works by Lawrence Stone. Stone's 1965 *Crisis of the Aristocracy* exemplified the crisis interpretation; it presented seventeenth-century England as undergoing a crisis of modernization, a difficult, ultimately successful transition in how power was exercised, whose by-products included the English Revolution. Two decades later, he revisited the history of the English landed elite, and came to a different conclusion. "Between 1590 and 1880," he wrote in 1984, "the English landed elite were remarkably successful in maintaining continuity in family names, estates, and seats." The "crisis of the aristocracy" remained an incident in this history of continuity, but it was now only one of several upheavals that the elite passed through in these years, and it had far less impact on them than the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century had ceased to be the watershed between the medieval and modern periods. Comparable changes have reshaped discussion of elites elsewhere in early modern Europe. Scholars have noted the ferocity of their competition, but they have increasingly seen these as struggles among individuals and clans, not whole classes; and they have underlined the social values and loyalties that these competitors shared.³³

A third change in historians' interpretive practices has pointed in the same direction. For French scholars writing in the 1950s and 1960s, the crisis of the seventeenth century was most visible in the period's demographic statistics. Slowing population growth and high mortality constituted surface manifestations of deeper

³² Key figures in this process include Conrad Russell, Alfred Cobban, and François Furet, writing on the English and French revolutions; see Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990); Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1964); Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge, 1981). On these ideas as manifested in the crisis discussion, see Elliott, "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe"; Koenigsberger, "The Crisis of the 17th Century." Elliott forcefully restates this position in "The General Crisis in Retrospect."

³³ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984), 400; William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge, 1985); James Collins, *Classes, Estates and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge, 1994). For an overview of recent nobiliary studies, see Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 1996).

social crisis, and these were most marked in the mid-seventeenth century. Only in the eighteenth century would population again begin growing, demonstrating the renewed vitality and new economic resources that European society enjoyed. Demographic research since 1970, however, has shown the oversimplifications in this neo-Malthusian model and has cast doubt on apparently self-evident linkages between malnutrition and disease. In fact, through the mid-nineteenth century, disease was an independent variable in world history, "as far back as records will take us," in the words of one authority. Changing mortality, conclude E. A. Wrigley and his collaborators, "is properly attributable to factors which were not primarily economic or social," and this fact "underlines the potential importance of biological or epidemiological history and the limitations of the treatment of such topics using conventional historical categories."³⁴

Seventeenth-century plagues and other mortality crises were thus not the by-products of overpopulation and inelastic food supplies—not, that is, manifestations of deep social processes and problems—but rather an autonomous biological force. Even the meteorological components of the model have attracted skeptical criticism. It is not as clear as Goubert and Le Roy Ladurie supposed that Europe became colder during the seventeenth century, or that cold weather threatened its agriculture or its health. Such findings do not call into question the severity of seventeenth-century demographic crises, nor do they mean that economic conditions had no impact on Europe's population history. But the evidence does suggest that, in demography as in politics, a vision of general crisis has to be replaced with multiple crises, governed by highly specific logics.³⁵

THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES HAVE COME in historians' approaches to the concepts at the very center of the crisis idea, those of capitalism and modernity. Like many of his contemporaries, Hobsbawm believed that an interlocking set of differences divided modern from premodern societies. Modernity showed itself most clearly in industrialization, in this view, but industrialization required a whole range of preconditions—the practices and organizations of bourgeois society, which first became visible in the seventeenth century. Today, some historians still view modernity as a clear-cut phenomenon of this kind, whose onset can be dated with confidence. But even the most confident historians now find it more difficult to define the elements that constitute modernity, and positing relations among these elements has become almost impossible. In this respect, historians have participated in a much larger shift

³⁴ There is an excellent summary in Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 27–31 (quotation from R. Lee, 29); E. A. Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge, 1997), 553. Wrigley and his collaborators, it should be emphasized, continue to rely on Malthusian explanations of nuptiality, which they offer as the main linkage between social structure and population movements. For a somewhat more muted but essentially similar conclusion by French specialists, see Jacques Dupâquier, ed., *Histoire de la population française*, vol. 2: *De la Renaissance à 1789* (Paris, 1988), 3–6.

³⁵ Jan de Vries, "Histoire du climat et économie: Des faits nouveaux, une interprétation différente," *Annales ESC* 32, no. 2 (March–April 1977): 198–226. For a different view, see Parker's detailed discussion in this forum. For a nuanced overview of the interplay between economics and demography, see David R. Weir, "Life under Pressure: France and England, 1670–1870," *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 1 (March 1984): 27–47, suggesting the limits of Malthusian interpretations.

of sensibilities among the full range of social scientists. Already by the 1970s, it has recently been noted, “even its proponents knew that modernization theory had lost its way.” The crisis idea offered historians of the 1950s and 1960s a powerful tool for understanding Europe’s transition to modernity. As transition itself has come to seem a more elusive phenomenon, the usefulness of crisis as an explanation for it has tended to evaporate.³⁶

This shift has manifested itself in a variety of ways, starting with the most fundamental of early modern economic pursuits: agriculture. The seventeenth century’s hard times, it was once thought, brought structural change to the countryside and thereby opened the way to agrarian capitalism. By loosening peasants’ hold on the land and encouraging farm consolidation, this process brought higher productivity to the countryside; wealthier and better-educated farmers could introduce new techniques, allowing Europe’s farms to support a higher percentage of industrial workers. With varying nuances, this was a view shared by François Simiand, Marc Bloch, and Jan de Vries. It still has adherents today, but the consensus has shifted. It now seems unlikely that large farms were more productive than small, or that changing rural social relations contributed to European industrialization.³⁷

More important still, historians have become less certain about placing British industrialization at the center of European modernity. Just as even the least theoretically inclined historians have become poststructuralists, they have also become members of post-industrial societies, whose economic achievements often come from small workshops and in non-industrial forms. With such examples before us, the modernities of pre-industrial capitalism have become more visible. The strongest statement of this position has come from the economic historians Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, who have explored the ways in which the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic should be viewed as “the first modern economy.” Although the Dutch Republic lacked factories and steam engines, they show, it developed a stream of new production processes, with rising outputs per worker; it invested heavily in human capital, encouraging new ways of doing things and making far better use of its population than its rivals; and it continued to grow despite what once seemed to be obvious ceilings on pre-industrial economic performance. In short, they argue that industrialization was not the centerpiece of modernity, but only one aspect of it; societies could be modern in other ways. The prosperity of mid-seventeenth-century Holland has always presented a problem for crisis interpretations, but de Vries and van der Woude offer the Dutch case as something more important, a challenge to conventional ideas about the nature of economic modernity.³⁸

As they note, this awareness of the diversity of modern social forms has allied with a third historiographical change, a reconceptualization of the British Industrial Revolution. Historians have come to view this transformation as a much slower process than was once believed, and some have rejected the term “revolution” altogether, as inappropriate for so gradual an event. Western Europe, it has been shown,

³⁶ The example of Jonathan Israel is discussed above; Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*, 223.

³⁷ Philip T. Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society: The French Countryside, 1450–1815* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 12–20, 151–170; for the contrary view, see Jean-Marc Moriceau, *Terres mouvantes: Les campagnes françaises du féodalisme à la mondialisation, XIIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2002), 270.

³⁸ Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997).

had already achieved a high level of economic sophistication by 1700, and conversely its real industrialization came only in the early nineteenth century. Even then, the industrial sector remained just one part of a large and diverse economy. Faced with such evidence, even defenders of a revolutionary view of industrialization have had to redefine their terms. E. A. Wrigley, for instance, has proposed distinguishing between an organic economy, dependent for its energy and raw materials on what the land could grow, and a “mineral-based energy economy,” centering initially on coal and iron. Because productive land is in limited supply, only a shift to the latter system can allow a society economic growth “without knocking against the ceiling present in the earlier system. Real income per head . . . could, for the first time in human history, rise substantially and progressively in all classes of society.”³⁹

Wrigley thus stresses the technologies of coal, steam, and metallurgy as the crucial facts in England’s transformation and the subsequent transformation of the rest of the world. But such a focus on narrow slices of the British economy implicitly raises questions about the role of larger social structures as preconditions for economic transformation. Wrigley himself has not raised these questions, emphasizing instead England’s early economic lead over other Eurasian societies, which allowed it in the eighteenth century to make the transition to a mineral-based economy. Others, however, have drawn out the full implications of his argument: if specific technologies and mineral resources underlay England’s transition to a new order of economic life, perhaps changes in societal organization had only minimal importance in dividing traditional from modern society. Perhaps natural endowments, accidental discoveries, and inventions mattered more than changing social relations, values, property rights, state structures, and the like.

Specialists in Asian studies have given the most serious attention to this line of thought, as part of an effort to compare Asian and European societies during the early modern period. Albeit with different emphases, they have converged in arguing for parallels between European and Asian experiences, which they have sought to understand as part of a common Eurasian history. Jack A. Goldstone offers an especially forceful statement of this view. He argues that “the states of early modern Eurasia . . . were not greatly different from each other,” nor were their economies; despite nuances, these were all agrarian empires, facing similar constraints and undergoing similar processes of change, including long periods of dramatic economic growth. In the century after 1680, according to Goldstone, China’s economy grew as fast as those of Holland and Britain, the two most dynamic societies of pre-industrial Europe. In all three, productivity far outpaced population growth, making for substantial improvement in ordinary lives.⁴⁰

Goldstone’s view thus does not require treating pre-industrial societies as static, as *Annales* historians tended to do. On the contrary, he emphasizes the possibilities

³⁹ For a brief but very clear summary, *ibid.*, 716–717; for extended analysis, see Joel Mokyr, “Editor’s Introduction: The New Economic History and the Industrial Revolution,” in Mokyr, ed., *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1999), 1–127; E. A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1988), 32.

⁴⁰ Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*, 4; Jack A. Goldstone, “Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the ‘Rise of the West’ and the Industrial Revolution,” *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 323–390, an argument repeated in his “Neither Late Imperial nor Early Modern: Efflorescences and the Qing Formation in World History,” in Lynn A. Struve, ed., *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 242–302.

for what he terms “efflorescence”—genuine economic growth within a fixed technological system—in early modern economies, and indeed in pre-industrial economies at other times as well. But eventually such growth encountered the ceiling predicted by Wrigley’s model of organic societies, and came to an end. However impressive, then, the economic “efflorescences” of the early modern period had nothing to do with an eventual breakthrough to “‘modern’ economic growth”; this would appear only in the mid-nineteenth century, with the advent of railways and the widespread use of fossil fuels. From this broad perspective, Goldstone sees the crisis of the seventeenth century as illustrating his essentially Malthusian understanding of pre-industrial society. He draws attention to the wave of political rebellions that touched the whole of Eurasia around 1650, and he explains them in terms of a tight fit between food supplies and population. While arguing for the dynamism of pre-industrial societies, then, Goldstone describes the seventeenth-century crisis in terms familiar from Goubert and Le Roy Ladurie. Political turmoil marked the limits of “organic” society, rather than a turning point in the history of modernity; and these limits prevailed throughout Eurasia, in England and Holland as well as in less favored regions.⁴¹

R. Bin Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz have developed similar arguments, with greater attention to the details of Chinese economic development and less concern for events in the seventeenth century. Like Goldstone, they follow Wrigley in contrasting the “organic economies” of the pre-industrial era with the “mineral economies” that emerged in the nineteenth century. Coal power and the vastly expanded availability of metals created a qualitatively new form of economic life, and this breakthrough happened in England. But this was a “contingent linkage,” in Wong’s phrase, the result of very specific circumstances, and not a product of England’s capitalist economy or bourgeois social structure. Until that point, which they see as having come only after 1800, European and Chinese economies functioned at basically similar levels. China’s economic system differed substantially from Europe’s, in that it accorded less freedom to economic actors, but it was at least as effective, in the eighteenth century as earlier. Pomeranz argues that until well after 1800, China and Japan in fact may have had higher standards of living than western Europe; and per capita cotton production may have been higher in China than in Britain a full generation after the beginnings of industrialization.⁴²

Arguments such as these have not gone unchallenged, but even critics have had to acknowledge one of their implications: these views undermine what has been a central theme in Western social theory, that of explaining divergence between Europe and the rest of the world in terms of essential qualities internal to each. Divergence may have come only late in Europe’s story, and it may have resulted from exogenous forces, rather than from the continent’s culture or social organization. From this vantage point, the crisis of the seventeenth century loses most of its significance as a social historical event. For Goldstone, the crisis made manifest the structures that all seventeenth-century Eurasian polities shared and the common

⁴¹ Goldstone, “Efflorescences and Economic Growth,” 366.

⁴² R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), esp. 50–53; Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 49, 333–334.

forces that shaped Europe and Asia alike, one stage in the cycle through which pre-industrial societies inevitably passed. More firmly still, Wong and Pomeranz reduce the seventeenth century to a phase in pre-industrial society, without special relevance to nineteenth-century industrialization.⁴³

IN A BRILLIANT FORMULATION, GOVIND SREENIVASAN has recently noted that “the specter of transition” haunts historical writing on early modern Europe. He means that early modernists today are both baffled by the phenomenon of Europe’s modernization and unable to dispense with the concept. At some point between 1650 and 1850, Europe gained a decisive economic and political lead over the rest of the world, yet the growing literature on pre-industrial Europe has problematized most conventional explanations for that success.⁴⁴

Discussion of the crisis of the seventeenth century ultimately concerned this problem of transition; hence the concept’s central role in the development of early modern studies since World War II. It could scarcely have been otherwise, for in the 1950s and 1960s, social scientists of all descriptions viewed the problem of modernization as one of their most pressing concerns. Surrounded by interest in the development of once-colonized regions, postwar early modernists could offer their subject matter as a valuable guide to contemporary practice, a claim to relevance that usually remained implicit but occasionally surfaced in explicit comparisons to twentieth-century conditions. These preoccupations help to explain an important shift in the structure of the field. Until World War II, Europeanists had focused on the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment, great moments of cultural change, but in the decolonizing world that followed 1945, they increasingly spoke of “early modern Europe,” terminology that accorded centrality to the problem of modernity itself and encouraged attention to changes in social structure.⁴⁵

Within that broad framework, the idea of social crisis in the seventeenth century acquired two core meanings. For Hobsbawm and his successors, the seventeenth century represented a crucial moment in the larger transition from feudalism to capitalism. New social structures then emerged that allowed England and, to a lesser extent, other countries their eventual economic take-off. For most *Annales* historians, in contrast, the seventeenth-century crisis was a revelatory moment within the history of traditional Europe, which demonstrated the enduring limits of pre-industrial society. The crisis of the seventeenth century was thus not a unitary concept, but rather a range of interpretive possibilities, which individual scholars might

⁴³ Philip C. C. Huang, “Development or Involution in Eighteenth-Century Britain and China? A Review of Kenneth Pomeranz’s *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 2 (May 2002): 501–538, followed by responses from Pomeranz and others. See also Luo Xu, “Reconstructing World History in the People’s Republic of China since the 1980s,” *Journal of World History* 18, no. 3 (2007): 325–350, for thoughtful discussion of Chinese responses to these ideas. My colleague Roger Desforges has provided me with very helpful guidance on these issues.

⁴⁴ Govind P. Sreenivasan, *The Peasants of Ottobeuren, 1487–1726: A Rural Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 1.

⁴⁵ See Starn, “The Early Modern Muddle.” For thoughtful discussion of the term’s implications, see Lynn A. Struve, “Introduction,” in Struve, *The Qing Formation*, 1–54.

mix in different ways. They could do so because, despite their divergences, these alternative interpretations shared important assumptions. Both took for granted the fundamental differences between traditional and modern societies, and both assumed that societies could modernize only by undergoing dramatic, usually painful changes.⁴⁶

Today, most historians find these assumptions less plausible. An accumulating body of scholarship has complicated ideas about most of the topics that traditionally have interested early modernists, among them the British Industrial Revolution, demographic crises, and the social roots of political turmoil. More important, historians' understanding of the world itself has changed. Historical research has given increasing attention to regions beyond Europe, casting doubt on the very concepts of traditional society and modernization, and demonstrating the variousness and creativity of pre-industrial societies. Our daily experiences in an increasingly interconnected world have instilled the same lessons.

This awareness of complexity has come at a price, however. There has been a re-splintering of the field that the crisis idea once helped to unify, and a loss of the faith that early modern Europe can contribute to understanding problems of economic and societal development elsewhere. Are early modernists then to return to a plural view of seventeenth-century crises, treating them as a mere collection of unrelated events, without significant meaning for the future? Many historians have happily done so, and the exceptions have come mainly from the fields of intellectual and cultural history. As noted above, Jonathan Israel has described mid-seventeenth-century culture as providing the foundations of global modernity; even so resolute a critic of European exceptionalism as Goldstone has turned to seventeenth-century culture as an explanation for industrialization, for he sees seventeenth-century European science making the exploitation of fossil fuels possible.⁴⁷

However, the new global history suggests more forceful alternatives to such a decline into scholarly particularism, while at the same time avoiding the teleological language of modernization. This new history places imperial exploitation at the center of the process by which Europe went its separate way. Pomeranz, for instance, argues that colonialism probably "did more to differentiate western Europe from other Old World cores than any of the supposed advantages over these other regions generated by the operation of markets, family systems, or other institutions within Europe." Like so many other generalizations about the early modern past, such claims are open to debate. But whatever their profitability, Europe's colonies sharply distinguished it from other regions of the globe, and reflections on its peculiar trajectory need to take imperialism into account, as a phenomenon that was at once cultural, political, social, and economic. Such considerations return us directly to the seventeenth-century crisis, for its historians have repeatedly linked it to Europe's imperial adventures. "The major achievement of the seventeenth-century crisis," wrote Hobsbawm in 1954, "is the creation of a new form of colonialism," that is, the plantation economies. These territories, he wrote, gave Europe "several precious decades of dizzy economic expansion from which they drew inestimable benefits."

⁴⁶ For a somewhat different account of the diversity of meanings that historians have given the crisis idea, see Hroch and Petrán, *Das 17. Jahrhundert*, 49–53.

⁴⁷ Goldstone, "Efflorescences and Economic Growth," 367–368.

An unfinished task of the crisis literature, it would seem, is reopening the dossier on Europe's global aggressiveness, and asking how crisis at home linked up with expansion elsewhere.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, 279, 283. Cf., for instance, Patrick O'Brien, "European Economic Development: The Contribution of the Periphery," *Economic History Review*, n.s., 35, no. 1 (February 1982): 1–18; from a more limited perspective, de Vries, *The Economy of Europe*, 128–146, likewise questions the profitability of some of Europe's colonial trade; Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," 53 (my emphasis), 56.

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AHR Forum
Crisis and Catastrophe:
The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered

GEOFFREY PARKER

THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SAW MORE CASES of simultaneous state breakdown around the globe than any previous or subsequent age: something historians have called “The General Crisis.” In the 1640s, Ming China, the most populous state in the world, collapsed; the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the largest state in Europe, disintegrated; much of the Spanish monarchy, the first global empire in history, seceded; and the entire Stuart monarchy rebelled—Scotland, Ireland, England, and its American colonies. In addition, just in the year 1648, a tide of urban rebellions began in Russia (the largest state in the world), and the Fronde Revolt paralyzed France (the most populous state in Europe); meanwhile, in Istanbul (Europe’s largest city), irate subjects strangled Sultan Ibrahim, and in London, King Charles I went on trial for war crimes (the first head of state to do so). In the 1650s, Sweden and Denmark came close to revolution; Scotland and Ireland disappeared as autonomous states; the Dutch Republic radically changed its form of government; and the Mughal Empire, then the richest state in the world, experienced two years of civil war following the arrest, deposition, and imprisonment of its ruler.¹

The frequency of popular revolts around the world also peaked during the mid-seventeenth century. In China, the number of major armed uprisings rose from under ten in the 1610s to more than seventy in the 1620s and more than eighty in the 1630s, affecting 160 counties and involving well over 1 million people.² In Japan, some forty

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¹ Other eras have seen a spate of state breakdowns around the world—such as the collapse of many Bronze Age civilizations between 1200 and 800 B.C.E. and the crisis of Late Antiquity between 200 and 600 A.D.—but these took place over centuries, not two decades. Something analogous may have occurred in the mid-fourteenth century, in the wake of the Black Death in Europe and the Near East and the Yuan-Ming transition in East Asia, but the cause remains ambiguous.

² See the figures and graphs in James W. Tong, *Disorder under Heaven: Collective Violence in the Ming*

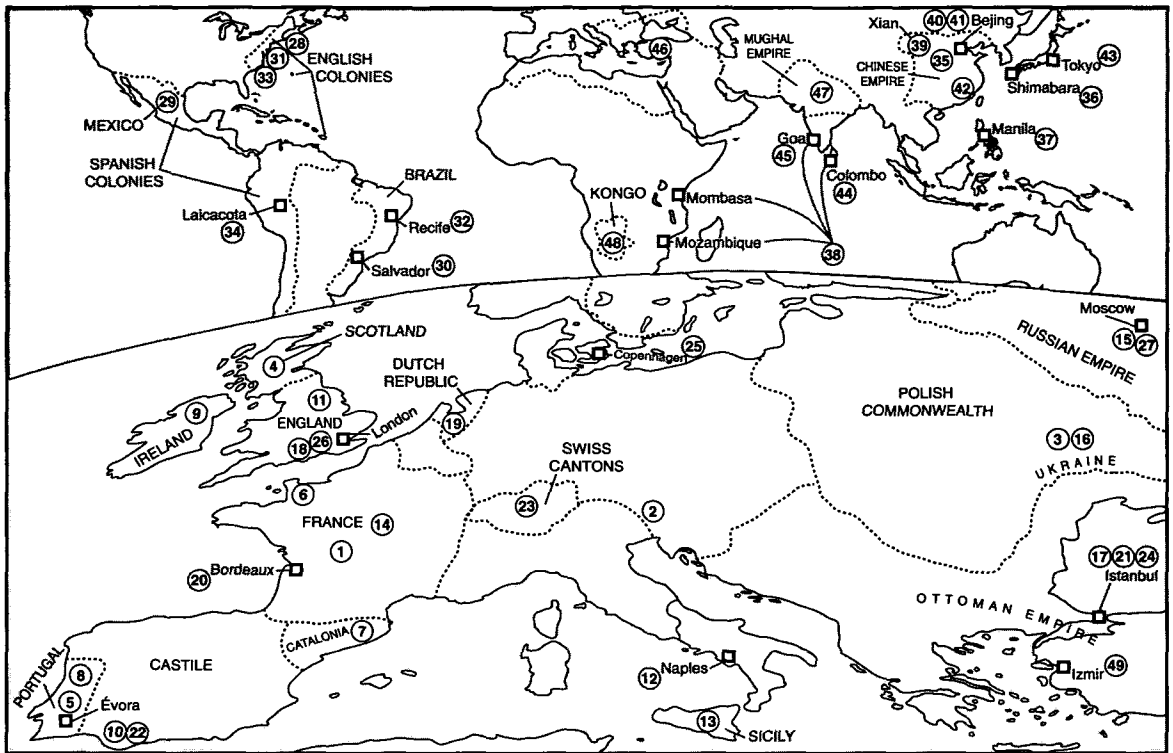


FIGURE 1: The global crisis. A list of the major revolts and revolutions around the world between 1635 and 1666 (see facing page) demonstrates that, although Western Europe and East Asia formed the heartland of the "General Crisis," the Mughal, Russian, and Ottoman empires, like the European colonies in America, also experienced episodes of severe political disruption.

revolts (*hōki*) and two hundred lesser rural uprisings (*hyakushō ikki*) occurred between 1590 and 1642—a total unmatched for two centuries—and the largest uprising, at Shimabara on Kyushu Island in 1637–1638, involved some 25,000 insurgents.³ In Russia, a wave of rebellions in 1648–1649 shook the central government to its foundations; of the twenty-five major peasant revolts recorded in seventeenth-century Germany and Switzerland, more than half took place between 1626 and 1650; the total number of food riots in England rose from twelve between 1600 and 1620 to thirty-six between 1621 and 1631, with fourteen more in 1647–1649.⁴ In France, finally, popular revolts peaked both absolutely and relatively in the mid-seventeenth century. (See Table 1.)

Dynasty (Stanford, Calif., 1991), 47–49. John B. Parsons, *The Peasant Rebellions of the Late Ming Dynasty* (Tucson, Ariz., 1970), provides scatter diagrams of peasant rebellions year by year from 1628 to 1642, with two "cumulative maps" at 86–87.

³ Figures from Herbert P. Bix, *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590–1884* (New Haven, Conn., 1986), xxii. On Shimabara, see Matthew E. Keith, "The Logistics of Power: Tokugawa Response to the Shimabara Rebellion and Power Projection in Seventeenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2006).

⁴ Totals from Peter Bierbrauer, "Bäuerliche Revolten im Alten Reich: Ein Forschungsbericht," in Peter Blickle et al., eds., *Aufbruch und Empörung? Studien zum bäuerlichen Widerstand im Alten Reich* (Munich, 1980), 66–67; and John Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2006), 69–70.

Major Revolts and Revolutions, 1635–1666

EUROPE

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| 1636 | 1. Croquants Revolt (Périgord) | 1649 | 18. London: British regicide |
| | 2. Revolt in Lower Austria | 1650 | 19. Dutch regime change |
| 1637 | 3. Cossack Revolt [→ 1638] | | [→ 1672] |
| | 4. Scottish Revolution [→ 1651] | 1651 | 20. Bordeaux: Ormée Revolt |
| | 5. Évora & S. Portugal Revolt [→ 1638] | | [→ 1653] |
| 1639 | 6. Nu-pieds Revolt (Normandy) | | 21. Istanbul riots |
| 1640 | 7. Catalan Revolt [→ 1659] | 1652 | 22. "Green Banner" revolts in |
| | 8. Portugal rebels [→ 1668] | | Andalusia |
| 1641 | 9. Irish Rebellion [→ 1653] | 1653 | 23. Swiss Revolution |
| | 10. Andalusia : Medina Sidonia conspiracy | 1656 | 24. Istanbul riots |
| 1642 | 11. English "Great Rebellion" [→ 1660] | 1660 | 25. The "Danish Revolution" |
| 1647 | 12. Revolt of Naples [→ 1648] | | 26. "Restoration" in England, |
| | 13. Revolt of Sicily [→ 1648] | | Scotland, and Ireland |
| 1648 | 14. France: Fronde Revolt [→ 1653] | 1662 | 27. Moscow Rebellion |
| | 15. Russia: Moscow and other cities | | |
| | rebel [→ 1649] | | |
| | 16. Revolt of Ukraine against Poland | | |
| | [→ 1668] | | |
| | 17. Istanbul: Ottoman regicide | | |

AMERICAS

- | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1637 | 28. Pequot War |
| 1641 | 29. Mexico Revolt [→ 1642] |
| | 30. Portuguese Brazil rebels against Spain |
| 1642 | 31. English colonies in America take sides in Civil War |
| 1645 | 32. Portuguese colonists in Brazil rebel against Dutch [→ 1654] |
| 1660 | 33. "Restoration" in English colonies |
| 1666 | 34. Revolt of Laicacota (Peru) |

ASIA AND AFRICA

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1635 | 35. Popular revolts spread from NW China to Yangzi valley [→ 1645] |
| 1637 | 36. Revolt at Shimabara [→ 1638] |
| 1639 | 37. Revolt of Chinese (Sangleys) in Manila |
| 1641 | 38. Revolt of Portuguese in Mombasa, Mozambique, Goa, and Ceylon against Spain |
| 1643 | 39. Li Zicheng declares Shun Era in Xi'an |
| 1644 | 40. Li Zicheng takes Beijing and ends Ming rule |
| | 41. Qing capture Beijing and occupy Central Plain |
| 1645 | 42. Qing invade southern China; "Southern Ming" resistance [→ 1662 in southern China; → 1683 in Taiwan] |
| 1651 | 43. Yui conspiracy in Tokyo |
| 1652 | 44. Colombo rebels against Portugal |
| 1653 | 45. Goa rebels against Portugal |
| 1657 | 46. Anatolia: Revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha [→ 1659] |
| 1658 | 47. Mughal Civil War [→ 1662] |
| 1665 | 48. Overthrow of Kongo kingdom |
| | 49. Shabbatai Zvi proclaimed Messiah at Izmir |

Events listed in bold are those that produced regime change.

TABLE 1
Popular Revolts in France, 1590–1715

Date	Aquitaine		Provence	
	Number	Annual Average	Number	Annual Average
1590–1634	47	1	108	2.4
1635–1660	282	11.3	156	6.3
1661–1715	130	2.7	110	2

SOURCES: Table based on Yves-Marie Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants: Étude des soulèvements populaires au XVII^e siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1974), 2: 682; and René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 988. William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge, 1997), 258, estimated that between thirty and forty major uprisings and thousands of lesser ones took place in seventeenth-century France, especially in the 1620s, 1640s, and 1670s—although he also expressed skepticism about the precision of such calculations.

The mid-seventeenth century also saw a third major anomaly: more wars took place around the world than in any other era until the 1940s. In the six decades between 1618 and 1678, Poland was at peace for only twenty-seven years, the Dutch Republic for only fourteen, France for only eleven, and Spain for only three. Jack S. Levy, a political scientist, found the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe to be “the most warlike in terms of the proportion of years of war under way (95 per cent), the frequency of war (nearly one every three years), and the average yearly duration, extent, and magnitude of war.” The historical record reveals at least one war in progress between the states of Europe in every year between 1611 and 1669. Beyond Europe, over the same period, the Chinese and Mughal empires fought wars continuously, while the Ottoman Empire enjoyed only seven years of peace. The global “Conflict Catalogue” compiled by Peter Brecke, another political scientist, shows that, on average, wars around the world lasted longer in the seventeenth century than at any time since 1400 (when his survey begins). (See Figure 2.) War had become the norm for resolving both domestic and international problems.⁵

Finally, throughout the Northern Hemisphere, the mid-seventeenth century witnessed almost unprecedented human mortality. When China’s Yongzheng emperor looked back in 1729 on the turbulent transition from Ming to Qing rule two generations before, he claimed that “over half of the population perished” in the violence. In Sichuan (once a densely populated province), “people lamented that they did not have a single offspring. The few who survived had lost hands or feet or had their ears and noses sliced off,” he continued. “Older people who had witnessed [the devastation] would weep as they described it.”⁶ In Germany in 1635, Hans Conrad Lang, a clothier living in Konstanz, believed that war and epidemics had caused “so many deaths that the like of it has never been heard in human history”; while Johann Valentin Andreaä, a Lutheran minister in Württemberg, lamented that barely one-

⁵ Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495–1975* (Lexington, Ky., 1983), 139–141; Peter Brecke, “Violent Conflicts 1400 A.D. to the Present in Different Regions of the World” (paper prepared for the 1999 Meeting of the Peace Science Society International Conference, Ann Arbor, Mich.).

⁶ *Qing shilu* [Veritable Records of the Ming] 8 (Beijing, 1985), chap. 86, 149, edict of the Yongzheng emperor, November 2, 1729 (translated by Ying Bao).

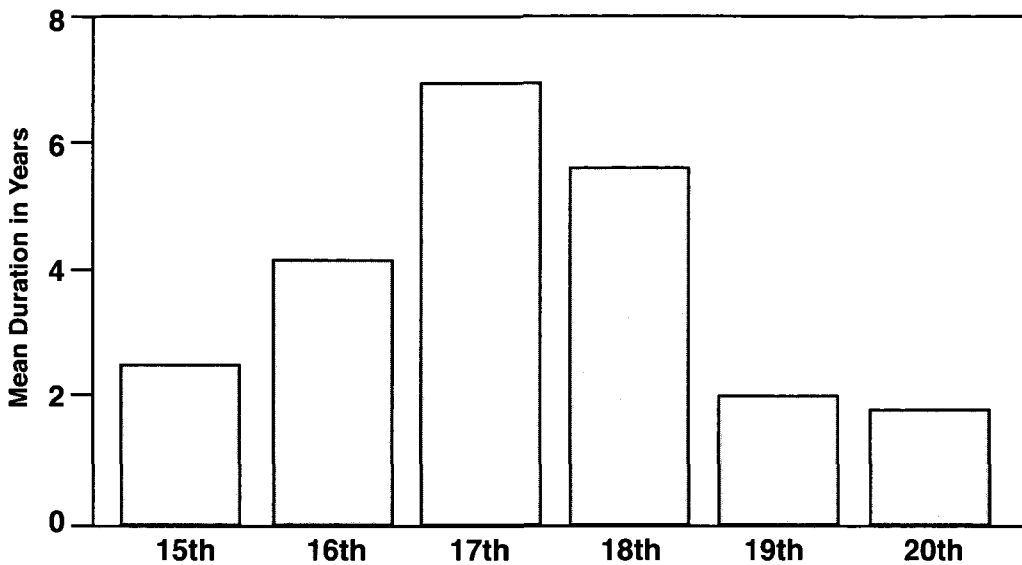


FIGURE 2: Average duration of conflicts by century, showing that more “long wars” occurred in the seventeenth century than at any other time in the past six hundred years. From Brecke, “Violent Conflicts,” Figure 11.

third of his parishioners remained alive: “Just in the last five years,” he wrote in 1638, “518 of them have been killed by various misfortunes.”⁷ Many more would die before the Thirty Years’ War ended ten years later. In France, a royal minister believed that during the Fronde Revolt (1648–1653) “two-thirds of the inhabitants of the villages around Paris died of illness, want, and misery”; while at neighboring Port-Royal-des-Champs, Abbess Angélique Arnauld lamented that “the miseries of our France are such that there are now only few working men, since almost all those in the countryside, ravaged by the war, are dead, and the rest have enlisted and gone to the wars.” In all, she estimated, “a third of the world has died.”⁸

Disaster, disorder, and death on this scale demoralized even the most resilient survivors. In *Leviathan*, a treatise on political obedience published in 1651, Thomas Hobbes claimed that “There is [now] no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; . . . no arts; no letters; no society. And, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.” Many people in France, where Hobbes wrote these words, shared his apocalyptic vision. “If one ever had to believe in the Last Judgment,” wrote a Parisian judge in 1652, “I believe it is happening right now”; while in 1655, Abbess Arnauld feared that the general

⁷ Geoff Mortimer, *Eye-witness Accounts of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2002), 77–78, quoting Lang; P. Antony and H. Christmann, eds., *Johann Valentin Andreä: Ein schwäbischer Pfarrer im dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Hildesheim, 1970), 128, quoting Andreä.

⁸ Jean Jacquart, “La Fronde des Princes dans la région parisienne et ses conséquences matérielles,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 7 (1960): 257–290, at 279, quoting André d’Ormesson; *Lettres de la reverende mère Marie Angélique Arnauld, abbesse et réformatrice de Port-Royal*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1742), 2: 432–433, to the queen of Poland, January 28, 1654.

TABLE 2
German Demographic Evolution, 1600–1750 (in millions)

Year	Germany (1871 frontiers)			Holy Roman Empire			
	Abel	Clark	Bosl/Weis	Sagarra	Kellenbenz	Dipper	Mitterauer
1600	16	15	16	18	18–20	18–20	21
1650	10	12	10	10–11	11–13	11–13	16
1700	-	15.5	-	-	-	15–17	21
1750	18	18	18	18	18–20	18–20	23

SOURCES: Christof Dipper, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1648–1789* (Frankfurt, 1991), 44, tabulating the estimates (each one based on extensive research) by Wolfgang Abel (1967), Colin Clark (1969), Karl Bosl and Eberhard Weis (1976), Eda Sagarra (1977), Hermann Kellenbenz (1977), Michael Mitterauer (1971), and Dipper himself.

desolation “must signify the end of the world.”⁹ That same year, Louis XIV’s uncle Gaston of Orléans declared that the French “Monarchy was finished: the kingdom could not survive in its present state. In all the monarchies that had collapsed, decline began with movements similar to the ones he discerned [now]; and he launched into a long list of comparisons to prove his statement from past examples.”¹⁰

Now, of course, the French monarchy was not “finished” by the Fronde—instead, Louis XIV became the most powerful king in its history—just as the world did not end in the 1650s; and history is full of people who sincerely believed that they battled misfortunes the like of which had “never been heard in human history.” Nevertheless, subsequent research has corroborated the apparently extravagant claims of those who lived through the mid-seventeenth-century crisis: they did indeed face adversity on a scale unparalleled in modern times. Thus in Württemberg, where Andreä lived, a government survey in 1638 (the year of his lament) revealed that only one-quarter of the prewar population remained in their homes; while another survey in 1655, seven years after the war’s end, showed that the duchy’s total population remained below one-half of its prewar level.¹¹ Modern historians of Germany estimate that overall demographic loss during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) ranged from 20 to 45 percent and that recovery took at least half a century. (See Table 2.)

In France, the surviving parish registers from the Île-de-France, where Abbess Arnauld lived, also show that the worst crisis of the entire *ancien régime* occurred during the Fronde: “In most of the parishes for which we have a total of burials for 1652,” according to Jean Jacquart’s demographic research, “almost a quarter of the

⁹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan; or, The Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill*, ed. Richard Tuck (1651; repr., Cambridge, 1996), 89; Hubert Carrier, *Le labyrinthe de l’Etat: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)* (Paris, 2004), 150, Renaud de Sévigné to Christine de France, July 19, 1652; *Lettres de la reverende mère Marie Angélique Arnauld*, 2: 177, 182–183, to the queen of Poland, September 6 and 20, 1652.

¹⁰ *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1728), 2: 276, reporting the pessimistic comments made to her by Gaston, her father, at Easter 1655.

¹¹ Since seventeenth-century Germany consisted of some 1,000 political units, all aggregations of data are approximate. See the mass of local statistics gathered by Günther Franz, *Der dreissigjährige Krieg und das deutsche Volk*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1978). John C. Theibault, “The Demography of the Thirty Years War Revisited: Günther Franz and His Critics,” *German History* 15 (1997): 1–21, questions the value of any book written by a prominent (and unrepentant) Nazi such as Franz, but on p. 4 endorses his overall estimate.

population vanished in a single year.” Likewise, the research of Pierre Goubert in the archives of the Beauvaisis, an area north of Paris, revealed “a crisis—economic, social, demographic, physiological and moral—of an intensity and duration hitherto unknown” at precisely this time. The “steep rise and heavy extension of poverty and mortality, and a sharp fall in births” associated with the Fronde reduced the population of the region by about one-fifth.¹²

In China, finally, government records show that the total amount of cultivated land in the empire fell from 191 million acres in 1602 to 67 million in 1645, the year after Qing forces occupied northern China, with a partial recovery to only 90 million in 1661 and 100 million in 1685.¹³ No statewide census exists to test the Yongzheng emperor’s estimate that “over half of China’s population perished,” but a wealth of local data supports his claim. Thus a modern demographic reconstruction for Tongcheng County in Anhui Province between 1631 and 1645 shows that some areas—especially those along the routes used by armies—suffered almost 60 percent losses. Farther north, the records of Dancheng County in Shandong Province reveal how a combination of natural and human elements reduced the number of able-bodied males from just over 40,000 in the 1630s to around 34,000 in 1641, to fewer than 10,000 in 1646, and to 9,000 in 1670. During the same period, the number of inhabited settlements in the county declined from 85 to 31. The late Frederic C. Wakeman suggested that the devastation caused by the Ming-Qing transition meant that in Sichuan (the area singled out by the Yongzheng emperor), “well over a million people must have been killed and the local gentry was virtually exterminated.”¹⁴

In part, these catastrophic losses occurred because the General Crisis took place at a time when population densities in the Northern Hemisphere had reached unprecedented and sometimes unsustainable levels. Thus Jiangnan, an area of roughly 17,000 square miles in China’s Lower Yangzi Valley, boasted a population of about 20 million by 1620, an average of almost 1,200 persons per square mile. (In comparison, the Netherlands, the most populous part of Europe today, boasts 1,000 persons per square mile.) In some cities, the concentration of people was even higher: population and building densities within the medieval walls of London, for example, had in the 1630s reached levels probably not “witnessed in Britain either before or since.” In some parishes, each acre contained almost 400 people.¹⁵

In such areas, local resources no longer satisfied demand. According to Alvaro

¹² Jacquart, “La Fronde,” 283; Pierre Goubert, “The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: A Regional Example,” in Trevor S. Aston, ed., *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660* (London, 1965), 141–165, at 162–163.

¹³ Ping-ti Ho, *Studies in the Population History of China*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 102. Note, however, that Ho’s 1602 figure of 1,161 million *mou*, at 0.1647 acres per *mou*, is 191.3 million acres, and not 176 million acres as he states.

¹⁴ Ted A. Telford, “Fertility and Population Growth in the Lineages of Tongcheng County, 1520–1661,” in Stevan Harrell, ed., *Chinese Historical Microdemography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 48–93, at 70–73; Hilary Beatty, *Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T’ung-ch’eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch’ing Dynasties* (Cambridge, 1979), 47, 133; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang: Rural Life in China in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1978), 4–9, 42 (quoting from the 1673 *Dancheng County Gazetteer*); Frederic C. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 1109 n. 77.

¹⁵ Xue Yong, “Agrarian Urbanization: Social and Economic Changes in Late Imperial Jiangnan” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2006), 239–240; and Derek Keene, “Growth, Modernization and Control: The Transformation of London’s Landscape, c. 1500–c. 1760,” in Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie, eds., *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500–1840* (Oxford, 2001), 20–21.

Semedo, a Portuguese Jesuit writing in 1637, Jiangnan “is so full of all sorts of people that not only the villages but even the cities can now be seen one from another, and in some areas, where the rivers are more common, settlement is almost continuous.” Indeed, he mused, China had become “so overpopulated [*eccessivamente popolato*] that after living there for twenty-two years, I remain almost as amazed at the end as I was at the beginning by the multitude of people. Certainly the truth is above any exaggeration: not only in the cities, towns and public places . . . but also on the roads there are normally as many people as would turn out in Europe [only] for some holiday or public festival.” Since “the number of people is infinite,” he continued, “there can be no capital sufficient for so many, or money sufficient to fill so many purses.”¹⁶

Many of Semedo’s contemporaries considered parts of Europe “overpopulated,” too. In England, the colonizer Sir Ferdinando Gorges claimed that “this peaceable time affords no means of employment to the multitude of people that daily do increase,” and he therefore sent settlers to Maine largely in order to reduce population pressure at home. His rivals in the Virginia Company, fearing “the surcharge of necessitous people, the matter or fuel of dangerous insurrections,” likewise sought to remove them from England to their new colony on the Chesapeake. By the mid-1630s, Thomas Bowdler rejoiced that the thousands migrating across the Atlantic each year promoted England’s stability because the American colonies “serve for drains to unload their populous state which else would overflow its own banks by continuance of peace and turn head upon itself, or make a body fit for any rebellion.”¹⁷

Nevertheless, only a few years after Semedo and Bowdler wrote, the population of China, the Stuart monarchy, and other states in the Northern Hemisphere did engage in “dangerous insurrections.” Why?

MANY CONTEMPORARIES ATTRIBUTED the revolutions, revolts, wars, and mortality that surrounded them to supernatural forces. To the Welsh historian James Howell, writing in 1649, the extent and suddenness of the catastrophe suggested that

God Almighty has a quarrel lately with all mankind, and given the reins to the ill spirit to compass the whole earth; for within these twelve years there have the strangest revolutions and horridest things happened, not only in Europe but all the world over, that have befallen mankind, I dare boldly say, since Adam fell, in so short a revolution of time . . . [Such] monstrous things have happened [that] it seems the whole world is off the hinges; and (which is the more wonderful) all these prodigious passages have fallen out in less than the compass of twelve years.¹⁸

¹⁶ Alvaro Semedo, S. J., *Historica relatione del gran regno della Cina* (Rome, 1653), 6–7, 13. Semedo arrived in southern China in 1613 and remained there, with some breaks, until 1637; he wrote his account almost immediately afterward (even though it remained unpublished for many years). He thus described the situation in Jiangnan on the eve of the Qing conquest.

¹⁷ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, vol. 1: *The Settlements* (New Haven, Conn., 1934), 612–613, quoting Gorges (in 1611), the Virginia Company (in 1624), and many others; Nicholas Canny, *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 20, quoting Thomas Bowdler’s “Common Place Book” for 1635–1636.

¹⁸ James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, 3 vols. (London, 1650), 3: 1–3, to Lord Dorset, January 20, 1646. This date is impossible, because Howell mentioned the “tumults” in Moscow and Istanbul in

Others saw the misfortunes that surrounded them as God's punishment for official toleration of activities of which they disapproved, ranging from sodomy to stage plays, and called on governments to persecute and prohibit them before the situation got worse. Such logic dominated the preamble to an act passed in 1642 by the English Parliament:

Whereas the distressed state of Ireland, steeped in her own blood, and the distracted state of England, threatened with a cloud of blood by a civil war, call for all possible means to appease and avert the wrath of God . . . [and whereas] public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation . . . being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity . . . all public stage plays shall cease.¹⁹

Others still blamed the devil and his lieutenants on earth: the witches. In Scotland in 1649, after a decade of drought, war, and revolution, when "the prices of victual and corn of all sorts were higher than ever heretofore any[one] living could remember," the Scots Parliament decided "that the sin of witchcraft daily increases in this land" and so, to avert further disasters, issued some five hundred commissions to try suspected witches, resulting in more executions for sorcery during the famine of 1649–1650 than at any other time in Scottish history.²⁰

Many contemporaries linked the General Crisis with other extraterrestrial phenomena. A Spanish almanac published in 1640 reminded readers that "Whenever eclipses, comets and earthquakes and other similar prodigies have occurred, great miseries have usually followed" and predicted that the eclipse of the sun observed on June 1, 1639, would produce "great upsets in war, political upheavals, and damage to ordinary people" between March 1640 and March 1642. (The anonymous author also specified further dire consequences that would afflict future generations of readers down to the year 2400 A.D.)²¹ The appearance of a particularly brilliant comet during the winter of 1618–1619 likewise led to predictions in China, Russia, India, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as all across Europe, that "discord, irritations,

summer 1648. In his pamphlet *A Winter Dreame* (London, 1649), 8, Howell used the same conceit: "it seems God Almighty has a quarrel of late years with all earthly potentates, for in so short a time there never happened such strange shocks and revolutions," and named the downfall of Ottoman, Ming, Muscovite, and European rulers. Presumably Howell wrote to Lord Dorset at much the same time, and so "these twelve years" began in 1637 with the Scottish Revolution.

¹⁹ Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), 1: 26–27, "Order for Stage-Plays to Cease" (September 2, 1642, OS). For similar reasons, Parliament also banned public sports and many other "spectacles of pleasure." The Stuart monarchy, like Russia and much of Protestant Europe, used the Julian calendar ("Old Style," or OS), so that all dates fell ten days earlier than in Catholic Europe, which used the Gregorian calendar ("New Style," or NS): thus September 2 in Britain and Sweden was September 12 in Spain and France. All dates in this article given according to the Julian calendar are marked "OS"; all others follow the Gregorian calendar.

²⁰ Sir James Balfour, *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne and Kinnaird*, ed. James Haig, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1825), 3: 409 (prices), 436–437 (witches); Christina J. Larner, Christopher H. Lee, and Hamish V. McLachlan, *A Source Book of Scottish Witchcraft* (Glasgow, 1977), sub annis 1649–1650; and Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-Hunt in Scotland* (London, 1981), 61, 74–75. For the connection drawn by contemporaries in other areas between witchcraft and misfortunes, see Wolfgang Behringer, "Climatic Change and Witch-Hunting: The Impact of the Little Ice Age on Mentalities," *Climatic Change* 43 (1999): 335–351.

²¹ Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid [hereafter BNM], Ms. 2371/634, *Prognosticon* (an anonymous broadsheet of 1640).

deaths, upheavals, robberies, rape, tyranny, and the change of kingdoms” would follow.²² As late as 1649, a London newspaper still linked the comet of 1618 with the Thirty Years’ War because “the Blazing Star, in the year the war began, appeared over Europe for thirty days and no more.”²³ In China, a popular encyclopedia likewise noted that “when comets have dominated Heaven, there have been conflicts over the succession to the throne”; but it also blamed the stars. “Venus is a star associated with war. If one examines the patterns of Heaven through successive dynasties, [one finds that] when Venus has dominated Heaven, wars have arisen on a great scale.”²⁴ Many Europeans agreed. Thus in 1648, Johann Adler Salvius, a Swedish diplomat, considered it “a great miracle that we hear of revolts by the people against their rulers everywhere in the world, for example in France, England, Germany, Poland, Muscovy, and the Ottoman Empire,” and wondered “whether this can be explained by some general configuration of the stars in the sky.”²⁵ Three years later, Landgrave Hermann of Hesse suggested that the stars might influence human affairs through the weather in his *Meteorological History: That is, twenty-four years of original and truthful observations and daily descriptions of the weather, chiefly to show if and how the weather each day is linked with the stars, and why this would happen (or not)*.²⁶

Only a few of those who lived through the seventeenth-century crisis linked the

²² Mendo Pacheco de Britto, *Discurso em os dous phaenominos aereos do anno de 1618* (Lisbon, 1619), fols. A11–11v. Tabitta van Nouhuys, *The Age of Two-Faced Janus: The Comets of 1577 and 1618 and the Decline of the Aristotelian World View in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1998), 487–555, surveys the “significance” attached to the comet of 1618 in ten books and pamphlets published in the Low Countries. On the fears occasioned by the 1618 comet in China and its neighbors, see Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 57; Gertraude Roth, “The Manchu-Chinese Relationship, 1618–1636,” in Jonathan D. Spence and Jack E. Wills, eds., *From Ming to Ch’ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 7–8; and Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 163–167. For India, see Shireen Moosvi, “Science and Superstition under Akbar and Jahangir: The Observation of Astronomical Phenomena,” in Irfan Habib, ed., *Akbar and His India* (Delhi, 1997), 115.

²³ *The Moderate Intelligencer* [London], no. 202 (January 25–February 1, 1649). Naturally such untenable beliefs persisted even longer in Massachusetts. A brilliant comet in 1683 prompted Increase Mather, preacher at the North Church in Boston and president of Harvard College, to write a comprehensive treatise that noted that the Thirty Years’ War and the depopulation of the natives of New England had followed the comet of 1618, while the plague and fire that devastated London had followed that of 1664. He warned his readers that it was only because “we that live in America know but little of the great motions of Europe, much less in Africa and Asia, until a long time afterwards” that news of yet more catastrophes caused by comets had not reached Harvard: Mather, *Kometographia; or, A Discourse concerning Comets, wherein the Nature of Blazing Stars is Enquired into, with an Historical Account of all Comets which have Appeared since the Beginning of the World* (Boston, 1683), 118, 124, 107.

²⁴ Xie Zhaozhe, *Wu za zu* (1608), quoted in Mark Elvin, “The Man Who Saw Dragons: Science and Styles of Thinking in Xie Zhaozhe’s *Fivefold Miscellany*,” *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 25–26 (1993–1994): 34.

²⁵ Boris F. Porshnev, “Les Rapports politiques de l’Europe occidentale et de l’Europe orientale à l’époque de la Guerre de Trente Ans,” in *Rapports du XIe Congrès des sciences historiques*, 4 vols. (Stockholm, 1960), 4: 158, quoting Salvius. A few years later, the influential history of Majolino Bisaccione, *Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi, cioè di Inghilterra, Catalogna, Portogallo, Palermo, Napoli, Fermo, Moldavia, Polonia, Svizzera, Francia, Turco*, 4th ed., “ricorretta et in molte parti accresciuta” (Venice, 1655), 510, argued that only “the influence of the stars” could explain the apparently universal “wrath among the people against governments.”

²⁶ Landgrave Hermann IV of Hesse, *Historia meteorologica, das ist, vier und zwanzig jährige eigentliche und trefwleissige Observation und tägliche Verzechnüss des Gewitters, erstlich demonstrirt wird, ob und wie des tägliche Gewitter mit dem Gestirn uberein treffen, und warumb solches Geschehen sey oder nicht?* (Kassel, 1651).

catastrophes that surrounded them with climate change. In an essay titled “Of Seditions and Troubles,” the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon warned that “when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, council and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather.”²⁷ As the century advanced and the “pillars of government” shook in state after state, prayers for “fair weather” multiplied. Thus in February 1647, Don Juan Chumacero (president of the Council of Castile, charged with maintaining domestic law and order) patiently explained the link between climate and catastrophe to his master, King Philip IV. “Torrential and persistent rain has made traffic impossible on the roads to Madrid,” he warned, and so, “since the bakers of the Court have never had the capacity, or the resources, to bake more than their normal annual quota, we have consumed almost all the flour in the city’s granary.” As he wrote these words in the royal palace, in the neighboring parishes of Madrid births plunged and deaths soared.²⁸ (See Figure 3.) A few months later, even in Andalusia, “it began to rain a lot, and the weather turned very cold, even worse than the coldest January day.” Freak frosts killed the ears of grain and produced the worst harvest of the century.²⁹ Chumacero despaired: “God has chosen to wear out these realms with every calamity—war, famine and plague—each one of which normally suffices to raise great anguish and a sense of panic,” he told the king in October 1647. “The population [of Madrid] is very volatile and every day it becomes more insolent, which leads to fears of some violence . . . because hunger respects no one [*la ambre a ninguno respecta*] and so it is necessary to do all we can to help, and to avoid any decision which the people might regard as a burden, even if they have no cause . . . The people are so licentious that no day is safe [from the threat of violence].” He concluded wearily: “There is no shortage of people who blame Your Majesty, saying that he does nothing, and that the council is at fault—as if we had any control over the climate!”³⁰

Before long, repeated examples of extreme weather, especially prolonged cold spells, led some to suspect global cooling. In July 1675, the learned Parisian Madame de Sévigné complained that, instead of the normal summer heat wave, “We suffer horribly from the cold and have the fires lit” and speculated that “the behavior of the sun and of the seasons has completely changed.” That same decade, according to an Ottoman traveler in Egypt, “No one here used to know about wearing furs. There was no winter. But now we have severe winters and we have started wearing furs because of the cold.”³¹ In China, the frequency of extreme climatic events led the Kangxi emperor, who studied regional weather reports closely, to conclude in

²⁷ Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall, of Francis Lo: Verulam* (London, 1625), 79–80.

²⁸ Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid [hereafter AMAE], Ms. 42/7, Chumacero to Philip IV, February 6, 1647; Charles Larquié, “Popular Uprisings in Mid-Seventeenth Century Spain,” *Renaissance and Medieval Studies* 26 (1982): 90–107.

²⁹ Francisco Morales Padrón, ed., *Memorias de Sevilla (1600–78)* (Córdoba, 1981), 123–124. The graph of tithe yields for the archdiocese of Seville in Gonzalo Anes Álvarez, *Las crisis agrarias en la España moderna*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1974), graph 9, shows a dramatic fall in 1647.

³⁰ AMAE, Ms. 42/15–16v, Chumacero to Philip IV, October 22, 1647.

³¹ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire humaine et comparée du climat, I: Canicules et glaciers (XIIIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2004), 462–463, quoting a letter from Mme. de Sévigné to her daughter, July 24, 1675 (a year noted by climatologists as one of the coldest on record); Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* [Book of Travels], 15 vols. (Istanbul, 1969–1971), 10: 508 (reference and translation kindly provided by Jane Hathaway).

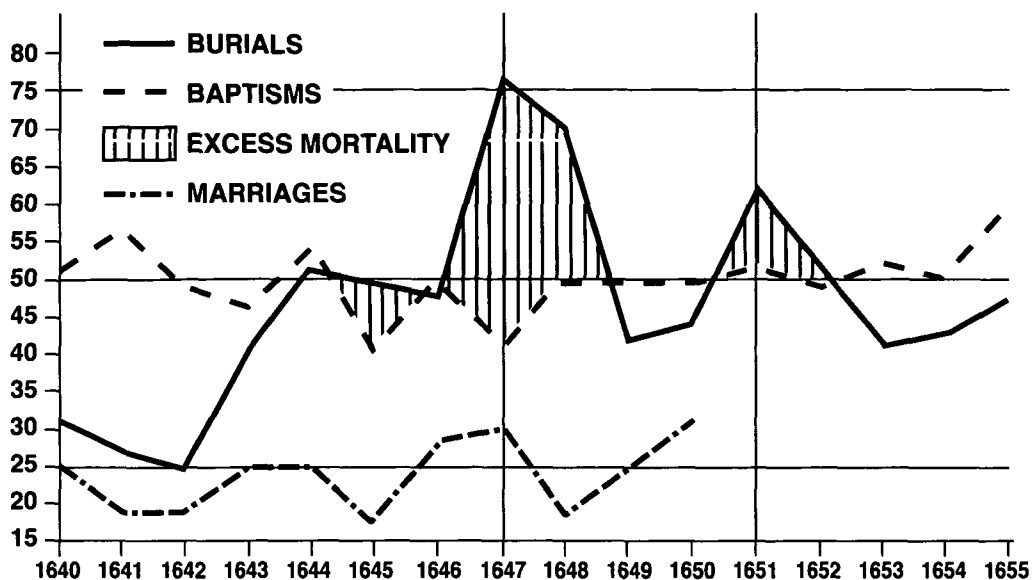


FIGURE 3: The consequences of a subsistence crisis in the Madrid parish of Santa María de la Almudena. The registers of births, burials, and marriages in 1640–1655 reveal a major mortality crisis that peaked in January and February 1647, just as the granaries of the capital ran out of flour. Based on Larqué, “Popular Uprisings,” 97.

1717 that “The climate has changed.” His Majesty recalled that in the mid-seventeenth century, “when I was touring in Jiangnan, by the 18th day of the third month new wheat [from the winter wheat crop] was available to eat. Now, even by the middle of the fourth month, wheat has not been harvested . . . I have also heard that in Fujian, where it never used to snow, since the beginning of our dynasty [1636], it has.”³²

A generation later, the French intellectual Voltaire made the first systematic attempt to see the rebellions, wars, and natural catastrophes of the preceding century as a global phenomenon arising in part from climate change. In the 1740s, he composed a lengthy *Essay on the Customs and Character of Nations* for his friend Madame du Châtelet, who was bored stiff by the past. Because the mid-seventeenth century presented his reluctant reader with special problems of ennui, Voltaire decided to render the apparent anarchy intelligible by setting individual episodes within a global framework: “a period of usurpations almost from one end of the world to the other” that included Oliver Cromwell in Europe, Aurangzeb in India, and Li Zicheng in China.³³ No doubt fearing that his 800-page metanarrative might exhaust Mme. du Châtelet, Voltaire ended his *Essay* in telegraphic style: “Three things exercise a constant influence over the minds of men: climate, government, and religion.” Only this trinity, he asserted, could “explain the enigma of this world.”³⁴

³² Robert B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge, 1998), 195, quoting the *Da Qing sheng zu (Kangxi) shi lu* for 1717. Ironically, at the precise moment when the emperor reached this conclusion, the climate began to warm again.

³³ François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, 2 vols. (1756; repr., 2 vols., Paris, 1963), 2: 794 (see further examples at 2: 756–757).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 806: “le climat, le gouvernement, et la religion.”

SO FAR, ALL HISTORIANS OF THE GENERAL CRISIS have included “government and religion” in their analysis, but few have considered the impact of the climate. Even the pioneering 1967 study *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate since the Year 1000*, by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, a historian of early modern Europe, concluded that “In the present state of our knowledge it still seems as if the long ‘crisis,’ hypothetical or real, of the seventeenth century had some other explanation” than climate change. For example, Le Roy Ladurie continued, “it would be quite absurd” to try and “‘explain’ the Fronde by the adverse meteorological conditions of the 1640s.” Accordingly, instead of writing a study of the impact of climatic fluctuations on European history, as he had intended, Le Roy Ladurie made “a modest attempt to establish an accurate chronology of those fluctuations.”³⁵

In 1967, such pessimism was justified; but over the past forty years, an avalanche of new data has transformed our knowledge of early modern weather and thus the links between climate and catastrophe. The data fall into two distinct categories: a “human archive” and a “natural archive.” The former consists of four main types of records:

- *Narrative* information contained in written texts (chronicles and histories, letters and diaries, judicial and government records, newspapers and broadsheets) and oral traditions.
- *Numerical* information compiled from documentary proxy data (such as the changing date on which the harvesting of certain crops began each year, or the annual volume harvested) or, occasionally, from narrative reports (“Rain fell for the first time in 42 days”).
- *Pictorial* information contained in dated visual representations of natural phenomena (paintings that show the position of a glacier’s tongue in a given year or that depict ice floes in a harbor during a winter of unusual severity).
- *Epigraphic* or *archaeological* information, such as inscriptions on structures that date flood levels, or excavations of settlements abandoned because of climate change.

The size of this “human archive” for the mid-seventeenth century is overwhelming. In Sicily, more than a dozen contemporaries recorded in detail the progress of the drought and famine that sparked revolt in most of the island’s towns in 1647; while in Ireland, judges took sworn “depositions” from some 2,600 Protestant men and 600 women, filling almost 20,000 pages with the things seen, heard, and suffered in 1641 when, following three failed harvests, large numbers of Catholics raped, robbed, killed, and humiliated their Protestant neighbors. In China, a scholar who set out in the 1660s to reconstruct the misery of the recent transition from Ming to Qing in Jiangnan found almost seventy local histories to consult.³⁶ No previous period boasts such a wealth of eyewitness evidence for historical investigation. But

³⁵ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate since the Year 1000*, rev. ed. (New York, 1988; orig. French ed. 1967), 293, 289, 5. With remarkable prescience, on p. 303 the author foresaw that computers would transform the historical study of climate.

³⁶ Peter Burke, “Some Seventeenth-Century Anatomists of Revolution,” *Storia della storiografia* 22 (1992): 23–35; Aidan Clarke, “The 1641 Depositions,” in Peter Fox, ed., *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), 111–122; Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683: A Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1998), 7–9, 33–34 (citing the histories of Ji Liuqi).

there is more: a “natural archive” provides abundant complementary material on long-term trends. Here, too, four types of record possess special relevance for the period before scientific instruments became available to track climate change:

- *Ice cores*: the annual deposits on ice caps and glaciers around the world, captured in deep boreholes, provide evidence of changing levels of volcanic emissions, precipitation, air temperature, and atmospheric composition.
- *Glaciology*: the alternating advance and retreat of glaciers, together with an analysis of the debris left behind, sheds light on both precipitation and ablation.
- *Palynology*: changes in pollen and spores deposited in lakes, bogs, and estuaries reflect the natural vegetation at the time of pollen deposit.
- *Dendrochronology*: the varying size of growth rings laid down by trees during each growing season reflects local conditions in spring and summer. A thick ring corresponds with a year favorable to growth, while a narrow ring indicates a year of adversity.³⁷

Combining the two “archives” has enabled climatologists to re-create detailed weather maps for western Europe back to 1659 by month, and back to 1500 by season.³⁸ In 1999, the journal *Climatic Change* devoted an entire issue to European weather during the sixteenth century, which was later published in book form.³⁹ Since then, articles in the *International Journal of Climatology* and elsewhere have offered a detailed reconstruction of both the European climate between 1675 and 1715 and the entire global climate for certain decades of the early modern period.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, no similar survey has yet appeared for the 1640s, the decade at

³⁷ See the detailed discussion of these categories in Raymond S. Bradley, *Paleoclimatology: Reconstructing Climates of the Quaternary*, 2nd ed. (San Diego, Calif., 1999), 441–470; Christian Pfister, Rudolf Brázdil, and Mariano Barriandos, “Reconstructing Past Climate and Natural Disasters in Europe Using Documentary Evidence,” *Pages News* 10, no. 3 (2002): 6–8; Christian Pfister, “Weeping in the Snow: The Second Period of Little Ice Age-Type Impacts, 1570–1630,” in Wolfgang Behringer, Hartman Lehmann, and Christian Pfister, eds., *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der “Kleinen Eiszeit”* (Göttingen, 2005), 31–86; and Rudolf Brázdil, Christian Pfister, Heinz Wanner, Hans Von Storch, and Jürg Luterbacher, “Historical Climatology in Europe—the State of the Art,” *Climatic Change* 70 (2005): 363–430.

³⁸ Jürg Luterbacher, Daniel Dietrich, Elena Xoplaki, Martin Grosjean, and Heinz Wanner, “European Seasonal and Annual Temperature Variability, Trends, and Extremes since 1500,” *Science* 303, no. 5663 (March 5, 2004): 1499–1503. The study of floods provides another excellent example of how historians of climate now combine surviving human and natural archives: see *Historical Hydrology*, special issue, *Hydrological Sciences Journal* 51, no. 5 (2006), edited by Rudolf Brázdil. Several of the fourteen papers present data concerning early modern Europe.

³⁹ Christian Pfister, Rudolf Brázdil, and Rüdiger Glaser, eds., *Climatic Variability in Sixteenth-Century Europe and Its Social Dimension* (Dordrecht, 1999).

⁴⁰ Jürg Luterbacher et al., “Monthly Mean Pressure Reconstruction for the Late Maunder Minimum Period (AD 1675–1715),” *International Journal of Climatology* 20 (2000): 1049–1066; and Keith R. Briffa and Timothy J. Osborn, “Blowing Hot and Cold,” *Science* 295, no. 5563 (March 22, 2002): 2227–2228. Briffa and Osborn reconstructed “annual mean temperatures from all land regions north of 20N,” and although the 1640s do not stand out in the “50 year smoothed filter” diagram shown in the article, they feature prominently in the “unsmoothed time series” provided in the attached data file. The National Center of Competence in Research on Climate (NCCR) at the University of Bern, Switzerland, is assembling a database of serial records; see EuroClimHist: A Data-Base on Past Weather and Climate in Europe and Its Human Dimension, created by Christian Pfister and Urs Dietrich-Felber, <http://www.euroclimhist.com> (accessed July 9, 2008), and Urs Dietrich-Felber, “Using Java and XML in Interdisciplinary Research: A New Data-Gathering Tool for Historians Working with EuroClimHist,” *Historical Methods* 37, no. 4 (2004): 174–185. As ECH’s projects reach completion, they become available on the website of the United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Paleoclimatology Project.

the center of the General Crisis, but the natural and human “archives” are both abundant, and they reveal both extreme cold and prolonged drought around the globe. In America, New England’s colonists experienced the second-coldest winter in a century in 1641–1642. John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, noted in his journal that “The frost was so great and continual this winter that all the Bay was frozen over, so much and so long, as the like, by the Indians’ relation, had not been so these forty years . . . To the southward also the frost was as great and the snow as deep, and at Virginia itself the great [Chesapeake] bay was much of it frozen over, and all of their great rivers.” Sir Ferdinando Gorges’s settlers on the coast of Maine likewise complained of the “most intolerable piercing winter,” adding, “it is incredible to relate the extremity of the weather.”⁴¹ East Asia also experienced abnormal cold. In Japan, when Enomoto Yazaemon (a merchant and minor official living just north of Tokyo) wrote his memoirs, he remembered the unique conditions on New Year’s Day 1641, when “ice lay in the fields one foot deep. From that time, I observed seven snowfalls until the spring.” The following November, Tokyo was once again covered with snow: only two other years since then have seen snowfalls so early.⁴² A reconstruction of annual temperatures in China since 1370 likewise shows the lowest point ever in the mid-seventeenth century. (See Figure 4.) A chronicler in Shanghai, writing in April 1642, recorded that “since the New Year [January 31], it has been cold and it has rained frequently. The spring has almost come to an end, but the cold still persists.”⁴³

Europe, too, experienced winters of extreme severity—from Scandinavia (which suffered the coldest winter ever recorded in 1641–1642) to Macedonia (where that same year “there was so much rain and snow that many workers died through the great cold”).⁴⁴ In the Alps, fields, farmsteads, and even whole villages disappeared as glaciers advanced to their maximum extent between 1640 and 1644. Summers as well as winters were unusually cold in those years. In eastern France, cool summers delayed every grape harvest between 1640 and 1643 by a full month and reduced harvest yields.⁴⁵ Hungary experienced a run of unusually wet and cold summers in the 1640s; while in Bohemia, frosts in late May and early September, and occasionally

⁴¹ John Winthrop, *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649*, ed. Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 368, 384, 387; Karen O. Kupperman, “The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period,” *American Historical Review* 87, no. 5 (December 1982): 1262–1289, at 1274, quoting Thomas Gorges, the nephew of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The intensity of the “intolerable piercing winter” of 1641–1642 appears in Harold C. Fritts, *Reconstructing Large-Scale Climatic Patterns by Tree-Ring Data* (Tucson, Ariz., 1991), 125–126, 139–149, and the “natural archive” data published in Raymond S. Bradley and Philip D. Jones, eds., *Climate since A. D. 1500* (London, 1992), 83 and Fig. 14.4.

⁴² Enomoto Yazaemon, *Enomoto Yazaemon Oboegaki* [Memoranda Written by Enomoto Yazaemon], ed. Ono Mizuo (Tokyo, 2001), 35; H. Arakawa, “Dates of the First or Earliest Snow Covering for Tokyo since 1632,” *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society* 82 (1956): 222–226 (a snow covering in November occurred only in 1641, 1699, and 1802).

⁴³ Ye Shaoyuan’s memoir quoted in William S. Atwell, “Volcanism and Short-Term Climatic Change in East Asian and World History, c. 1200–1699,” *Journal of World History* 12 (2001): 29–98, at 67–68.

⁴⁴ Takehiko Mikami, ed., *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Little Ice Age Climate* (Tokyo, 1992), 6–9; Paolo Oderico, ed., *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1996), 163, 169.

⁴⁵ Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire humaine, I*, 298–303 (Alpine glaciers), 356–366 (the adverse French climate between 1640 and 1643).

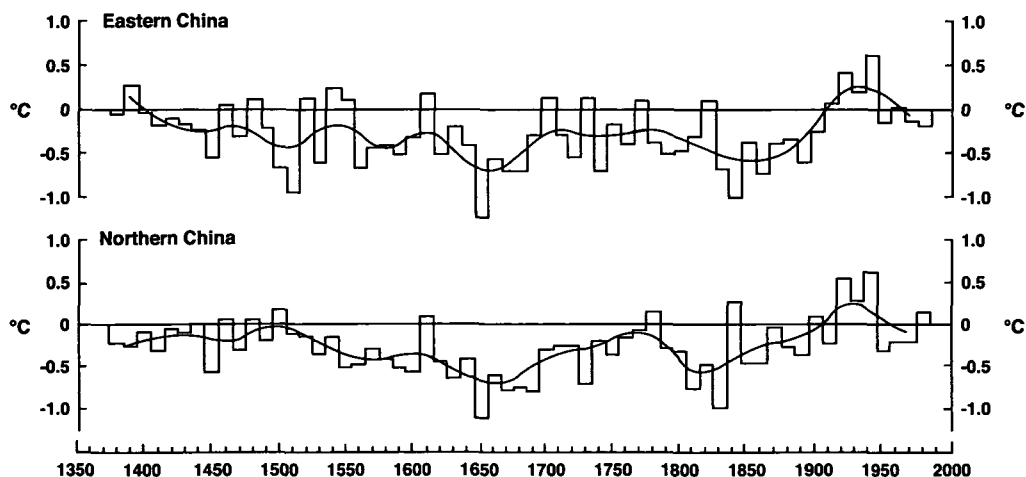


FIGURE 4: Annual temperature anomalies in China, 1370–1800. In both eastern China (above: Shanghai, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces) and northern China (below: Beijing, Hebei, Henan, Shandong, and Shanxi provinces), ten-year mean annual temperature departures from 1880–1979 levels show the 1640s and 1650s as by far the coldest during the entire period. The same decades also saw the highest frequency of unusually cold events. Based on Bradley, *Paleoclimatology*, 461.

also in summer, ruined several harvests.⁴⁶ Perhaps most striking of all, a soldier serving in central Germany recorded in his diary in *August* 1640 that “at this time there was such a great cold that we almost froze to death in our quarters. On the road, three people did freeze to death: a cavalryman, a woman, and a boy.”⁴⁷ In the Northern Hemisphere as a whole, 1641 was the third-coldest summer recorded over the past six centuries, 1643 was the tenth-coldest, and 1642 was the twenty-eighth-coldest—three landmark winters in a row. These extremes have led historians and climatologists alike to speak of the period as “the Little Ice Age.”⁴⁸

The 1640s also saw prolonged drought in many areas. The western United States lacked rain in 1640–1644, which, combined with unusually low temperatures, sig-

⁴⁶ Lajos Rácz, “Variations of Climate in Hungary (1540–1779),” in Burkhart Frenzel, ed., *European Climate Reconstructed from Documentary Data: Methods and Results* (Stuttgart, 1992), 125–135; Rudolf Brázdil, Hubert Valášek, and Oldřich Kotyza, “Meteorological Records of Michel Stüeler of Krupka and Their Contribution to the Knowledge of the Climate of the Czech Lands in 1629–1649,” in Dušan Drbohlav, Jan Kalvoda, and Vít Voženilek, eds., *Czech Geography at the Dawn of the Millennium* (Olomouc, 2004), 95–112.

⁴⁷ Jan Peters, ed., *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreissigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin, 1993), 166. (The diarist Peter Hagendorf made this entry in Neustadt-an-der-Saale on August 7, 1640. I thank David Parrott for this reference.) Data concerning the extreme weather of 1640–1641 abound in Christian Pfister, *Klimageschichte der Schweiz 1525–1860 und seiner Bedeutung in der Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Landwirtschaft*, 2 vols. (Bern, 1988), 1: 70–71; Walter Lenke, *Klimadaten von 1621–1650 nach Beobachtungen des Landgrafen Herman IV. von Hessen* (Offenbach, 1960), 37–38 (annual tables for frost/snow 1640–1641); Rüdiger Glaser, *Klimarekonstruktion für Mainfranken, Bauland und Odenwald* (Stuttgart, 1991), 111–112; and Glaser, *Klimageschichte Mitteleuropas: 1000 Jahre Wetter, Klima, Katastrophen* (Darmstadt, 2001), 147–148.

⁴⁸ Atwell, “Volcanism,” 63. For estimated temperatures, see Anders Moberg et al., “Highly Variable Northern Hemisphere Temperature Reconstructed from Low- and High-Resolution Proxy Data,” *Nature* 333, no. 7026 (2005): 613–617, and the accompanying database. For a recent discussion, see Brázdil et al., “Historical Climatology in Europe,” and John A. Matthews and Keith R. Briffa, “The ‘Little Ice Age’: Re-evaluation of an Evolving Concept,” *Geografiska Annaler* 87 A (2005): 17–36. Although the mid-seventeenth century experienced several notable climatic anomalies—1619–1620, 1627, 1630–1631, 1640–1642, 1647–1649, 1657–1658, 1660–1661, 1664–1665, and 1675, many of them coinciding with episodes of major political upheaval—for reasons of space this article concentrates on just 1640–1642.

nificantly stunted the growth of plants. No rain fell in the Valley of Mexico between spring and mid-October 1641, and a shortage of rain the following summer raised the price of maize, the staple crop, to famine levels: in both years the clergy of Mexico City took the “Virgen de los Remedios” on procession to solicit God’s intervention before everyone died.⁴⁹ Across the Pacific, according to a 1642 pamphlet, the entire Philippines suffered from a “great drought that prevails—for there has been no rain for eight months, which occasions excessive heat; and the rice, the usual food in this country, cannot be sown, and a great famine is feared.” Between 1643 and 1671, the Indonesian archipelago experienced the longest drought recorded during the past four centuries.⁵⁰ In 1640, northern China experienced the single-driest year recorded during the last five centuries; while in 1641, central China experienced its second-driest year in two centuries, with a drought so severe in Shandong Province that the Grand Canal dried up for the only time on record.⁵¹ In Egypt, the Nile fell to some of its lowest recorded levels between 1640 and 1643; much of West Africa suffered droughts of great intensity in 1639–1643; and prolonged drought reduced Lake Chad to the lowest level ever recorded.⁵² In Europe, finally, Catalonia experienced a drought in spring 1640 so intense that the authorities declared a special holiday so that the entire population could make a pilgrimage to a local shrine to pray for water—one of only four such occasions recorded in five centuries. One day in May 1641, in Madrid, the entire central government received an order to stop work and join the royal family in a procession that followed the body of the capital’s patron saint, St. Isidro, around the streets to pray for rain.⁵³

⁴⁹ Southern and Midwestern USA Climate Reconstructions, dataset created by D. W. Stahle and M. K. Cleaveland, http://gcmd.nasa.gov/records/GCMD_NOAA_NCDC_PALEO_94-024.html (accessed July 9, 2008); International Tree-Ring Data Bank, maintained by the NOAA Paleoclimatology Program and World Data Center for Paleoclimatology, <http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo/treering.html> (accessed July 9, 2008); Enrique Florescano, *Análisis histórico de las sequías en México* (Mexico, 1972), 23; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 313–315.

⁵⁰ Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1905–1910), 35: 123, from reports on events in 1640–1642 compiled by Franciscan friars; Anthony R. Reid, “The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century in Southeast Asia,” in Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London, 1997), 211–217.

⁵¹ Wang Shaowu, “Climate of the Little Ice Age in China,” in Mikami, *Proceedings*, 120; Sato Taketoshi, *Chukoku saigaishi nenpyo* [Chronology of Natural Disasters in China] (Tokyo, 1993), 243–244 (listing natural disasters recorded in the *Mingshi*, compiled from gazetteers, one of which recorded the drying up of the Grand Canal in Shandong in 1641); and Song Zhenghai, *Zhongguo gudai zhong da ziran zaihai he yichang nianbiao* [A Comprehensive Chronology of Significant Natural Disasters and Unusual Occurrences in Ancient China] (Guangzhou, 1992), data for 1641 in categories 4–7/9.

⁵² Nasir Ahmad Ibrahim, *Al-Azmat al-ijtima ‘iyya fi misr fi al-qarn al-sabi’ ‘ashar* [Social Crises in Egypt in the Seventeenth Century] (Cairo, 1998), 1 (drought), Appendixes 11 and 12 (the Nile reached only fifteen cubits in 1641, the lowest recorded); Sharon E. Nicholson, “Saharan Climates in Historic Times,” in Martin A. J. Williams and Hugues Faure, eds., *The Sahara and the Nile: Quaternary Environments and Prehistoric Occupation in Northern Africa* (Rotterdam, 1980), 177, 180 (graph); Roderick J. McIntosh et al., eds., *The Way the Wind Blows: Climate, History, and Human Action* (New York, 2000), 131, 156; and Joseph C. Miller, “The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa,” *Journal of African History* 23 (1982): 17–61, especially the tabulated data at 43–46. On Lake Chad, see Sharon E. Nicholson, “The Methodology of Historical Climate Reconstruction and Its Application to Africa,” *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 31–49; and Climate Research Committee, National Research Council, *Natural Climate Variability on Decade-to-Century Time Scales* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 32–35.

⁵³ Javier Martín-Vide and Mariano Barriendos Vallvé, “The Use of Rogation Ceremony Records in Climatic Reconstruction: A Case Study from Catalonia (Spain),” *Climatic Change* 30 (1995): 201–221, at 212 (the other years were 1529, 1566, and 1628); BNM, Ms. 8177/141–145, “Relación” of May 16, 1641.

SO WE NOW KNOW THAT THE GENERAL CRISIS coincided with a major anomaly in the world's climatic history; but what caused that anomaly? Responsibility rests with two natural phenomena that began in the mid-seventeenth century and persisted until the early eighteenth century, when the global climate changed again and became more benign. First, solar activity reached the lowest level in two millennia. Fewer sunspots—those dark, cooler patches on the solar surface surrounded by “flares” that make the sun shine with greater intensity—appeared between 1645 and 1715 than in a single year of the twentieth century. Whereas more than 100,000 sunspots now come and go in a sixty-year period, the last six decades of the seventeenth century saw scarcely 100.⁵⁴ Other observations by astronomers of the time confirm a striking reduction in solar energy. The aurora borealis (the “northern lights,” caused when charged particles from the sun interact with the earth's magnetic field) became rare for two generations after 1640—so rare that when Edmond Halley, England's Astronomer Royal, saw an aurora in 1716, he wrote a learned paper describing the phenomenon because it was the first time he had seen one in almost fifty years of observation. Likewise, the brilliant corona nowadays visible during every total solar eclipse also disappeared: descriptions by astronomers between the 1640s and the 1700s mention only a pale ring of dull light, reddish and narrow, around the moon. The energy of the sun appears to have diminished, a condition normally associated with reduced surface temperatures and extreme climatic events on earth.⁵⁵

Simultaneously, contemporaries regularly reported “dust veils” in the skies above the Northern Hemisphere that made the sun seem paler or redder than usual. During the first six months of 1651, a Barcelona shopkeeper lamented that “among our misfortunes, I think the greatest was that the sun did not shine once . . . and if it came out it was pale and yellow, or else much too red, which caused great fear.”⁵⁶ Thousands of miles to the east, Korea's royal astronomers reported on numerous occasions in the seventeenth century that “the skies all around are darkened and grey as if some kind of dust had fallen.”⁵⁷ Both the dust and the reddened skies stemmed from a spate of major volcanic eruptions, each hurling sulfur dioxide into the stratosphere, where it deflected some of the sun's radiation back into space and thus significantly reduced temperatures in all areas of the earth beneath the dust clouds. In particular, twelve major volcanic eruptions occurred around the Pacific between 1638 and 1644—apparently an all-time record—and all of them occurred near the

⁵⁴ F. W. G. Spörer, “Über die Periodicität der Sonnenflecken seit dem Jahre 1618,” *Vierteljahrsschrift der astronomischen Gesellschaft* 22, pt. 4 (1887): 323–329; E. W. Maunder, “The Prolonged Sunspot Minimum, 1645–1715,” *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* 32 (1922): 140–145. The reconstructions of Luterbacher, “Monthly Mean Pressure Reconstruction,” 1050, show an exceptional decrease in solar activity in the second half of the seventeenth century.

⁵⁵ John A. Eddy, “The ‘Maunder Minimum’: Sunspots and Climate in the Reign of Louis XIV,” in Parker and Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, 268. R. K. Mukerjee, “Agricultural Cycles and Sunspots,” *Indian Journal of Sunspots* 10, no. 2 (1939): 259–299, demonstrated that “when the relative sunspot numbers were below 15, a drought period occur[red]” in central India because the monsoon weakened by between 25 and 40 percent.

⁵⁶ Miquel Parets, *A Journal of the Plague Year: The Diary of the Barcelona Tanner Miquel Parets, 1651*, trans. and ed. James S. Amelang (Oxford, 1991), 100, from the chronicle of Andrés de la Vega.

⁵⁷ Atwell, “Volcanism,” 41; Yi Tae-Jin, “Meteor Fallings and Other Natural Phenomena between 1500–1750, as Recorded in the Annals of the Choson Dynasty (Korea),” *Celestial Mechanics and Dynamical Astronomy* 69 (1998): 205–206, 217.

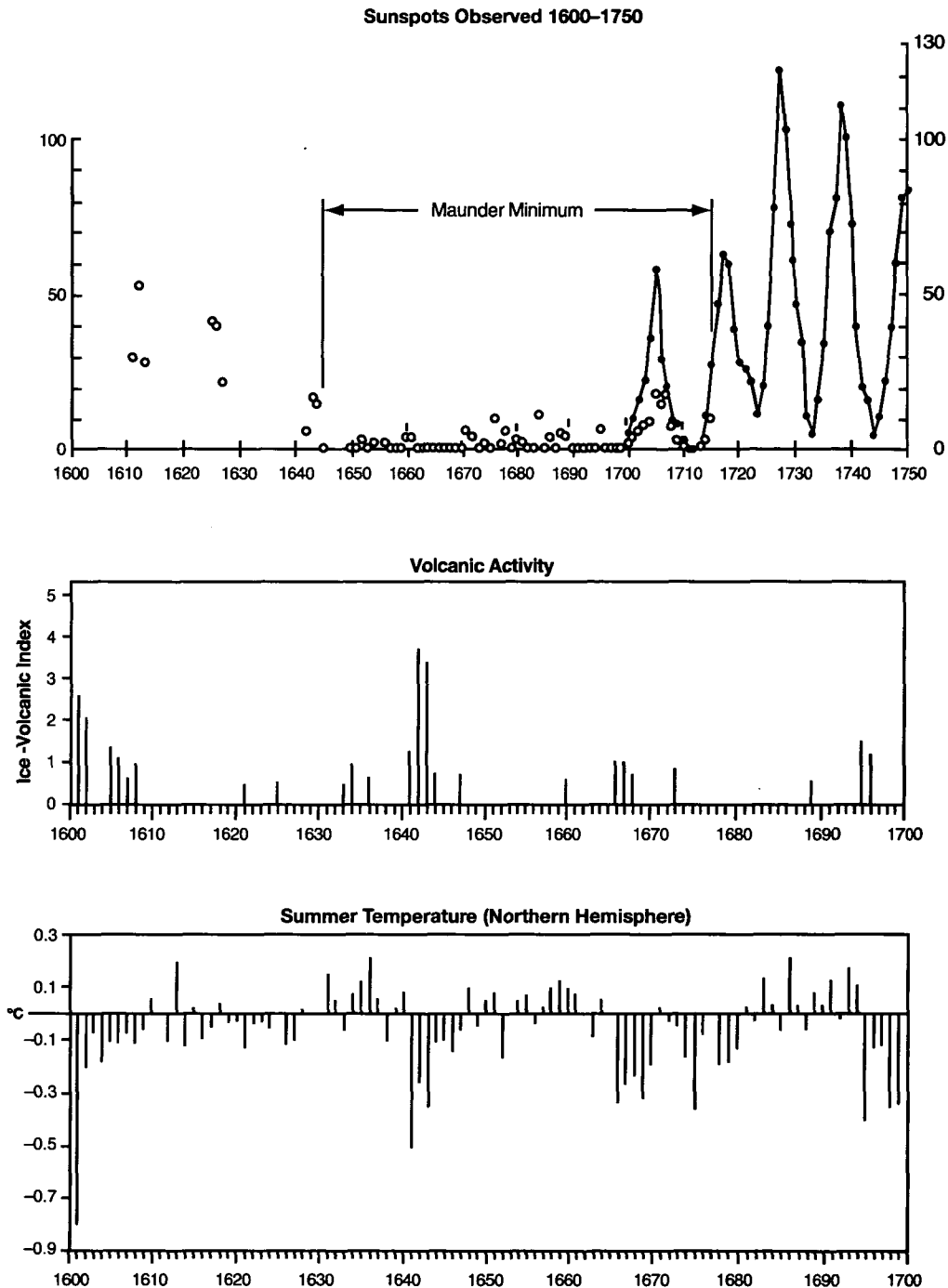


FIGURE 5: Sunspot cycles, volcanic anomalies, and summer temperature variations, 1600–1700. The number of sunspots observed and recorded by European astronomers (top) shows the Maunder Minimum (1645–1715), in which fewer sunspots appeared in sixty years than appear in a single year now. Measurements of volcanic deposits in the polar ice cap (the “Ice-Volcanic Index”) reveal a peak in the 1640s. Both phenomena show a striking correlation with lower summer temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere. Based on Eddy, “The ‘Maunder Minimum,’” 290, Figure 11-6, and Atwell, “Volcanism,” Figures C5 and E3.

equator, so that their dust veils reduced the solar energy received by the most densely populated areas of the planet.⁵⁸

Reduced solar energy received on earth—whether due to fewer sunspots, more volcanic activity, or both—not only lowers the global temperature; it also changes the climate. In normal summers, a column of rising heat over Central Asia attracts the monsoon system, which means that easterly winds blowing from equatorial America bring heavy rains to East and Southeast Asia. By contrast, reduced solar energy means that the snow lingers in Central Asia, reflecting the sun's heat instead of absorbing and radiating it as dark land surfaces do; without the column of rising heat, westerly winds blowing from equatorial Asia to America take the monsoon rains eastward, a phenomenon called El Niño (or, properly, ENSO: El Niño/Southern Oscillation). This shift dramatically affects the world's climate: whereas in normal years heavy rains nurture the harvests of South and East Asia, in El Niño years they bring floods to Central and South America instead and create drought in Asia and Australasia. The "global footprint" left by El Niño also includes three other regions: the Caribbean almost always suffers floods; Ethiopia and northwest India usually experience droughts; and Europe frequently experiences harsh winters.⁵⁹ On average, these disruptive El Niño episodes occur only once every five years, but in the mid-seventeenth century they happened twice as often: in 1640, 1641, 1647, 1650, 1652, 1655, and 1661. Each time, the regions normally affected all experienced abnormal weather.⁶⁰

Besides increasing the frequency of El Niño episodes, reduced solar energy affects the global climate in two other significant ways. First, mean temperatures decline far more in the Northern Hemisphere (home to the majority of humankind and the site of most mid-seventeenth-century revolts, wars, and mortality) than at the equator, in part because increased snow cover and sea ice reflect more of the sun's rays back into space. Thus any significant extension of the polar ice caps and glaciers (both of which occurred in the mid-seventeenth century) further reduces temperatures in northerly latitudes.⁶¹ Second, any fall in overall temperature triggers extreme climatic events. To pluck three notable mid-seventeenth-century examples: In

⁵⁸ Recent analysis has demonstrated that at least three of the 1640–1641 eruptions were rich in sulfur. See the data and discussion in Atwell, "Volcanism," 32–36, 63–65.

⁵⁹ The "global footprint" is admirably discussed in Richard H. Grove and John Chappell, eds., *El Niño: History and Crisis* (London, 2000), chap. 1, and César Caviedes, *El Niño in History: Storming across the Centuries* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 198. Two popular works by Brian Fagan—*Floods, Famines, and Emperors: El Niño and the Fate of Civilizations* (New York, 1999) and *The Little Ice Age* (New York, 2001)—attempt to relate the rise and fall of states to climatic conditions but largely ignore the mid-seventeenth-century crisis.

⁶⁰ Henry F. Diaz and Vera Markgraf, eds., *El Niño: Historical and Paleoclimatic Aspects of the Southern Oscillation* (Cambridge, 1993), 122–123, gives William H. Quinn's chronology of mid-seventeenth-century ENSO events (including 1618, 1619, 1621, 1624, 1630, 1635, 1640, 1641, 1647, 1650, 1652, 1655, 1661, 1671, and 1681). McIntosh, *The Way the Wind Blows*, 58 table (c), displays proxy data for Pacific Ocean temperatures around the Galápagos Islands that show the 1640s as the greatest anomaly in the entire series 1600–2000. Philip D. Jones, Raymond S. Bradley, and Jean Jouzel, eds., *Climatic Variations and Forcing Mechanisms of the Last 2000 Years* (Berlin, 1996), 388–389, shows a spectacular absence of coral formation in 1641 at Urvina Bay, in the Galápagos, which correlates with the unique double El Niño.

⁶¹ D. T. Shindell et al., "Solar Forcing of Regional Climate Change during the Maunder Minimum," *Science* 294 (December 7, 2001): 2149–2152, argue that solar cooling reduces temperatures at northerly latitudes by five to ten times more than at the equator. (I thank Martha Peach for bringing this reference to my attention.) William F. Ruddiman, "The Anthropogenic Greenhouse Era Began Thousands of

the winter of 1620–1621, the Bosphorus froze over so hard that people could cross on foot between Europe and Asia. In 1630, torrential rains in Arabia and western Asia (which an Ottoman chronicler compared with “the times of Noah”) caused floods so severe that they destroyed two walls of the Kaaba in Mecca (a place that normally sees little rain) and caused “the Tigris and Euphrates to overflow, and floods to cover the whole Baghdad plateau.” Finally, in the Baltic, where Sweden and Denmark were at war, an “extraordinary violent frost” early in 1658 “increased to such a degree, that the Little Belt which divides Jutland from the isle of Funen was so intensely frozen, as suggested to the Swedish king an enterprise (full of hazard, but not disagreeable to a fearless mind edged with ambition) of marching over the ice into Funen with horse, foot and cannon.” The astonished Danish defenders “made large cuts in the ice, which were soon congealed again” because of the extreme cold.⁶² Each of these extreme climatic events remains unparalleled; each occurred in the Little Ice Age.

HOW, PRECISELY, CAN HISTORIANS LINK the harsh winters, cool summers, droughts, and floods of the 1640s—to say nothing of the sunspot minimum, the volcanic maximum, and the more frequent El Niños—with individual cases of state breakdown such as the revolts of Scotland, Ireland, and England against Charles I, or the collapse of Ming rule in China? We must not paint bull’s-eyes around bullet holes and argue that since climatic aberrations seem to be the only factor capable of causing simultaneous upheavals around the globe, therefore those aberrations “must” have caused the upheavals. In several cases, however, the human and natural climatic archives show exactly how extreme weather anomalies triggered or fatally exacerbated major political upheavals. Thus much of southern Portugal rebelled in 1637 when drought forced the price of bread to unprecedented heights; popular revolts spread throughout Catalonia in spring 1640 as prolonged drought threatened catastrophic harvest failure; and the first urban riots of the Tokugawa era occurred in 1642 when rice ran short in Osaka, the “kitchen of Japan.”⁶³ Three disastrous harvests preceded the Irish Rebellion in 1641; the catastrophic harvests of 1647 and 1648 helped to precipitate

Years Ago,” *Climatic Change* 61 (2003): 261–293, argues that snow cover and sea ice “amplify global mean temperature changes by a factor of two to three” (285).

⁶² On the frozen Bosphorus, see B. S. Baykal, ed., *Peçevi Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1982), 1: 385; and Z. Yılmaz, ed., *Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi* (Ankara, 2003), 944–946, 985. (I thank Günhan Börekçi for locating and translating these references.) Jane Hathaway drew my attention to the floods that partially destroyed the Kaaba in 1630 (a year in which Italy, India, Britain, and Spain also experienced a climatic catastrophe; see Parker, *The Global Crisis*, pt. 2, for details). On the frozen Baltic, see Philip Meadows (an eyewitness), *A Narrative of the Principal Actions Occurring in the Wars betwixt Sweden and Denmark Before and After the Roschild Treaty* (London, 1677), 33–35; and Arne Ståde, *Carl X Gustaf och Danmark* (Stockholm, 1965).

⁶³ On the two Iberian revolts, see the striking maps in (respectively) Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du comte-duc d’Oliveres (1621–1640): Le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique* (Madrid, 2002), 491, and Antonio Simón i Tarrés, “Catalunya en el siglo XVII: La revuelta campesina y popular de 1640,” *Estudi general / Col·legi Universitari de Girona* 1, no. 1 (1981): 145 and the source at 146 n. 87. On the Osaka riots, see *Dagregisters gehouden bij de Opperhoofden van het Nederlandsche Factorij in Japan*, 9 vols. (Tokyo, 1974–1999), 6: 87, entry for July 15, 1642, reporting information received from the Japanese translators (“door de tolcken”) attached to the Dutch factory at Nagasaki.

major revolts in Sicily, central Italy, Poland, and Russia; while the harvest of 1650 was the worst of the century in Sweden, creating the backdrop for near-revolution when the Estates of the kingdom met in Stockholm.⁶⁴

Scotland offers an excellent example of the role of climate in producing catastrophe. King Charles I made no secret of his desire to create “one uniform course of government in, and through, our whole monarchy” and to impose a single “form of public worship,” so that “as it has but one Lord and one faith, so it has but one heart and one mouth . . . in the churches that are under the protection of one sovereign prince.”⁶⁵ In Scotland, this process gathered momentum in 1634, when Charles ordered the bishops to prepare a new Prayer Book based on the one used in England. Haggling over minor details between the king, his Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud, and the Scottish bishops delayed production for three years, so that when in June 1637 the Scottish Privy Council decreed the compulsory and exclusive use of the new Prayer Book on pain of outlawry, the kingdom faced not only a “scarcity of victuals” and a “scarcity and want of monies” but also a plague epidemic.⁶⁶ In addition, it faced a severe if not unprecedented drought. According to the Earl of Lothian, one of Scotland’s worried landowners, “The earth has been iron in this land . . . and the heavens brass this summer, till now in the harvest there have been such inundations and floods and winds, as no man living remembers the like. This has shaken and rotted and carried away the little corn [that] came up.”⁶⁷

His Lordship did not exaggerate. Scotland’s “natural archive” reveals that 1637 was the driest year in two decades. Indeed, the kingdom experienced the worst recorded drought in a millennium from 1636 until 1649, when food of all sorts became so scarce that “the like had never been seen in the kingdom before heretofore, since it was a nation.”⁶⁸ Small wonder, then, that Charles I’s innovations, coming at a time of acute climate-induced adversity, should produce popular riots and lead landowners such as the Earl of Lothian to join the Covenanting Revolt and raise an army to secure guarantees that the king would respect their political and religious autonomy. Likewise, a decade of cold, wet summers, ruining one harvest after another, explains the eagerness of the Scots to appropriate England’s resources throughout

⁶⁴ See details on all these examples in Parker, *The Global Crisis*, pt. 2.

⁶⁵ Clarence S. Brigham, ed., *British Royal Proclamations Relating to America, 1603–1783* (1911; repr., New York, 1964), 53, “A proclamation for settling the plantation of Virginia,” May 13, 1625, OS; “Charles R” [King Charles I], *A Large Declaration Concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland* (London, 1639), 16.

⁶⁶ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd ser., ed. David Masson and P. Hume Brown, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1899–1908), 6: 431–432, 438–439, 442–445, 454–456 (plague and scarcity of food) and 465 (coinage), acts dated June 3, 10, 8, 17, and 26, 1637. Ibid., 6: 448, act of June 13, 1637, which placed those who refused to use the new Prayer Book “under pain of rebellion.” On the tortuous negotiations over *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1637), see Gordon Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh, 1954).

⁶⁷ *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancram, and His Son William, Third Earl of Lothian*, ed. David Laing, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1875), 1: 93–98, Lothian to Ancram, October 19, 1637, OS, a letter full of complaints about the economic disasters caused by bad weather that summer.

⁶⁸ Balfour, *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour*, 3: 432–433; NOAA Paleoclimatology Program and World Data Center for Paleoclimatology, Northwest Scotland Stalagmite and Climate Reconstruction Data, contributors: Andy Baker, Chris Proctor, and Bill Barnes, ftp://ftp.ncdc.noaa.gov/pub/data/paleo/speleo/therm/scotland/scotland_data.txt (accessed July 9, 2008) (calculations from the width of the annual luminescent band formed by precipitation each year on stalagmites in northwest Scotland, normally the wettest part of the country).

the 1640s—billeting as many of their troops as possible south of the border and extracting a huge ransom before they agreed to withdraw—despite the knowledge that their perceived rapacity discredited and alienated their English supporters. Many Covenanters felt that unless they exploited their assets in England to the hilt, Scotland would starve.⁶⁹

The Scottish Revolution thus offers a perfect vindication of Voltaire's thesis that rebellions arose during the mid-seventeenth century through a fatal synergy between government, religion, and climate. Charles's insistence on creating "one uniform course of government in, and through, our whole monarchy," especially in matters of religion, coupled with the Little Ice Age, led to state collapse. But climate cannot explain everything; we must not become "climatic determinists." Three other factors, all of them related to human agency, also shaped the General Crisis in Scotland (and elsewhere): contingency, imitation, and intransigence.

The crucial role played by *contingency* is best illustrated by the rioting that attended the first use of Charles I's new Prayer Book in Edinburgh's St. Giles's Cathedral on July 23, 1637, thereby starting the Scottish Revolution. Despite the presence of the king's judges and the city magistrates, as soon as the dean began to read the new set prayers, a group of maidservants sitting at the front, "with clapping of their hands, cursings and outcries, raised such a barbarous hubbub in that sacred place that not any one could either hear or be heard."⁷⁰ One of them also hurled her small folding stool. None of this was coincidence. Rumors that Charles planned major religious innovations had circulated for several months, but the defenders of the traditional ways lacked irrefutable evidence until, in a classic case of Scottish parsimony, the government printer decided to sell the corrected proofs of the new liturgy as scrap paper, and individual sheets of it appeared in "the shops of Edinburgh to cover spice and tobacco."⁷¹ Only this convinced a group of godly aristocrats that Charles did indeed plan to change the established form of worship, and they now laid plans for their maidservants to start a riot whenever the new Prayer Book was first used. These were the women who raised the "barbarous hubbub" in St. Giles's Cathedral on July 23, 1637, despite the presence of judges and magistrates.

The Scottish Revolution also exemplifies the important role of *imitation* in sparking rebellion. As early as 1638, an Anglican bishop in Ireland complained about the "desperate example the contumacious Nonconformists [sc. the Scottish Covenanters] have given both to England and to Ireland," and lamented that "this contagion" had already begun to spread to Ulster. Shortly afterward, the Scots distributed thousands of copies of pamphlets that justified their actions to the English in what David Como has hailed as "among the most systematic and concerted campaigns hitherto attempted by a foreign power to bombard a separate kingdom with propaganda, thereby using the printed word to manipulate political opinion and fundamentally

⁶⁹ Parker, *The Global Crisis*, provides more details on these events and makes a similar argument for the Qing at the same time: global cooling and drought-reduced crop yields in their homeland convinced the Manchu leaders that unless they invaded China and exploited its superior resources, they would starve.

⁷⁰ Charles I, *A Large Declaration*, 23.

⁷¹ John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, *A Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. J. Nairne (Edinburgh, 1830), 197, reported the careless use of proofs as wrapping paper. See the perceptive reconstructions of these events in Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenant, 1637–1651* (Edinburgh, 1979), 18–19.

to alter the political process of another nation.”⁷² In 1645, as James Howell wondered “upon whom to lay the blame” for the outbreak of civil war in England, he singled out the rebellion of the Irish Catholics as “the womb of our miseries.” But, he added (wallowing in mixed metaphors), “They have administered fuel enough, and too much, to this fire, but it was first kindled in Scotland. The Puritans there were the womb of it; though I must tell you withall, the loins that begot this centaur were the Puritans here in England. If the flint and steel had not struck fire in England, the tinder had never took fire in Scotland, nor had the flame ever gone over into Ireland to increase the fire.”⁷³

Many contemporaries less addicted to metaphor agreed that “the example of Scotland” had played a crucial role in the genesis of the Irish Rebellion. The Earl of Castlehaven recalled in his *Memoirs* how his Irish Catholic colleagues “saw the Scots, by pretending grievances and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained divers privileges and immunities, but got £300,000 for their visit, beside £850 a day for several months together.” According to one of the leading conspirators, the Covenanters’ success convinced the Irish malcontents that only military strength could end “the tyrannical government that was over them,” and they therefore resolved “to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course.”⁷⁴ “The Scots had their wills by force of arms,” another conspirator observed, and “so would they here in this kingdom.” “Why,” another of the insurgents asked his Protestant prisoner rhetorically, “may not we as well and better fight for religion, which is the substance, than the Scots did for ceremonies (which are but shadows)?” Most revealing of all, when another Protestant prisoner asked his Irish captor “What? [Have you] made a Covenant among you as the Scots did?” he received the crushing reply: “The Scots have taught us our A. B. C.”⁷⁵

Finally, *intransigence* often provoked and prolonged the tension between rulers and ruled during the General Crisis. Thus in 1638, Charles I determined to use force against his critics in Scotland because “not only now my crown but my reputation for ever lies at stake”; and so he vowed that “I would rather die than yield to those impertinent and damnable demands.”⁷⁶ Three weeks later, he exclaimed that “by the heavenly God, so long as this Covenant is in force . . . I have no more power in

⁷² *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland of the Reign of Charles I*, ed. R. P. Mahaffy, 4 vols. (London: H.M.S.O., 1900–1904), 3: 182, Bishop Bramhall of Derry to Laud, February 23, 1638; David R. Como, “Secret Printing, the Crisis of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism,” *Past & Present* 196 (2007): 37–82, quotation at 57. Como also presented evidence of spirited anti-government pamphlets written and printed in England.

⁷³ [James Howell,] *A Discourse Discovering Some Mysteries of Our New State . . . Shewing the Rise and Progresse of England’s Unhappinesse, ab anno illo infortunato 1641* (Oxford, 1645), 15.

⁷⁴ James Tuchet, Earl of Castlehaven, *Memoirs of the Irish Wars* (London, 1684), 13 (with corroborating statements on 14–16); John T. Gilbert, ed., *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1879–1880), 1: 353, examination of Owen Connolly, October 22, 1641, OS.

⁷⁵ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2001), 536 (with more contemporary Scottish parallels quoted at 471, 489, 526, and 529); Mary Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or, The Irish Massacres of 1641–2, Their Causes and Results*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), 1: 329, deposition of Dr. Robert Maxwell, August 22, 1642, OS; Gilbert, *A Contemporary History*, 1: 527, Richard Plunkett’s claim according to Rev. George Creighton’s Deposition, April 15, 1643, OS. Even some Protestants agreed: Sir James Turner observed the irony of sending an army of Scottish Covenanters led by the Earl of Leven “against the rebels in Ireland who (had they not shed so much blood) did no more against His Majestie than Leven himselfe had done”; *ibid.*, 1: 573.

⁷⁶ Gilbert Burnet, *The Memoires of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton* (1677; repr., Oxford, 1852), 70–71, Charles to Hamilton, June 11, 1638, OS.

Scotland than as a Duke of Venice, which I will rather dye than suffer.”⁷⁷ Charles adopted the same uncompromising attitude toward all groups of subjects whom he suspected of wanting to demote him to “Duke of Venice.” In 1642, he swore “that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield” to rebels, “for I will either be a glorious king or a patient martyr.” Repeated military defeats failed to shake the king’s conviction that “God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper, or [my] cause to be overthrown . . . A composition with them at this time is nothing else but a submission, which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatever it cost me; for I know my obligation to be, both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God’s cause, injure my successors, or forsake my friends”—an intransigent attitude that would in 1649 turn him into a “patient martyr.”⁷⁸

DESPITE THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE AND OTHER contingent factors, no convincing account of the General Crisis can now ignore the impact of the unique climatic conditions that prevailed. Indeed, the wealth of data in both the human and natural “archives” encouraged Le Roy Ladurie to write the *Comparative Human History of Climate* that he had abandoned in 1967 for lack of evidence. The first volume, which appeared in 2005, proclaimed that

The history of climate, which has made considerable progress since the publication of our *History of the climate since the year 1000*, has now won full legitimacy . . . The days are gone when modish historians disparaged this new discipline with taunts such as “bogus science.” The time for such irreverent barbs is past, and this book seeks to provide a *human* history of climate, dealing with the impact of climatic and meteorological fluctuations on societies, above all through the prism of famines and, in some cases, of epidemics.

In addition, the author boasted that he had produced “a *comparative* history: following in the footsteps of Marc Bloch, who wanted to compare what is comparable, we shall focus *inter alia* on the temperate zones of France: the north and centre. That will be at the foreground of our research,” accompanied by “constant—or, depending on the evidence, frequent—comparisons with England, Scotland, sometimes Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany (not only western); and when possible Bohemia and Poland, sometimes the three Scandinavian countries, Finland or even Iceland.”⁷⁹ “Le PAG” [“petit âge glaciaire”: Little Ice Age] forms the backbone of Le Roy Ladurie’s new book, with special attention devoted to what he calls “le Hyper-PAG” of the mid-seventeenth century. He even included a whole chapter

⁷⁷ Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991), 56, Charles to Hamilton, June 25, 1638. John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007), 194, observed that “Venice figures recurrently in Charles’s thoughts” at this time.

⁷⁸ Burnet, *Memoires*, 203, Charles to Hamilton, December 1642; James O. Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1846), 2: 383–384, Charles to Prince Rupert, July 31, 1645, OS. Steve Hindle, “Dearth and the English Revolution: The Harvest Crisis of 1647–1650,” *Economic History Review*, Special Issue, 61 (2008): 64–98, underlines the link between climate and catastrophe during these traumatic years that saw the trial and execution of Charles I.

⁷⁹ Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire humaine*, I, 7–8. Volume 1, *Canicules et glaciers (XIIIe–XVIIIe siècle)*, appeared in 2004 (740 pages); volume 2, *Disettes et révolutions (1740–1860)*, appeared in 2006 (611 pages). *Histoire humaine* seldom strays beyond France and its neighbors, however: despite the copious evidence available, its author seldom refers to southern Europe and largely omits Asia, America, and Africa.

on “L’énigme de la Fronde” that connected climatic anomalies with political upheavals in France and England between 1648 and 1650—precisely the link he dismissed in 1967 as “quite absurd.”

Despite the cachet conferred on climatic history by Le Roy Ladurie, one of the world’s foremost living historians, his epiphany has as yet made little impression in North America. In July 2008, although fifty libraries in North America boasted a copy of volume 1, only one had a copy of volume 2 (published in September 2006 and containing the tables and graphs that underpin volume 1); neither amazon.com nor barnesandnoble.com offered copies for sale (although the former advertised more than one hundred of his works and the latter almost thirty); and no North American journal has yet published a review.

Does this indifference simply reflect the unwillingness of Anglophone American academics to tackle large books written in foreign languages? Or does it also reveal a residual resistance to admitting that climate can exercise a decisive influence on human history? After all, “denial” is currently the commonest human reaction to environmental catastrophe: we know with absolute certainty that natural disasters have happened in the past, and that they will continue to happen in the future, but we convince ourselves that they will not happen just yet—or, at least, not to us. The worsening droughts, desiccation, and desertification in equatorial Africa over the past forty years have caused massive migrations, famines, and wars that resemble those of the mid-seventeenth century; yet the rest of the world does virtually nothing. In the West, even isolated extreme climatic events such as the European heat wave of 2003 (which claimed the lives of at least 35,000 people) and Hurricane Katrina (which ruined or rendered uninhabitable 300,000 homes in the southeastern United States) found the richest and most powerful governments in human history completely unprepared and incapable of taking appropriate action in time.⁸⁰ Yet even these tragedies remained local: how would those same governments—how would we—cope with a *global* catastrophe like that of the 1640s?

We have only two ways to anticipate the impact of a future catastrophic climate change, *neither of them particularly precise or entirely reliable*. Either we “fast-forward” the tape of history and predict what might happen on the basis of current trends; or we “rewind the tape” and learn from what happened during global catastrophes in the past. Although many experts (mainly climatologists, sociologists, and political scientists) have tried the former, few have systematically attempted the latter—perhaps because only one previous global cataclysm, the one in the mid-seventeenth century, has left sufficient records for detailed historical study.⁸¹ Taking

⁸⁰ See the elegant arguments of Richard A. Fortey, *Earth: An Intimate History* (New York, 2004). Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York, 2005), 434–436, stresses the role of “denial” in several past environmental catastrophes that have wiped out individual human communities, but he does not examine its role in a single catastrophe (such as the Little Ice Age) that affected the entire world.

⁸¹ Ragnhild Nordås and Nils Petter Gleditsch, “Climate Change and Conflict,” *Political Geography* 26 (2007): 627–638, criticize the failure of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) to undertake systematic analysis of historical evidence to show how climate change acts as a “threat multiplier for instability in some of the most volatile regions of the world” (628, quoting *National Security and the Threat of Climate Change: Report from a Panel of Retired Senior US Military Officers*, published in 2007). Their article introduces a special issue of the journal that contains five articles on the subject. I thank Andreas Daum and Sharmistha Bachi-Sen of the University of Buffalo for this reference.

advantage of the human and natural archives on climate to reopen the General Crisis debate not only sheds new light on an old problem but also offers a rare opportunity for historians to engage with scholars in other disciplines who are concerned with the fate of our planet. Studying causal mechanisms and coping strategies 350 years ago will not, of course, prevent the onset of further climatic catastrophes in the twenty-first century; but if historians can identify the structural, political, economic, and ideological characteristics in each afflicted society around the world that prevented (or facilitated) an appropriate response during the General Crisis, and consider how the outcomes could have been different, we may learn some valuable lessons for dealing with the climate challenges that undoubtedly await us and our children.

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Locating Linkages or Painting Bull's-Eyes around
Bullet Holes? An East Asian Perspective on the
Seventeenth-Century Crisis

MICHAEL MARME

These different aspects of the crisis may be reduced to a single formula: economic expansion took place within a social framework which it was not yet strong enough to burst, and in ways adapted to it rather than to the world of modern capitalism . . . Once the first crack appeared, the whole unstable structure was bound to totter. It did totter, and in the subsequent period of economic crisis and social upheaval the decisive shift from capitalist enterprise adapted to a generally feudal framework to capitalist enterprise transforming the world in its own pattern, took place.

Eric Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century"¹

IF ONLY, HOBBSAWM ASSUMED, IN ENGLAND.

When the editors of *Past and Present* published the General Crisis debate as a book, they entitled it *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660*. The first edition of a subsequent collection of essays, co-edited by Geoffrey Parker, had a half-dozen brief references to China. The notion that there was a general crisis in the seventeenth century thus (re-) emerged as a Eurocentric construct.²

It was not that evidence of political turmoil and social pain elsewhere was lacking—or that seventeenth-century Europeans were unaware of the parallels. The voyages of discovery had brought merchants and missionaries to the Middle Kingdom. Great though the distances remained in the age of sail, and limited as the number of those who braved those rigors were, by the mid-seventeenth century detailed accounts of developments in East Asia—notably Jesuit accounts—were reaching Europe on a fairly regular basis. "The reports of the Manchu Conquest seemed dramatically to move China into the European awareness, and for a time, informed

During most of my time as a graduate student at UC Berkeley, the late Frederic Wakeman, Jr., was working on his massive volume on the Ming-Qing transition, *The Great Enterprise*. My thoughts on the mid-seventeenth century were shaped by my discussions with him. I would also like to thank my colleague Anne Mannion for her reactions to an earlier draft of this comment.

¹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," in Trevor Ashton, ed., *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660* (London, 1965), 27.

² Ibid.; Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1978). The second edition of *The General Crisis* (1997) contains three essays on Asia, and Parker and Smith stressed in 1978 not only that Voltaire was the first to describe a seventeenth-century general crisis, but that he also described that crisis as a global, not just a European, phenomenon.

Europeans seemed conscious of living in the same world with the Chinese.”³ The woes that Parker so eloquently evokes in his contribution to this *AHR* Forum were all too familiar to those living through decades of “rebellion within, invasion from without” half a world away.

In area and in population, the Middle Kingdom dwarfed the largest states of Europe. Under the influence of G. William Skinner, many have come to regard China as best understood in terms of its ten macroregions, each having distinct phases of prosperity and decline, phases “wholly unsynchronized as between regions.”⁴ Several macroregions appear to have been mired in a contraction whose onset can be dated to the last decades of the sixteenth century. Others appear to have prospered well into the seventeenth. By the late 1630s, however, crisis appears to have been universal.

The northwest, where the rebel movements that would bring down the Ming dynasty in 1644 originated, was chronically impoverished and ill-governed. Although Chinese civilization was everywhere based on sedentary agriculture, that meant very different things in different corners of the empire. In the northwest, yields were low, dependence on the elements was great, and the ability to supplement income through by-employments was limited. Transportation was slow and costly; there were few towns, and commerce was minimal. Relatively few northwesterners passed the exams that qualified one as a member of the scholar-official elite, and relatively few of the best and brightest were dispatched to collect taxes and keep order in what was regarded as a backwater.

All of this contrasted sharply with the Lower Yangzi region, a thousand miles south and east. Proverbially a land of fish and rice, the area had long figured in the Chinese imagination as a heaven on earth. Crisscrossed by rivers and canals, it enjoyed a longer growing season and abundant water, permitting multiple crops with higher yields. Cheap and efficient transport not only minimized the dangers of subsistence crises but enabled peasant households to concentrate on areas in which they enjoyed a comparative advantage. Many supplemented their incomes by producing handicrafts for the market.

A well-developed network of market towns and cities integrated this densely populated, highly commoditized region—an urban network culminating in the city of Suzhou. The last important center of resistance to the Ming, from the late fourteenth century Suzhou had been saddled with land taxes ten times those imposed elsewhere. Taxpayers were responsible both for delivery costs and for wastage. Hence, when the capital was moved from nearby Nanjing to distant Beijing in the early fifteenth century, the burden became unbearable. The response was neither to rebel nor to abscond; those who could simply shunned agriculture in favor of relatively lightly taxed commerce and crafts. As a result, Suzhou was able not merely to survive but to prosper. By the early seventeenth century, built-up areas extended miles beyond the third-longest city wall in the empire, shops lined the streets, and “there [was] scarcely

³ Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3: *A Century of Advance*, Book 4: *East Asia* (Chicago, 1993), 1663.

⁴ G. William Skinner, “Presidential Address: The Structure of Chinese History,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (1985): 275.

anything one [could] not purchase at this mart,” including goods from abroad.⁵ Thousands of textile workers crowded into the northeast quadrant of the walled city, while elsewhere wealthy merchants and numerous scholar-officials laid out the gardens for which the city is now famous. Their cultivated extravagance set the ever-changing standard of good taste for the empire as a whole.

The decision to move the capital to Beijing severed the political from the economic and cultural center of the empire for the first time in Chinese history. The heart of China’s “world economy”—in the Braudelian sense—remained Jiangnan (aka the Lower Yangzi region), and China’s “world city” remained Suzhou.⁶ Suzhou’s ability to thrive was predicated on the commoditization not merely of the cotton and silk cloth it produced, but also of the grain on which it depended to pay its taxes and cover its subsistence deficits. By the early seventeenth century, Suzhou drew regularly on rice supplies from Sichuan Province, a thousand miles up the Yangzi River. The Smithian growth that it catalyzed not only facilitated the trebling of China’s population (from 65–73 million ca. 1400 to 205 million in 1600) but made possible real (if modest) increases in the standard of living for much of that population.⁷

In Suzhou itself, these changes provoked little unease. In much of the rest of the empire (given anti-market strains in the classical tradition), they led to “confusions of pleasure”—complaints that everything now had a price but nothing had a value, that wealth now came without sanction or responsibility.⁸ As the reach of the market expanded and the population grew, the size of the Ming bureaucracy remained unchanged.⁹ Simultaneously, the arrangements mandated by the founder to link an always minimal state with the society over which it presided atrophied. The resulting vacuum was filled by anomie (or at least competing norms), exploitation, and ad hoc, often unstable patron/client networks. Many of the best minds proposed reforms, reforms that ran aground in the face of the traditional animus against faction, the lack of consensus among reformers, and the opposition of those whose interests were served by the status quo.¹⁰ In all but the worst of times, this system nonetheless served Suzhou well, freeing it (and its sizable cultured elite) from the normal constraints of the premodern world. Officially merely one of the empire’s 159 prefectural seats, by 1600 it was a city of half a million people, as renowned for its conspicuous consumption as for its scholarly prowess.

⁵ Matteo Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583–1610*, trans. Louis J. Gallagher, S. J. (New York, 1953), 317.

⁶ See Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York, 1984), 21–88. In Braudel’s formulation, all world economies were city-centered, but none (prior to modern times) were coterminous with the globe.

⁷ Michael Marmé, *Suzhou: Where the Goods of All the Provinces Converge* (Stanford, Calif., 2005). “Smithian growth” is from Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* analyzed the dynamics of sophisticated pre-industrial economies; see Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of the European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 16–22.

⁸ Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

⁹ G. William Skinner, “Introduction: Urban Development in Imperial China,” in Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1977), 19–22.

¹⁰ See, for example, Jerry Paul Dennerline, “Fiscal Reform and Local Control: The Gentry-Bureaucratic Alliance Survives the Conquest,” in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Carolyn Grant, eds., *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), 86–120; William S. Atwell, “Ming Observers of Ming Decline: Some Chinese Views of the ‘Seventeenth-Century Crisis’ in Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1988): 316–348.

The last decades of the Ming (1368–1644), however, were the worst of times. The local harvest failed in 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, and 1638. This led to a rent-resistance movement centered on one of the market towns in Suzhou's southwestern suburbs in 1638, and in the sixth month of the following year, in response to the sharp spike in grain prices, rice shops were looted in Suzhou and the key Grand Canal port of Hushu. Bureaucratic attempts to stanch the problem by prohibiting exports from Suzhou led producers in the central Yangzi (on whose commoditized surpluses the core areas of Jiangnan depended for subsistence) to curtail the transfer of grain to urban centers downstream. As a result, even though 1639 was an average year, grain prices rose still higher. This was followed by drought, locusts, poor yields, and hoarding in 1640, a major epidemic in 1641, and then the worst drought in five hundred years (1641–1644).¹¹

The succession of miseries was thus far from over when Ye Shaoyuan wrote in early 1642 of rampant cannibalism inside the city and out, of the “thin and worn” beggars who filled Suzhou's streets, and of people no longer able to afford food who were dying of starvation in large numbers. He concluded:

Most of the residences in the city are empty and they are falling into ruins. Fertile farms and beautiful estates are for sale but there is no one to buy them. Formerly the city of Suzhou was prosperous and its people tended to be extravagant. It is natural that after a period of prosperity a period of depression should follow; but I never dreamed that I should have to witness these misfortunes in the days of my life.¹²

If conditions at the core of the empire's most prosperous macroregion were bad, those elsewhere were worse.¹³

Students of other corners of the seventeenth-century world will have little trouble seeing all this as analogous to events with which they are familiar. The question raised anew by the essays of Jonathan Dewald and Geoffrey Parker in this forum is, Are the analogies useful? Or are we conflating “multiple crises, governed by highly specific logics” (Dewald)? Indeed, recognition that the common question has shifted so radically—from a search for the crucible of modernity to the effects of climate change—and so closely in accord with contemporary concerns forces us to ask whether we are not simply projecting our concerns onto the past.

However rigorously we attempt to respect the uniqueness of a given historical

¹¹ Michael Marmé, “Survival through Transformation: How China's Suzhou-Centered World Economy Weathered the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” *Social History* 32, no. 2 (2007): 154–155.

¹² A native of Wujiang, the county just south of Suzhou, Ye was born in 1598 and died in 1648; he passed the highest examination in 1625. See Luther Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York, 1976), 1576–1579. The complete passage is translated in Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty* (Norman, Okla., 1982), 235–236. William S. Atwell has relied on Ye both for silver/copper ratios and for more general descriptions of crisis conditions; see Atwell, “International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy, circa 1530–1650,” *Past and Present* 95 (1982): 89; Atwell, “Some Observations on the ‘Seventeenth-Century Crisis’ in China and Japan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (1986): 229; Atwell, “A Seventeenth Century ‘General Crisis’ in East Asia?” in Parker and Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed., 250 n. 33; Atwell, “Ming China and the Emerging World Economy, c. 1470–1650,” in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Ming Dynasty*, pt. 2: 1368–1644 (Cambridge, 1998), 413; and Atwell, “Another Look at Silver Imports into China, ca. 1635–1644,” *Journal of World History* 16, no. 2 (2005): 482.

¹³ Consider Jiaying, the normally prosperous prefecture just south of Suzhou; Feng Xianliang, *Ming Qing Jiangnan diqu de huanjing biandong yu shehui kongzhi* [Environmental Change and Social Control in the Jiangnan Area during Ming and Qing] (Shanghai, 2001), 167–234.

moment, we can scarcely make ourselves intelligible without using categories developed in other contexts. These are inevitably freighted with connotations and implications. Comparison is thus, at some level, an inherent aspect of our craft. Moreover, comparisons—even when the distinctions prove more salient than the similarities—often serve to bring particularities into sharper focus. When we draw analogies, the key question is not whether they are true or false but whether they are revealing. Positing a general crisis, however, commits us to much more than does a comparison of the Hundred Schools with the Golden Age of Greece, the Roman Empire with the Han, or the French with the Russian and Chinese revolutions. At some level, it implies not merely that the events of the mid-seventeenth century were comparable, but that they were part of a single phenomenon. Acutely aware that distances were vast and transport and communication slow, and that the flow of goods, men, and messages was limited, those who have sought to understand the timing of the fall of the Ming as something more than coincidence have focused their energies on identifying a common trigger for shared crisis. Hence the attention to bullion flows, climate change, and population pressure.

Attention to bullion was clearly inspired by the European historiography that Dewald reviews. As a result of this work, we have learned much about the timing, volume, importance, and implications of precious metal flows in seventeenth-century East Asia.¹⁴ In his recent review of the often testy debate that his essays of the 1970s and 1980s triggered, William S. Atwell reminds us that he never argued that fluctuations in the volume of silver imports *caused* the fall of the Ming. Indeed, insofar as changes in the money supply played a role, those changes must be traced to a combination of factors: the number of (poor-quality) copper coins issued by the government increased, counterfeiting flourished, and “silver was being withdrawn from circulation . . . because of increased hoarding of precious metals that traditionally accompanied economic and political instability in premodern China, because of higher taxes imposed by a financially troubled and increasingly desperate Ming central government, and because of the decline in silver imports from Japan and the New World.”¹⁵ Thus, even those who continue to see this as *a* factor see it as just one among the many significant forces at play.

If a dense population was a necessary condition for the crisis, the proposition that it was a sufficient one must face at least two objections.¹⁶ First, several places that emerged unscathed were at least as densely populated as those most severely affected. Second, in the eighteenth century, and in the absence of dramatic changes in the agrarian economy, many of the areas that had suffered the most a century before supported substantially greater numbers without apparent strain. To this must be added the growing evidence that premodern East Asian societies deliberately and effectively limited rates of natural increase, consciously intervening to pre-

¹⁴ In addition to Atwell's writings on the topic, see Brian Moloughney and Xia Weizhong, “Silver and the Fall of the Ming Dynasty: A Reassessment,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 40 (1989): 51–78, and Richard von Glahn, “Myth and Reality of China's Seventeenth-Century Monetary Crisis,” *Journal of Economic History* 56, no. 2 (1996): 429–454.

¹⁵ Atwell, “Another Look at Silver Imports,” 471–472.

¹⁶ In the East Asian field, the demographic factor has received most stress in Jack A. Goldstone's work; see Goldstone, “East and West in the Seventeenth Century: Political Crises in Stuart England, Ottoman Turkey, and Ming China,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 103–142, and Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991).

serve living standards substantially above bare subsistence.¹⁷ Whatever its salience in particular cases, as a general proposition the neo-Malthusian model thus seems unlikely to hold up under scrutiny.

While a focus on money supply or demographic change appears less plausible than it once did, Parker makes a compelling case for the importance of climate.¹⁸ While this certainly seems to fit the East Asian evidence, acknowledging that fact makes one vulnerable to charges of being a “climate determinist.” From an East Asian perspective, the other three vectors that Parker invokes seem unlikely to help us avoid the charge. Contingency is always and everywhere part of the historical process. The argument that Cromwell was imitating Li Zicheng (or vice versa) hardly seems plausible. Intransigence is very much in the eye of the beholder.

One wonders whether the focus should fall less on the misery that bad weather and poor harvests caused individuals and more on their effect in denying crucial resources to those seeking to preserve the status quo—above all to the state and its surrogates. As in the Lower Yangzi, much misery can occur without its assuming political form, while political unrest can—and often does—arise for reasons quite unrelated to climate. In the best of times, this was a world very much at the mercy of the elements—as contemporaries clearly realized. And, as Dewald (citing H. G. Koenigsberger) reminds us, strife was a chronic feature of the old regime. What was unusual about the mid-seventeenth century was not strife but the simultaneous inability to contain or repress that strife in such far-flung corners of the globe. It thus seems useful to distinguish general breakdown from widespread privation. Such a perspective leads us to argue that Suzhou and its environs were not in crisis before 1644. There was violence, but it was narrowly focused on economic, not political, targets. In the Lower Yangzi macroregion, the social, cultural, and political structures that contained tensions remained viable—until the Ming collapsed.

It is here that the embeddedness of macroregions in an imperial order that transcended local conditions and conditioned local responses proved significant. Deteriorating conditions and peasant revolts elsewhere had already served to exacerbate the situation.¹⁹ Trade routes were disrupted, and once-significant markets disappeared. A state increasingly desperate for resources imposed surcharges on already high taxes. While there is ample reason to believe that the authorities never collected most of the increase, their attempts to do so (particularly given the random relationship between demands made and ability to pay) were another source of tension.²⁰

¹⁷ Li Bozhong, “Kongzhi zengzhang, yibao fuyu—Qingdai qianzhongqi Jiangnan de renkou xingwei [Preserving Prosperity by Controlling Population Growth—Demographic Behavior in Jiangnan during the Early and Middle Qing],” *Xin shixue* 5, no. 3 (1994): 25–71; James Z. Lee and Wang Feng, *One Quarter of Humanity: Malthusian Mythology and Chinese Realities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Susan B. Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 141–150.

¹⁸ See also William S. Atwell, “Volcanism and Short-Term Climate Change in East Asian and World History, c. 1200–1699,” *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 29–98.

¹⁹ As has long been recognized, the waxing and waning of peasant revolts in northern China was also influenced by climate (and its effect on the harvest); see James Bunyan Parsons, *The Peasant Rebellions of the Late Ming Dynasty* (Tucson, Ariz., 1970); Roger V. Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (Stanford, Calif., 2003).

²⁰ Ray Huang, *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China* (Cambridge, 1974), 159, 308–309; Huang, “Fiscal Administration during the Ming Dynasty,” in Charles O. Hucker, ed., *Chinese Government in Ming Times: Seven Studies* (New York, 1969), 112–123, 126–127.

Denied the human and material resources needed to contain those tensions, and unable to augment those resources without alienating the acquiescent and enraging the alienated, the state was helpless as the situation lurched from garden-variety catastrophe to genuine crisis. Social and political structures proved unequal to the challenges they faced, and their legitimacy was either called into question or rejected altogether. It was the virtually simultaneous inability of the powers that be to marshal those resources in China as in the British Isles, France, Russia, the Habsburg lands, and the Ottoman Empire that justifies use of the term "General Crisis" to describe, and analyze, these experiences collectively.

It is constructive in this regard to consider two societies that are usually recognized as exceptions—the Dutch Republic and Tokugawa Japan. The climate in Holland is little different from that in the British Isles; Japan shares the climate of central China. These were, certainly in terms of their ratios of land to man, two of the most densely populated parts of the seventeenth-century world. And, at least in the case of early Tokugawa Japan, per capita living standards were still lower than those in the Lower Yangzi delta. That these very different societies were able to weather the storm reflects the ability of those polities to contain tensions no less severe than those that challenged their neighbors. In the case of Japan, this was facilitated by the disarming of the commoners; the exceptionally high proportion—5 to 7 percent of the population—of those enrolled as samurai, and hence available to repress unrest; and the social (and often physical) separation of the armed from the unarmed, the result of policies put in place in the late sixteenth century and embedded in the Tokugawa order.²¹

In the Chinese case, neither imperial center nor local society proved equal to the challenge. For the Lower Yangzi, the post-1644 breakdown took the form of bond-servant revolts, Manchu conquest, loyalist resistance, anti-queue riots (and their brutal suppression), endemic banditry masquerading as Ming loyalism, and raids by the forces of Taiwan-based Ming stalwart Zheng Chenggong.²²

Resolution of the crisis, in China as elsewhere, took decades. That process, contentious as it was, should be sharply differentiated from the crisis itself—both because failure to do so has led us to expand the rubric of General Crisis to the whole of the long seventeenth century, emptying crisis of its meaning, and because that resolution took different paths in each of the societies that had experienced the crisis. Those paths reflected both concrete conditions prior to the crisis in given societies and the interaction of political, social, economic, technological, and cultural forces specific to each.

For the Lower Yangzi region, these were not easy years: the relationship between state and society was painfully renegotiated in a context in which "goods were abundant but buyers were few" (the so-called Kangxi depression).²³ Yet it would be a

²¹ After discussing the difficulties faced in this period, Atwell concluded that the Japanese experience made it "difficult to accept the idea that East Asia as a region experienced a long-term crisis during the seventeenth century"; Atwell, "A Seventeenth Century 'General Crisis' in East Asia?" 247. Note that by relying on the work of Herbert P. Bix (who starts his account of peasant protest in Japan in 1590), Parker is excluding the much more turbulent Warring States period that preceded it.

²² See the relevant portions of Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985).

²³ Mio Kishimoto-Nakayama, "The Kangxi Depression and Early Qing Local Markets," *Modern China* 10, no. 2 (1984): 227–256.

great mistake to view this simply as a period of economic stagnation and political impasse. Indeed, it seems useful to conceive of these years in terms of François Simiand's Phase B: this was a period not only of retrenchment but of "organizational and technological innovation . . . enforc[ing] efficiency and innovation" (Dewald). While the Qing can be seen as a continuation of the Ming,²⁴ it was—in both the political and the socioeconomic sphere—a continuation only of certain aspects, their relationship to one another dramatically reconfigured. Many of the abuses addressed in these years had long been recognized as such, and many of the implemented reforms had been proposed decades before. Yet each abuse had served some interest, and each reform had faced entrenched opposition. Unbound by decades of accommodation with local vested interests, the new Manchu order was able to implement changes and rationalize procedures. Some aspects of the old order were minimized, if not entirely suppressed; others were reconfigured.²⁵ At the same time, the Qing incorporated elements and interests that had been of marginal importance at the Ming founding but that had flourished in the intervening centuries. The administrative order was tightened in crucial areas while a "state-led civil society" was systematically mobilized to bridge chronic gaps between state and society.²⁶ Once order (and legitimacy) had been restored, population growth resumed: if we now believe the rate of increase to be more modest than under the Ming, the absolute numbers (380 million in 1850) were unprecedented.²⁷

In the Lower Yangzi, this was accompanied by revival of the market economy. More highly centralized and more fully legitimated than before, the nested hierarchy of central places that linked literally millions of households to the commoditized sphere was once again centered on Suzhou.²⁸ As in most complex premodern societies, subsistence, market, and command economies coexisted in China after 1683 as they had before 1644.²⁹ The viability of the first two ultimately depended on the third extracting enough (but not too much) to provide a modicum of order and maintain equilibrium in dynamism. This enabled markets to expand in relative as well as absolute terms, allocating factors efficiently to their most productive ends. Such Smithian growth produced unprecedented "efflorescence" in China's Suzhou-cen-

²⁴ An argument made by Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 252–253, 260, and by Martin Heijdra, "The Socio-Economic Development of Rural China during the Ming," in Twitchett and Mote, *The Ming Dynasty*, pt. 2: 1368–1644, 478.

²⁵ This interpretation owes much to the work of Jerry Paul Dennerline; in addition to "Fiscal Reform and Local Control," see Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven, Conn., 1981).

²⁶ I owe the concept of "state-led civil society" to B. Michael Frolic; see Frolic, "State-Led Civil Society," in Timothy Brook and B. Michael Frolic, eds., *Civil Society in China* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997), 46–67.

²⁷ I would thus argue that the Qing was a far more radical restructuring of the imperial order than Niels Steengaard assumed; see Steengaard, "The Seventeenth-Century Crisis," in Parker and Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed., 32–56, and Steengaard, "The Seventeenth-Century Crisis and the Unity of Eurasian History," *ibid.*, 255–263.

²⁸ Acceptance of the market in the Qing remained a qualified one: while trade in necessities was recognized as a socially useful activity, trade in luxuries remained highly suspect. Liu Zhiqin, "Shangren ziben yu wan Ming shehui [Merchant Capital and Late Ming Society]," *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2 (1983): 73, 84–85.

²⁹ This model is derived from Ramon H. Myers and Yeh-chien Wang, "Economic Developments, 1644–1840," in Willard J. Peterson, ed., *The Ch'ing Dynasty*, pt. 1: *To 1800* (Cambridge, 2002), 563–645.

tered world economy, as it did in many other post-crisis societies, during the long eighteenth century.

Since the precise relationship between state and society (and of each to the international order) differed from one society to another, since the relative importance of the three economies varied, and since the resources available to particular societies were quite different, the foundation was laid for a “great divergence.”³⁰ Thus Li Bozhong has argued that, in contrast to Jiangnan (which grew by devoting itself increasingly to efficient allocation of abundant, highly skilled labor in the context of a relative scarcity of key raw materials), England—which was relatively sparsely populated by Chinese standards—had abundant supplies of readily accessible coal and iron. Each made the most of what it had, in both instances producing real but non-converging patterns of growth.³¹ Kenneth Pomeranz has stressed the importance of the food, fiber, and raw materials that overseas expansion afforded western Europe. This increase in the availability of inputs relaxed resource constraints that under other circumstances would have remained at least as severe as they were in comparable parts of Asia.³² As Dewald reminds us, one of the characteristic activities of the post-crisis states of western Europe was empire-building. The Manchus also built an empire—to the north and west of China proper. Those acquisitions did little to augment the resources available to the Lower Yangzi. Far more significant in that regard was the influx of New World silver and New World food crops, additional inputs garnered through trade rather than conquest or colonization.³³ The particular paths pursued by advanced centers at opposite ends of Eurasia can thus be seen, in large measure, as outgrowths of the ways in which the seventeenth-century crisis was resolved in each.

Because we no longer conceive of either the English Civil War or the Industrial Revolution, much less the connection between the two, the way Hobsbawm did when he penned his seminal essay more than half a century ago, we can more readily include the experience of those many societies not usually seen as having made “the decisive shift . . . to capitalist enterprise transforming the world in its own pattern” as chapters in a common historical narrative. But if, as Dewald so cogently argues, the core issue is the origin of modernity (however defined), how important is that East Asian chapter? Must we not in the end concede that “global modernity,” however much more recent and however much more contingent, was a uniquely European response to a common catastrophe?

Li Bozhong has noted that in a number of crucial respects (dense populations,

³⁰ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 12–13, 62, and Wong, *China Transformed*, 30–31, argue that, given the diversity of conditions, “China” is not a useful basis for cross-cultural comparisons. In size and in population, macroregions more closely resemble individual European countries. As the most prosperous and the most thoroughly commoditized, the Lower Yangzi macroregion is the most appropriate unit of comparison with the other leading centers of pre-industrial Eurasia.

³¹ Li Bozhong, *Jiangnan de zaoqi gongyehua* [Early Industrialization in Jiangnan] (Beijing, 2000), 515–543.

³² Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, especially pt. 3.

³³ A point emphasized by Denis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, “Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 419–420. While Flynn and Giráldez stress that the exchange of goods for bullion impoverished rather than enriched China, they note that only an incredibly wealthy country could have indulged in such behavior on anything like the scale on which China indulged.

limited natural resources, reliance on skilled labor, and sophisticated commercial networks), Ming-Qing Jiangnan was far more like Holland than like Britain. This is highly suggestive, for it is the Dutch Republic that Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude have portrayed as the “first modern economy.”³⁴ Similarity is of course not identity. Yet sociologist Gary Hamilton, in a series of essays, has argued that China’s late imperial economy, like its contemporary one, followed a path no less capitalist for all its divergence from Western—and Japanese—norms.³⁵ Given the succession of East Asian “miracles,” one has to wonder whether the Middle Kingdom’s resolution of its seventeenth-century crisis set it on a path toward its own, alternate way of being modern.

One final reflection: While one would of course like to second Parker in believing that our study of the past can teach us “some valuable lessons for dealing with the climate challenges that undoubtedly await us and our children,” the case of Suzhou is particularly poignant. As students of complex premodern societies have long realized, deteriorating conditions often benefited favored areas and privileged groups in the short to medium run. Rents rose, grain prices spiked, loans commanded premium interest rates, wages (in a world where the labor of individual human beings was required for innumerable tasks now mechanized) fell. Increasing misery for the many often underwrote periods of cultural creativity and conspicuous consumption for the favored few.³⁶ The condition of the privileged and the cosseted may thus be a particularly poor indicator of where they were—or where we are. It is a sobering thought—and one that has relevance for us all, even if we cannot use our study of the seventeenth-century General Crisis to prepare in detail for that of the twenty-first.

³⁴ Li Bozhong, *Jiangnan de zaoqi gongyehua*, 520–521, 535–536; Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997).

³⁵ Gary G. Hamilton, “Overseas Chinese Capitalism,” in Tu Wei-ming, ed., *Confucian Traditions and East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 328–349, argued that China’s alleged “failure” to develop capitalism was based on prior tendencies to stress heavy industry to the exclusion of all else. He noted that by the same standard, 1990s Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore—economies that led “the world with the highest ratio of manufactured output to total output”—were still just as “undeveloped” as the mainland prior to 1949. In his subsequent work, he has explicitly linked this pattern of economic and social organization with developments on the mainland, past and present; see Gary G. Hamilton and Wei-an Chang, “The Importance of Commerce in the Organization of China’s Late Imperial Economy,” in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Selden, eds., *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives* (London, 2003).

³⁶ Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 113–120, 343–344, provide a formal model; Braudel, *Perspective of the World*, 85–88, makes the same point more impressionistically.

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AHR Forum
Crisis: A Useful Category of Post-Social
Scientific Historical Analysis?

J. B. SHANK

IN 1971, AS THE ORIGINATING DEBATES about the “general crisis of the seventeenth century” were reaching their twilight, Randolph Starn stepped into the role of Minerva’s owl to offer a set of reflections on the category at the center of these fecund historical exchanges. In “Historians and ‘Crisis,’” published in *Past and Present*, the journal that originated and sustained the discussion of the “general crisis” during its classic phase, Starn did not so much intervene in the debates as step back from them so as to consider the category, “crisis,” that sat at their center.¹ His intervention, therefore, served as an invitation to historians to reflect critically and dispassionately upon the category that was then generating so much historiographical heat. From a position almost four decades further removed from these originating disputes, we have now undertaken in this forum to reflect upon the continuing relevance of the general crisis framework to historians today. In the spirit of Starn, then, this contribution is offered as an invitation to further interrogate the conceptual nature and value of the category “crisis” as a tool of historical analysis.

There is no need to recapitulate the comprehensive history of “crisis” as a historiographical category that Starn offered. Instead, two guiding questions will be pursued: (1) Upon what conceptual and historiographical bases did the notion of “crisis” at the center of the “general crisis of the seventeenth century” argument rest? and (2) Of what analytical value is this particular notion of crisis to historians today? Viewed in hindsight, the striking feature of the “general crisis” debate as it evolved after 1954 is the way that it served as a crystallization of and catalyst for social scientific history as it had developed since the eighteenth century.² This is especially true with respect to the category “crisis,” for the term was used in these debates in the way it had evolved within social scientific history over the preceding two centuries. A brief history of the term can illustrate this development.

Etymologists trace the origin of the word “crisis” back to the Greek word *krisis*, meaning discrimination or decision. Starn notes this origin, and also that the word passed into modern historical writing with the founder of the genre himself, Thucy-

¹ Randolph Starn, “Historians and ‘Crisis,’” *Past and Present* 52 (August 1971): 3–22.

² Useful surveys of the “general crisis” debate are found in *ibid.*, 18–20; Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1975), 3–34; Philip Benedict, “Introduction,” in Philip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann, eds., *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability* (Newark, Del., 2005), 11–30; and J. H. Elliott, “The General Crisis in Retrospect: A Debate without End,” *ibid.*, 31–51.

dides, who used the word *kpsis* six times in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Starn also notes, however, that Thucydides' most developed use of the term occurs in his discussion of the plague in Athens, an account that drew heavily on Greek medical discourse. By the fourth century B.C.E., Greek physicians such as Hippocrates had already developed a scientific notion of crisis rooted in theories of bodily stability and disruption and the empirical study of disease. It was largely this technical, scientific notion of crisis that Thucydides imported into his writing. Over the subsequent centuries, moreover, medical writing sustained the vitality of the term, most notably in the canonization of Hippocratic medicine by Galen in the second century C.E. By contrast, the concept of crisis had little presence in classical or medieval historical writing. Accordingly, "crisis" entered the European vernaculars largely after 1400 as a term associated with medical terminology and connected to the revival of antique medicine that was a characteristic feature of the European Renaissance.³

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) dates the first occurrence of "crisis" in English to the 1543 works of the "Famous Chirugion Maister Iohn Vigo," who wrote that the word "sygnifyeth iudgemente" and "a sodayne chaunge in a disease."⁴ Throughout sixteenth-century Europe, "crisis" remained largely a term of medical jargon in this way. An indicator of its early narrow and technical meaning is found in Jean Nicot's pioneering dictionary of the emerging French vernacular, *Thresor de la langue françoise*, published in 1606. This compendium of sixteenth-century French terms contained no entry for *crise* even though entries for "illness" or "disease" (*maladie*) and "doctor" (*medecin*) were included.⁵ The work of the twentieth-century etymologist Walther von Wartburg further confirms this understanding, since he connects the birth and initial dissemination of the term "crisis" in early modern French to the reception of the widely read books of the physician and surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590).⁶ Similarly, the Florentine Accademia della Crusca's first-ever dictionary of Tuscan Italian, *Il Vocabolario*, published in 1612, contained no entry for *crisi*.⁷

"Crisis," therefore, first appeared in the modern European vernaculars through its importation from technical medical terminology. The conceptual understanding of the term as a category of historical analysis also carried with it this history. The *OED* gives the technical medical understanding of "crisis" as its primary definition, denoting it as "the point in the progress of a disease when an important development or change takes place which is decisive of recovery or death; the turning-point of a disease for better or worse; [or] . . . any marked or sudden variation occurring in the progress of a disease."⁸ French and Italian dictionaries reveal a similar understanding. Yet historical dictionaries of all three languages also reveal that by the seventeenth century, a figurative usage of the word had developed, denoting "a vitally important or decisive stage in the progress of anything; a turning point; and . . . a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent."⁹ The first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* of 1694 speaks of "Une affaire

³ Starn, "Historians and 'Crisis,'" 3–5.

⁴ "Crisis," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1989).

⁵ Jean Nicot, *Thresor de la langue françoise, tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris, 1606).

⁶ "Crise," in Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Basel, 1946).

⁷ *Il Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1612).

⁸ "Crisis," *OED*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

dans sa crise,” for example, and Salvatore Battaglia’s *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* cites texts from the seventeenth century that speak of spiritual crises among individuals and crises of the public and political collectivity.¹⁰

The presence of these figurative meanings reveals that by 1600, new understandings of the self, community, and the dynamics of the *res publica* were forged in Europe through the deployment of scientific terminology drawn from the new empirical natural sciences of the period. The historical use of the notion of crisis to describe a moment of intense disruption that precedes a decisive transformation came to life in this nexus. The term also acquired its characteristic modern and Western character at the same time as it came to be deployed in the new discourses of the human sciences born of the eighteenth century, discourses that made explicit use of new scientific terminologies and conceptualizations to frame new understandings of human experience. The *OED* entry for “crisis” charts this shift nicely, since it notes a change in the figurative meaning of the term from a 1603 medical-astrological usage to denote a conjunction of stars that prefigures a decisive change in the human condition, to B. Rudyard’s 1659 musings about the “chrysis of Parliaments” that will show whether “they will live or die,” and then M. Davies’s 1715 discussion of the “great crises in Church and State.”¹¹ In these three cases, the explicit importation of the medical notion of crisis into general discussions of collective historical change is apparent, along with the scientization of the term into its modern form.

The FRANTEXT database of the Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL) reveals a similar transformation.¹² While it notes more than 4,000 uses of the word “crisis” in its corpus of over 2,600 French texts sampled broadly between 1600 and the present, almost 90 percent of those usages come in works published after 1820. Only 23 occurrences are found in the entire corpus of seventeenth-century texts, and since FRANTEXT does not contain technical medical treatises, these are examples of the early figurative use of the term. The prevalence of this usage begins to spike upward after 1700, with 36 occurrences found during the first third of the eighteenth century (1700–1729), 54 during the second third (1730–1759), and 106 during the final third (1760–1789). The database notes a further increase to 149 usages during the revolutionary years of 1790–1820. The cited authors revealed by the ARTFL search engine also attest to the connection between this increasing usage and the creation of the new human sciences of society, politics, and economy in the eighteenth century.¹³ While far less precise in its documentation of these changes, the *Dizionario etimologico italiano* produced by Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio confirms a similar transformation

¹⁰ “Crise,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (Paris, 1694); “Crisi,” in Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1970).

¹¹ “Crisis,” *OED*.

¹² This text database is housed at the University of Chicago, and is accessible, by subscription, at <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/databases/TLF/>.

¹³ The first spike after 1700, for example, is connected to the presence of the Duc de Saint-Simon’s memoirs of the court of Louis XIV in the corpus along with Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*, while the second is connected to the presence in the database of Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws*, Mirabeau’s physiocratic treatise *L’Ami des hommes*, and historical works by Mably and Voltaire. The last increase is connected to the further addition of Rousseau’s collected works into the textual sample, while texts by Marat, Robespierre, and Condorcet contribute to the continued expansion of “historical crisis discourse” during the revolutionary era.

within the Italian language. Battisti and Alessio note the arrival of *crisi* in the fifteenth century as a medical term, and then trace its acquisition of a moral signification in the seventeenth century and a new usage within the discourses of politics and economics in the nineteenth century.¹⁴

In sum, this lexicographic data documents the simultaneous birth in the seventeenth century of a new scientific conception of state, society, and politics, and a new terminological understanding of crisis as a technical concept within this new social scientific framework. Further evidence for this genealogy is found in the lexicographic history of specific kinds of crisis, such as “ministerial crisis” or “dynastic crisis.”¹⁵ Only in Emile Littré’s historical *Dictionnaire de la langue française* of 1872–1877 are precise phrases such as *crise ministérielle* and *crise politique* registered for the first time in a French dictionary.¹⁶ The eighth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, published in 1932–1935 (the seventh edition appeared in 1877), records *crise industrielle* and *crise commerciale* for the first time in a French dictionary, yet Littré’s Italian counterpart Battaglia found uses of the term *crisi economica* in the mid-nineteenth-century works of the Lombard economist Carlo Cattaneo.¹⁷ The *OED* likewise cites John Stuart Mill’s *Treatise on Political Economy* of 1848 as pioneering in its definition of a “commercial crisis” as that moment when “a great number of merchants and traders, at once, either have, or apprehend that they shall have, a difficulty in meeting their engagements.”¹⁸

Karl Marx was another of these mid-nineteenth-century pioneers of social scientific crisis discourse, and it is through his work that this *longue durée* history of the historical concept of crisis finds its precise connection to the “general crisis of the seventeenth century.”¹⁹ When E. J. Hobsbawm published the article in *Past and Present* in 1954 that all parties agree was the inaugural event of the “general crisis” discussions of the postwar years, he was at one level merely advancing what was by then a century-old project in social scientific historical analysis.²⁰ Marxist historiography, of which Hobsbawm was (and is) a distinguished practitioner, had developed by this date a fully formed understanding of the perceived economic and social

¹⁴ “Crisi,” in Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, eds., *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Florence, 1951).

¹⁵ ARTFL suggests that the earliest precise social scientific pairing in French was *crise d’Etat*, which dates from the early eighteenth century and was used by the Duc de Saint-Simon and then Rousseau. Auguste Comte is the first author in the FRANTEXT database to use the term *crise sociale* in 1830, although Alexis de Tocqueville used the same term in his *Democracy in America*, published in 1835. Emile Durkheim gets credit for the first use of the phrase *crise économique* in the FRANTEXT database in 1893.

¹⁶ “Crise,” in Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1863–1877). The entry also traces a history of this term that goes back to pioneering social scientists such as Montesquieu and Rousseau as the originators of these social scientific usages.

¹⁷ “Crise,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 8th ed. (Paris, 1932–1935); “Crisi,” in Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*.

¹⁸ “Crisis,” *OED*.

¹⁹ On Marx and “crisis theory,” see Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes and David Fernbach (New York, 1976), pt. 2, chaps. 7–9, 13–21, and pt. 3, chap. 30; Julian Borchardt, “The Theory of Crises,” in Karl Marx, *Capital, The Communist Manifesto, and Other Writings*, ed. Max Eastman (New York, 1932), 302–314; and Michael Hardt, “The Violence of Capital,” *New Left Review* 48 (November–December 2007): 153–160.

²⁰ E. J. Hobsbawm, “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century,” *Past and Present* 5 (1954): 33–53. It should be remembered as well that in its early years, *Past and Present* carried a subtitle: “A Journal of Scientific History.”

crises attendant to the passage from medieval feudalism to modern capitalism.²¹ Hobsbawm added a new precision to this well-developed framework by arguing in largely economic terms for a general crisis of the seventeenth century, and when figures such as Hugh Trevor-Roper and later Theodore Rabb built on Hobsbawm's precise socio-economic analysis to build arguments for a general political and cultural crisis of the seventeenth century as well, they were further confirming the general applicability of social scientific conceptualizations to historiography as a whole.²² The quick ascent of the "general crisis of the seventeenth century" framework to paradigm status within writing about European history further proved the widespread influence and acceptance of these social scientific approaches within history writ large. For rather than questioning the nature of the concept itself, or debating its value as an analytical category, the discussion that Hobsbawm triggered quickly became centered on exactly what kind of crisis it was, what its proper chronological and geographical scope might be, and what empirical tests best measured its impact and legacy.

In short, the rapid consensus that solidified after 1954—that a general crisis of some sort did occur in the seventeenth century, even if its precise nature was unclear—derived in large part from an equally general consensus that the social scientific methodologies that had created this conceptual framework in the first place were valid, and that historical crises such as this one were real things that historians could and should study. Few before Starn thought to reflect upon the conceptual substance of this category, or to question the epistemological status of "crises" as objects of historical analysis. This was because the assumptions that had generated the terminology were by this point so naturalized and internalized that they could be taken for granted.

Among those assumptions was the idea that historical entities akin to the human body existed in the past (in this case an entity called "seventeenth-century society"), and that these entities could be objects of scientific historical analysis. Also assumed was the applicability of the conceptual tools used by medical science to understand health in human bodies (in this case "crisis theory") when trying to understand the cognate objects of historical science (in this case "seventeenth-century society"). Everything rested, therefore, on the conceptual tie that assumed the body-like existence of a thing called "society" in the seventeenth century that could be studied scientifically in the way that other natural bodies could. And while the contingent artificiality of this conceptual analogy is now evident to us, its validity remained an unquestioned assumption throughout the early emergence of the general crisis debate.

Recent shifts of intellectual perspective, however, have made clear the tenuous nature of these assumptions. Viewed from this newly detached vantage point, the general crisis debate now appears as a classic product of Enlightenment social scientific history, and something that cannot be evaluated without evaluating the social scientific frameworks that overdetermined its creation. Two recent trends in thought

²¹ This context can be sampled by reading the issues of the Marxist journal *Science and Society* published between 1950 and 1953.

²² Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Past and Present* 16 (1959): 31–64; Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability*. A useful compendium of the classic initial phase of the debate is Trevor Aston, ed., *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660: Essays from "Past and Present"* (London, 1965).

have especially put us into a more critical relationship with this conceptual framework. One is critical science studies, which has taught us to question the alleged naturalness of the positivist gaze upon a supposedly detached and objectified nature. Critical science studies has also taught us to see the ways that the supposedly detached objects of positive science and their allegedly neutral and objective representations are in fact jointly made through processes of human instrumental inscription. What this perspective points to is the way that the “seventeenth-century crisis” was not a detached object “out there” awaiting discovery by rigorous empirical historians, but a conceptual frame that led empirical details to be joined together with theoretical assumptions in the production of both an object of study (seventeenth-century society) and its characteristic attributes (crisis dynamics) at the same time.

Bruno Latour has been especially prolific in arguing that society is not a natural object out there awaiting discovery by our detached scientific gaze. Rather, like the human body produced by medical science, society is a category of inscription that allows observed empirical effects to be wedded with culturally mediated rationalities in the co-production of an understanding of nature and its allegedly natural representation simultaneously.²³ Latour has used the name “The Modern Constitution of Truth” for the approach to knowing that first begins by dividing things between a detached knowing subject, on the one hand, and a detached and objective “world out there,” on the other. Modernist science for Latour begins with the acceptance of this constitution as the fundamental feature of knowing, and modernist social science likewise begins once an entity called “society” is posited as an extant object out there in the world and then allegedly detached, disinterested historian-subjects make claims to know the behavior of this body through the study of the objective empirical effects it is said to produce.

Latour’s work centers on deconstructing the naturalness of this modernist conception of science, including its use to pursue the social scientific study of science itself. His efforts also dovetail with the historical analysis of Keith Baker and others, who, following the lead of Michel Foucault’s Collège de France lectures of the 1970s, offer us something like a historical account of the making of the modernist constitution with respect to the social sciences.²⁴ These historians talk of the seventeenth-century invention of society as a product of a new scientific conception of the self and community within the European *res publica*. Society was invented in this context, they argue, when the concepts and languages of the new natural sciences

²³ Perhaps the best short introduction to Latour’s thinking in this area is found in his review essay “Postmodern? No, Simply Amodern! Steps towards an Anthropology of Science,” *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 21, no. 1 (1990): 145–171. See also Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Engineers and Scientists through Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

²⁴ See especially Keith Michael Baker, “Enlightenment and the Institution of Society: Notes for a Conceptual History,” in W. F. B. Melching and W. R. E. Velema, eds., *Main Trends in Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 1994), 95–120. Also Baker, “The Early History of the Term ‘Social Science,’” *Annals of Science* 20 (1964–1965): 211–226; Baker, “Science and the Social Order in the Old Regime,” *Minerva* 10 (1972): 502–508; and Baker, “A Foucauldian Account of the French Revolution?” in Jan Goldstein, ed., *Foucault and the Writing of History* (Oxford, 1994), 187–205. The relevant lectures of Michel Foucault have now been collected in English translation. See Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France* (New York, 2007) and “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976* (New York, 2003).

of the seventeenth century were deployed toward re-imagining fundamental categories such as sovereignty, publicness, and the political commonweal. Viewed in this way, the history of crisis as a category of social scientific historical analysis becomes one piece of the larger history of the human sciences. Our recognition of this historicity, moreover, puts those attuned to it into a new relationship with the concept itself.

In particular, how, in the wake of this historical self-consciousness, is it possible to accept without scrutiny the alleged naturalness of the notion of crisis assumed in the general crisis discussions? What, for example, is the precise site of this crisis once one questions the organic reality of a society existing "out there" and operating according to natural and regular laws? And even if one accepts that an entity called society does exist, that it has natural and lawful patterns of behavior, and that it can thus be likened in its activities to a human body, is the medical notion of crisis an appropriate category for examining this particular "natural body"? In crisis medicine, doctors confront a body that is fixed and finite in its spatial and physical dimensions, and then focus on the decisive moment when this finite body hinges on the brink of life or death. But does society ever admit of such spatial and temporal finitude? What, for example, are the finite boundaries of society? In the case of seventeenth-century Europe, society extends around the world, yet analysis of the general crisis of the seventeenth century is restricted to events in Europe. To be coherent, should not society be either a global entity, in which case its specific analytical value for European history is lost, or a local (or in this case European) entity, in which case its coherence as a natural system is undermined? These conceptual problems are hard to remove, and to them must be added the physical problem of treating as a crisis-prone organism an entity that does not have any clear physiological existence. How, for example, can society have crises when it is not a physical being subject to mortality in the biological sense? And given the difficulties involved in conceiving of society as passing from the infinitude of life to the finitude of death, how can historical crises be "out there" awaiting our discovery, and why are they not better understood as conceptual creations of analysts who deploy this terminology to bring order to an otherwise scattered array of empirical facts?

Skepticism about the reifications at the center of the general crisis debates makes it hard to argue for salvaging this framework from out of the historiographical dustbin. Nevertheless, approaching historical change through the notion of crisis is not wholly misguided. Starn once again offers the right perspective on these complexities, and toward this end he notes two ways in which the preceding analysis can be justly criticized. One involves the supposed rigor or lack thereof of the notion of crisis as an analytical historical category. Clearly one cannot help but be skeptical, for all the reasons explained above, of the social scientific understanding of historical crisis that was indeed central to the general crisis of the seventeenth-century rubric from its inception. Yet if it is the scientism of this category that is suspect, one must accordingly be self-conscious about avoiding scientism when questioning the concept. This entails recognizing that the problem is not an absence of appropriate rigor in this case, and the need to shore it up, but the claim that history depends upon scientific rigor at all. Starn asks, for example, whether historians ever use categories

in rigorous, scientific ways, and whether it is a problem that they do not.²⁵ Historical analysis does not in fact suffer when it lacks scientific rigor, and following Starn, the message here is not a call for more rigor in the use of the concept of crisis by historians, but rather an appeal to question the urge toward rigorous scientism within historical analysis.

Accepting that historians are not empirical natural scientists but practitioners of a particular kind of hermeneutical science, one with deep connections to storytelling, the question, then, is not whether they are warranted in deploying the concept of crisis at all, but rather the kind of deployment that is appropriate. Starn notes, and this is his second point, that in bringing the concept of crisis into modern historical discourse, Thucydides was drawing upon not only medical discourse, but also the rhetorical tools of Greek drama. *Kpisis* in ancient Greek meant “decisive moment of decision,” and Thucydides gave the term a rhetorical function in his history by using it to frame events in terms of the structures of classical drama. The crisis framework, writes Starn, “functioned to stage events with the tragic irony that [Thucydides] shared with Aeschylus and Sophocles . . . As much as key moments in a process of change, crisis situations became moments of truth where the significance of men and events were brought to light.”²⁶

For Starn, Thucydides’ double use of crisis as a medical concept and a vehicle for dramatic rhetoric points to the wider history of the category within historical discourse, one where the two faces of Clio, science and rhetoric, harmonize. The notion of crisis deployed within discussions of the general crisis of the seventeenth century, however, was not so synergistic. These discussions largely deployed “crisis” in the scientific sense while deriving whatever rhetorical force the term carried from this scientific basis. Correcting this imbalance might, therefore, be a fruitful step forward, and Frederic Jameson charts a course in this direction in his book *A Singular Modernity*.²⁷ Wrestling from within a basically Marxist framework with the contemporary trends of a still-dynamic historical modernity, Jameson ultimately comes to question the material and ontological reality of the decisive ruptures and breaks that modernist social science makes foundational to developmental stories of historical change. The “general crisis” framework is one such decisive moment of modernity-making change, and since for Jameson “modernity is not a concept, philosophical or otherwise, but a narrative category,”²⁸ his work invites us to rethink modern historical development through an invitation to critically scrutinize our categories of historical narration.

Pulling Starn and Jameson together, what would it mean to think of crisis as a category within a rhetorical understanding of historical development, one engaged in Jameson’s project of understanding modernity through its narration, not its scientific analysis? An illustration is offered by another contemporary Marxoid thinker, Antonio Negri, in his 1970 book on the bourgeois philosophy of René Descartes.²⁹

²⁵ Starn, “Historians and ‘Crisis,’” 20–22.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷ Frederic Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London, 2002).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39–40.

²⁹ Antonio Negri, *Descartes politico, o Della ragionevole ideologia* (Milan, 1970); translated as *Political Descartes: Reason Ideology and the Bourgeois Project*, trans. Matteo Mandarini and Alberto Toscano (London, 2006). My citations will be to the translated edition.

Negri treats the early development of Descartes's philosophy through its connection to the general crisis of the seventeenth century, going so far as to date the crisis precisely to the years 1619–1622 and citing the key articles by Hobsbawm and Trevor-Roper, and the seminal 1965 compendium edited by Trevor Aston, to support his claims.³⁰ This usage smacks of the literal and untenable scientism criticized above. It also points, at first blush, at least, to the worst kind of reductive materialist intellectual history. Yet Negri is too much the neo-Hegelian historicist philosopher and non-dialectical historian of modern thought to fall fully into these social scientific traps. As his account of the seventeenth-century crisis that shapes Descartes's philosophy unfolds, therefore, it gets more richly insightful as it departs from a literal social scientism. In the end, "crisis" comes to function as a rhetorical category in Negri's work, since his analysis ultimately avoids reducing Descartes to a set of underlying determinants and instead situates him within a field of anxious historical dilemmas that force Descartes to respond in powerful and creative ways. As such, the seventeenth-century crisis becomes in Negri's usage a decisive moment of change, one without inherent causal logics, but one productive of instaurative innovation nevertheless. In this way, the book recommends crisis as a useful category of historical analysis despite its oblique relation to the general crisis framework.

Viewed metaphorically, and treated as a rhetorical term of art rather than as a literal term of scientific and deterministic objectivity, the concept of crisis becomes a powerful tool in Negri's historical analysis of Descartes. This success confirms both the value of escaping from scientific rigor when thinking about this historical concept, and the need to remain flexible when evaluating its use today. The time has passed when scientific debates about the precise ontological nature of the seventeenth-century crisis will occupy the attention of historians. But this does not mean that the framework itself should be discarded forever. Rabb's 1975 contribution to the classic discussion still stands, in fact, as a model for how we might approach the seventeenth century through the framework of the general crisis rubric.³¹ Rabb begins by reflecting on the debate itself, and by carefully considering what the category of crisis will mean as he deploys it. Yet his is no literal crisis in the social body of the seventeenth century that determines other empirical outcomes in its vicinity. It is rather a metamorphic understanding rooted in a pervasive sense of uncertainty that prefigures an equally pervasive assertion of control in an attempt to resolve these anxieties. As a metaphor and analytical-narrative device that works to show similarities between a range of different yet synchronous areas (his analysis ranges from Baroque painting to absolutist politics), Rabb's use of the crisis idea works to open interpretive perspectives, not to shut them down in the name of causal determinism. He also allows the notion of crisis to remain evocative more than determinative, thus using the category as a hermeneutic lens and not as a scientific variable. In short, Rabb uses the crisis concept to pose the problem of modernity's emergence, not to explain it away scientifically, and this is the virtue of his approach. Negri's use is similar, and together these very different historians show us that the general crisis

³⁰ Negri, *Political Descartes*, 114–118. See also n. 21 above.

³¹ Rabb, *The Struggle for Authority*.

of the seventeenth century remains a powerful and productive framework for future historical work so long as its value is properly perceived.

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Featured Reviews

AVIEL ROSHWALD. *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 349. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.99.

Nationalism is commonly seen by historians and social scientists as a quintessentially modern phenomenon. As such, it is interpreted as a cultural transformation connected to the formation of modern states in Europe that depends on three connected processes of centralization: the emergence of supra-local identities and cultures (the "nation"); the rise of powerful and authoritative institutions within the public domain (the "state"); and the development of particular ways of organizing production and consumption (the "economy"). However, such an assumed connection between a particular European modernity and nationalism is difficult to maintain if one argues, as Benedict Anderson has done, that Creole settlers in the Americas pioneered nationalism. In Anderson's view, it is not state formation in Europe that produces the nation; rather, it is the moving away from the traditional social restrictions of Europe that creates the possibility of imagining oneself as a national community. Another problem with the idea of Europe as the cradle of nationalism is that it assigns to those outside the West the role of passive recipients with derivative nationalisms. While it seems undeniable that European colonialism has spread modern European ideas and institutions to the rest of the world, it is also important to realize that European modernity itself is very much a product of European encounters with other civilizations and traditions. Therefore, a number of important European nationalisms, such as those of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, have been imagined in relation to imperialism. At the same time, anticolonial nationalisms are hardly derivative in their creative transformations of traditions of community and heritage. Just as scholars in historical sociology have begun to think in terms of multiple modernities, we need to speak about a variety of nationalist imaginings that go beyond European models or blueprints.

Once the necessity of direct connection between a particular modern state formation and nationalism is abandoned, a realm of possible forms of nationalism is revealed. One of these forms is the possibility that na-

tionalism is not only disassociated from state formation but also disassociated from modernity itself. Obviously, there has always been great difficulty in demarcating modernity in history, since modernity is not a clear-cut historical period with a beginning and an end, but an ideological notion that values the new and devalues the old by making a sharp opposition between modern and traditional. Confronted with notions of modernity, historians are always at pains to show continuities that lay under the surface of ideologically assumed rupture. The study of nationalism shows the inverse problematic. One of nationalism's ideological tasks is to show continuities over the long history of a people, and professional historians are often able to point out that nationalism invents and constructs that continuous past in modern history. Ironically, therefore, historians are often bridging the great divide between the premodern and the modern, while at the same time debunking nationalist myths of the continuity of the modern nation.

In his new book, Aviel Roshwald goes against the grain of much writing about nationalism by developing the audacious thesis that nationalism was already found among the ancient Greeks and the ancient Jews. He goes much further than arguing for protonationalist formations in ethnicity, language, or religion that prefigure the later emergence of nationalism. In his view, nationalism is based on a sense of a larger, ethnic identity in the name of which a territorial sovereignty is claimed, and by this definition he finds premodern nationalism. His strongest case is Jewish nationalism. According to Roshwald, Jewish ethnic identity is the fundamental basis of the Hebrew Bible and is connected to understandings of linguistic unity and territorial sovereignty. Moreover, the ancient Jews had a linear historical consciousness, something that is generally related to modern nationalism. In the Jewish case, the author does not only argue for premodern nationalism to be found among the ancient Jews but also, much more controversially, for continuities between that ancient nationalism and the modern Zionist one.

The ancient Greeks are Roshwald's other example of

premodern nationalism. This is not a surprising choice, since Greece is commonly regarded as the cradle of European civilization, and references to antiquity belong to the stock repertoire of European historiography. In Pericles's famous funeral speech in the Peloponnesian War, Roshwald finds many of the elements of modern nationalism, such as the love of one's country, popular sovereignty, and collective identity, that made Athens into a nation. In addition to Athenian nationalism he also notes pan-Hellenism as a form of nationalism among the ancient Greeks. However, in the Greek case Roshwald does not suggest continuity between ancient Greek nationalism and modern Greek nationalism. Unfortunately, he does not clarify why the Jewish and Greek cases are different in this regard. Without such a discussion, one is left with the impression that Jewish nationalism is unique in its endurance. There is a discrepancy in Roshwald's argument between what he sees as continuing nationalist themes over a long period of history that can be found in a number of different cases all over Europe and his argument about the enduring continuity of Jewish nationalism. If the Jewish case is an example of enduring nationalism, it has to be argued much more straightforwardly. The assertion that the chosenness of the ancient Jews has assumed global significance in the modern era (p. 167) is in my view an ahistorical one. Arguably, it makes more sense to understand the emergence of Zionism in the nineteenth century in the context of European nationalism than to connect it with an enduring Jewish nationalism from antiquity. The pitfalls of Roshwald's approach become even more apparent when he discusses the foundation of Israel and the clashes between Israelis and Palestinians, centering on Jerusalem and the Temple Mount in terms of the ancient history of the Jews, on one hand, and of twentieth-century Palestinian nationalism, on the other (p. 101). He does not argue that the claims of Palestinian Muslims on the Temple Mount are less significant than Jewish ones, but, considering the nature of the debate about the antiquity of presence in these disputed areas, his argument for the endurance of Jewish nationalism in relation to the notion of territorial sovereignty in the Hebrew Bible can easily be taken as supporting Israeli claims. Roshwald's approach exemplifies an old problem in the study of nationalism: how to position oneself in relation to nationalist history. It has to be said that the author does not fully clarify his own position vis-à-vis Israeli nationalism. While he is explicit in his understanding of the fact that evolving political contexts shape nationalist use of sacred symbols, his approach tends to emphasize continuity in Jewish nationalism and discontinuity in Arab or Palestinian nationalism. A fuller treatment would have involved a discussion of enduring religious themes in Arab nationalism.

Despite all the claims about the endurance of nationalism throughout premodern history, the larger part of the book is in fact about modern nationalism. The discussion of the modern period takes place in four bulky chapters on time and history, violation and volition,

chosenness and mission, and issues of ethnicity and civic identity. Roshwald deftly dissects the modern myth that premodern time conceptions were cyclical in comparison to the modern linear conceptions of time. He argues convincingly that modern nationalism often has a nonlinear conception of the history of the nation that transcends time, not only at the level of ideology, but also at the level of symbolic action—for example, in acts of commemoration. In his analysis of violation and volition, Roshwald looks at “chosen traumas” that give significance to a nation's history of struggle for self-determination. He examines masterfully the controversies surrounding the Alamo shrine in Texas, the Orangemen's commemorations in Ireland, the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and different imaginations of Kosovo in former Yugoslavia. By focusing on the conflictual nature of interpretations rather than on their essential meanings, he manages to give a dynamic picture of the symbolic repertoires that are used in nationalism.

It is striking how much notions of time and history as well as those of chosenness and mission derive from religious traditions. Religion is a configuration of beliefs and practices that, contrary to the modernity of nationalism, is often assumed to be enduring throughout history and, indeed, to shape history. The fact that religious traditions are transformed by modernity and thus go through the same transition as conceptions of ethnicity, language, and history is not fully recognized in Roshwald's analysis. Very important in the modern period is the nationalization of religion, in which notions of chosenness and mission were adopted from the religious repertoire into nationalism. In Europe, the United States, and, of course, Israel, the notion of chosenness is directly derived from the Bible. Claims of chosenness, however, can be found in any attempt to world leadership, whether it is Iranian, Chinese, or Indian, and in those cases it is based on notions of non-Judeo-Christian religious traditions. The most important example today of the connection between chosenness and a global mission is U.S. global hegemony, but that does not mean that other contenders for global power do not see themselves as specially chosen for that task. At the same time, it is also important, especially when studying a unifying and homogenizing discourse like nationalism, to be aware of the enormous divisions within a nation and the ensuing differences of opinion about what chosenness might mean. There is a huge gap between the Christian Right in the United States and the liberal-secular section of the population. There is also a continuing temptation to withdraw from world leadership and enjoy one's chosenness in isolation. Besides chosenness and mission, other elements of religious repertoires that are also adopted in nationalism, such as martyrdom, ordeals, divine election, and messianic beliefs, are not only found in Judaism and Christianity, but also in a number of other traditions, including Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, but Roshwald does not include them in his analysis, despite its wide-ranging scope.

Roshwald's book is an immense tour de force be-

cause of its range and erudition; therefore, to ask him for more seems unjustified. Nevertheless, his focus on Europe and the United States leaves out the important analysis of anti-colonial nationalism, examples of which one can find everywhere and which is crucial in the one case outside the West that he discusses—namely, Israel. In my view, imperialism has been so important in shaping nationalism both in the imperial metropolises and in the colonies that this is a serious omission. It could be argued that societies like India and China have deep histories and civilizational notions of ethnicity and sovereignty that are as enduring as European ones, and that their study would reinforce Roshwald's central claim of the endurance of nationalism. However, one can hardly understand these Asian histories without taking the impact of global modernity brought by im-

perialism into account. In that sense, again, Asian histories are not different from European ones, because ultimately Europe was shaped by the same modern transformation as Asia. While one can accept Roshwald's idea that many themes prominent in the definition of nationalism have premodern antecedents, I, for one, remain convinced that these themes are fundamentally transformed in the discourses and practices of modernity that one understands as nationalism. Conceptions of liberty, the individual, linear time, and linguistic unity, as well as ethnicity and territorial sovereignty, can all be found before the modern period, but they acquire new meanings and social significance in modernity.

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STUART CLARK. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 415. \$65.00.

As he once proposed that demons were "good to think with," Stuart Clark now asserts that vision was and is good to think with, both for early modern people and for historians examining the early modern past. Clark sees theories of visual perception and concerns about the reliability of vision as a method for perceiving reality manifested in numerous aspects of early modern intellectual culture: art, magic, demonology, science, philosophy, and religious reformation. There is a tension running through this book between vision as a singular sense and sensory perception and mental cognition of the external world in general, but Clark reasonably elides this distinction by asserting that vision has always been regarded as the principal, and most veridical, human sense. Thus problems associated with visual perception of reality have always raised the most troubling epistemological questions. It is these problems—the limitations of vision and the possibility of deception—that concern Clark, and he regards the era from the early fifteenth century to the late seventeenth as a problematic period indeed.

The visual anxieties of early modern Europe were grounded in the widespread dominance of a particularly "realistic" theory of vision. Aristotelian understanding of sight maintained that the human eye received real and true impressions of external reality that it transmitted to the brain—in short, that sight directly perceived how things really were. No one denied the potential for illusion, deception, or simple misperception, but generally a healthy human eye and brain were assumed to perceive true forms. This assumption of visual reality became so overwhelming by the fifteenth century that thereafter any situation in which visual perception might be false became exceptionally troubling.

Such situations were numerous. Natural maladies or

injuries could afflict the eye or mind, impairing vision or the proper interpretation of sight. Impairments of the eye were fairly easy for early modern theorists of vision to accommodate, since they were (most often) readily perceived, and one could simply argue that while an unhealthy eye would see falsely, a healthy eye normally never would. Mental illness presented a more complex challenge to visual reliability, and early modern physicians devoted tremendous attention to melancholy, which they held to be the major cause of purely imagined visual perceptions in the human mind. Most troubling here was that, while patients with injured eyes knew not to trust their vision, melancholic perceivers frequently could not distinguish between real perceptions and their own imaginings.

While impairments to visual perception troubled early modern thinkers, some intellectuals and artists set out to deceive sight. By adopting linear perspective and striving for a new level of verisimilitude, Renaissance artists consciously endeavored to trick the eye. Of course, Clark points out, artists did not intend fundamental deception. They sought, rather, to produce delight in the momentary befuddlement of vision. Indeed, viewers' subsequent recognition of the artifice involved was part of the enjoyment of the art. Renaissance magicians often operated in a similar vein. Magic could delude sight in many ways, but Clark primarily addresses learned practitioners of "magical optics"—men such as Athanasius Kircher, who employed lenses, mirrors, and other visually distorting elements to craft illusions and deceive viewers. Here too, the point was not real deception but the evocation of wonder. As with other visual artists, Renaissance optical magicians relied on their audiences' recognition and enjoyment of the artifice involved.

While artistry and illusion could be sources of won-

der, terrible danger also lurked in the realm of visual deception. Demons were by far the greatest source of concern, capable of deceiving in numerous ways. They could alter objects, affect the medium through which images were transmitted to the eye, or manipulate the eye itself. Yet distinguishing between their false “wonders” and divine miracles was essential to Christian theology. The dangers of false perception could not have been more profound. Nothing exemplifies this concern better than witchcraft. For modern scholars, witchcraft is the ultimate example of an unreal crime. Often forgotten is the degree to which it was also “unreal” to early modern authorities as well. Many who accepted the existence of witches nevertheless denied the reality of a central aspect of witchcraft, the witches’ sabbath, maintaining that these horrific gatherings were entirely illusory. Some moved from this into full skepticism about witchcraft, but many maintained that witches’ very perception of an illusory gathering and failure to recognize its unreality was an essential part of their wickedness. A visual conundrum thus lay at the heart of European witchcraft, or at least of elite, intellectual constructions of witchcraft.

If improper sight could be a major element of irreligiosity, true seeing was essential to true faith. Following his chapter on demonology, Clark moves to the Reformation. He rehearses the degree to which late medieval piety relied on vision—viewing the elevated host or crucifix during Mass or fixing devotion on a saint’s image. He also deftly summarizes how Protestant authorities strove to replace a religion of sight with one of sound, devotion to image with devotion to the word. This distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism is fairly standard, but Clark develops a detailed meditation on the ways in which fundamental disputes between Catholics and Protestants came down to matters of seeing. Protestants, of course, could not abandon image entirely as a way for believers to move toward the invisible (and ineffable) divine. Ultimately, Protestantism stressed inner images within the minds and hearts of the faithful, while Catholicism continued to assert the utility of viewing external images.

Reformation disputes over vision also manifested in Catholic and Protestant understandings of ghosts and apparitions. Protestants tended to regard these as necessarily demonic, while Catholics allowed some space for potentially benevolent, divinely sanctioned visions. Both groups, however, devoted tremendous attention to the ways in which the true nature of apparitions might be visually discerned—an effort that proved endlessly problematic, until finally authorities on all sides were forced to give up the ghost, so to speak, and admit to a skepticism that posited that such visions had no external existence as perceivable forms outside of the mind. This obsession with the nature of visions, and their possible external reality, also haunted the early modern stage, and Clark follows his chapter on spirits with one on William Shakespeare, focusing especially on the ghosts, spectral daggers, and bloody spots that haunt *Macbeth*. As Clark notes, even modern stagings

tend to reproduce early modern equivocations about these sights—the ghosts are typically embodied by actors while the daggers and blood are only described by the characters perceiving them. Clark relates this ambiguity, in early modern thinking, to the paradigmatic biblical tale of a king seeing questionable visions—Saul’s encounter with the supposed shade of Samuel summoned by the “witch” of Endor.

Clark has to rush through a millennium and a half of Christian interpretations of 1 Samuel 28 to draw connections to the play, and of course we might ask, why limit analysis only to *Macbeth*? Clark briefly mentions the ghost of Hamlet’s father, but one immediately thinks of other examples, such as the closing of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and its lyric evocation of the possibly visionary nature of all theatricality. Yet Clark’s main purpose, to demonstrate the applicability of visual concerns to disparate areas of early modern culture, is well served. He does, in fact, address dreams in a subsequent chapter, but only after transitioning toward a conclusion.

If vision and dilemmas of veridical sight characterized so much of early modern culture, the question of what happened to these concerns eventually emerges. Sight has lost none of its primacy among the senses in the modern world, yet modern Western culture worries far less about absolute visual veracity. Clark is not constructing a singular arc of problematic vision through early modern culture, and so he does not arrive at any singular conclusion. Instead, he intersperses “conclusions” throughout, noting, for example, that debate about melancholic visions evaporated when the humoral theory of human physiology went out of fashion, and concern over demonic deceptions waned as belief in the active presence of demons in the world gradually declined. In his final chapters, however, Clark focuses more concertedly on why characteristically early modern concerns over visions finally faded from view.

He begins by discussing the growth of Pyrrhonian skepticism, opposing Aristotelian notions of vision and fundamentally challenging the belief that sensory experience conveyed true knowledge about the world. This visual skepticism, he asserts, supported many other areas of early modern skeptical thought, from Michel de Montaigne’s *Essays* to doubts about witchcraft. He then moves to dreams, which might seem just another aspect of visionary culture. Clark notes, however, that since the visions experienced in dreams did not entail any external seeing, for centuries debates about the “reality” of dreams focused on their “moral” reality, that is, whether they were divinely inspired, demonically induced, or simply derivative of natural bodily processes. Only in the early modern period did dreams come to evoke epistemological debates, generally as a subset of moral debates, but nevertheless tellingly focused on the complications that dream visions introduced to larger issues of veridical seeing. The problems here proved so insurmountable that authorities ultimately returned to understanding dreams as purely internal, mental states. But this re-separation of

dreams from sight indicates a larger intellectual move that characterized the seventeenth century especially.

In his final chapter, focusing on Thomas Hobbes and René Descartes, Clark traces how a new philosophy developed in Europe, one still ultimately grounded in theories of seeing, but in which epistemologies of sight were profoundly altered. Drawing on new theories of optics in which rays of light conveyed to the eye only "signs" of external things rather than real impressions of things themselves, this philosophy posited a new theory of how the mind ascertained the external world. This new concept of vision was, for Clark, essential to Descartes's fundamental mind-body distinction. In terms of concern over visual reality, the new philosophy held that the mind needed to interpret and ascribe meaning to the signs the eyes took in (in a learned process, akin to learning how to ascribe meaning to the arbitrary sounds forming words). Since the eyes did not receive veridical impressions of external reality anyway, the fact that visual sensory signals were mutable under a number of conditions became much less troubling.

This is a profound story that (in the inevitable pun) should open historians' eyes to new ways of seeing many aspects of early modern intellectual culture. In so sweeping a study, some areas receive short treatment. Despite several references to early modern science being an area in which visual concerns played a major role, for example, Clark says little about Baconian empiricism, concentrating instead on Cartesian rationalist science/philosophy. More empirical brands of science

would, however, conform to his basic model of movement away from direct Aristotelian seeing to more complex and controlled experimental observations yielding signs that needed to be interpreted before they would reveal the true face of nature.

Clark is not concerned with developing a rigid argument about changing notions of vision applicable to all facets of intellectual endeavor. Rather, he wants to illustrate how, in various ways, thinking about sight and seeing characterized many areas within early modern culture. He did the same in his magisterial *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (1997), demonstrating how demonological thought was implicated in early modern science, history, religion, and politics. As much as that book addressed scholars of witchcraft, urging them to take seriously demonological thought and language, it also addressed all early modern historians, urging them to take seriously the ways in which witches and demons figured in their own areas of research. Likewise, here Clark's analysis should prompt historians of early modern art, religion, philosophy, and science to a new appreciation of how central concerns over seeing were in all these areas. Far from being a "historian of witchcraft" or now a "historian of vision," Clark is one of our preeminent historians of the rich interconnectedness of early modern intellectual culture.

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LINDA M. HEYWOOD and JOHN K. THORNTON. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundations of the Americas, 1585–1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 370. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$22.99.

For several decades Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton have challenged historians of slavery to consider in all its complexity the African origin of enslaved workers. In this study they provide a detailed analysis of the cultural, religious, and social background of the first generation of enslaved Africans transported to the Americas. The book is the result of Heywood and Thornton's exhaustive research in Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, British, and American archives in pursuit of a hunch that an "Angolan wave" (p. ix) formed the founding generation of African Americans. The young African woman named Angela from the 1625 muster list at Jamestown, with whose story the book begins, is revealed to have been typical of Africans taken to the early Dutch and English settlements in the Americas.

Originally enslaved by Portuguese traders in Angola, Angela was en route to the slave market in Mexico when the slave ship was seized as a prize by English privateers who then took the human cargo to Virginia. While the trajectory that brought Angela to Virginia may seem particular to her case, Heywood and Thornton show

that nearly all the African workers in the Dutch and English settlements arrived as prizes taken by pirates who were targeting Portuguese and Spanish slave ships. Enslaved people taken from these Portuguese and Spanish ships were almost exclusively from Kongo and a region of Portuguese influence in Angola in West Central Africa, where dynastic crisis and territorial wars had created a vast supply of captives to be sold into slavery.

Because the first enslaved Africans came from a region that had long maintained an intense engagement with European culture and Christian religion, this founding generation was very different from generations that came later. The distinctiveness of the cohort of Africans transported to the Americas in the first half of the seventeenth century has been brilliantly articulated by Ira Berlin in *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (2003), where he characterized the first generation of enslaved Africans as "Atlantic Creoles." It is the purpose of Heywood and Thornton's book to amplify Berlin's influential insight

by pinpointing the geographic source of this cohort to show the remarkable linguistic, social, cultural, and political uniformity of the region. "The Atlantic Creole Charter Generation was thus the most homogenous group of Africans to enter the Americas in the whole slave trade," they write (p. 238). The authors argue that even though this founding generation was not numerous, the homogeneity of those early enslaved Africans gave them a substantial impact on the formation of African American culture that would influence the more numerous and diverse people of the subsequent generation.

Heywood and Thornton claim that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the core of Atlantic Creole culture was located in two regions of Central Africa: the independent kingdom of Kongo and the Portuguese colony of Angola. For the previous century the rulers of Kongo had undertaken an ambitious bilateral cultural policy that involved the adoption of Catholicism and the intermixing of European cultural forms with local custom. Successive kings of Kongo sent their children to Portugal for schooling, lobbied the pope to make Kongo an episcopal see, and encouraged the spread of missionary activity in their kingdom. However, they did not so much impose Catholicism on their subjects as Africanize the church to fit with local belief systems. Likewise, in the Portuguese colony of Angola, European settlers established an outpost of Catholicism and European culture that was in turn influenced by local African forms. The influence of this creolized culture and religion of both Kongo and Angola permeated the nearby region of Ndongo.

While the Kongo kings were able to shape and organize their adaptation to European religion and culture, their military relationships with Portugal were more problematic. Portuguese attempts to undermine Kongo's sovereignty were successively resisted, but internal dynastic struggles in the seventeenth century generated ongoing civil war. The resulting chaos and instability produced a steady supply of captives for Portuguese slave traders. The Portuguese also extracted slaves from Angola by tapping into the internal slave trade and eventually insisting that financial transactions be paid in slaves rather than money. More slaves were taken from neighboring Ndongo, where the Portuguese pursued a policy of ruthless aggression, deploying independent armies of nonaligned warriors to create terror and havoc. The state of near constant warfare in Ndongo and the series of civil wars in Kongo fed an insatiable demand for slaves for expanding markets in Brazil, the authors tell us. During the early period of the seventeenth century, exports of slaves from the region of Atlantic Creole culture were as high as twelve thousand people per annum.

Perpetual war, banditry, imperial aggression and domestic slavery were the conditions that saw many thousands of African Christians from Central Africa sold into the Atlantic slave trade. This remarkable set of circumstances, combined with the push from Dutch and English privateers to undermine Spanish and Portu-

guese dominance of the Atlantic trade, meant that the earliest enslaved Africans arriving in Dutch and English settlements were from Central Africa. Despite the paucity of good archival evidence, the authors are able to provide telling examples from Virginia, New Amsterdam, the Dutch Antilles, and Barbados that "a significant number of them were Catholics" (p. 270). What mattered to these Atlantic Creoles, they argue, "was the assertion of a Christian identity rather than a sectarian Catholic one" (p. 272). Heywood and Thornton believe that Berlin is essentially right about both the creolized culture of the founding generation and the fact that its members enjoyed far greater freedom and rights than any other subsequent generation. The authors differ from Berlin on the specifics of who these Atlantic Creoles were, and why they were readily able to access freedom and social mobility.

The authors have no doubt that the early Dutch and English colonists thought of these Africans as slaves, and not simply as indentured servants. But they contend that only in the later seventeenth century was slavery understood to be a lifelong inheritable service. In the early period, they insist, English and Dutch colonists "had not yet defined slavery as lifelong, inheritable servitude, but only as indefinite service." This fluidity in the definition of slavery could explain the "opportunities for expanded rights including freedom, social acceptance and mobility" for enslaved Africans (p. 229). The fact that so many of the slaves who arrived before 1660 were already Christian provides the key to understanding why this generation was able to attain freedom and social mobility with apparent ease. Whereas early Dutch and English settlers generally believed that a Christian should not hold another Christian as a slave, the legal systems put in place after 1660 explicitly refused enslaved Christians the right to manumission.

Heywood and Thornton's take on Berlin's original insight is instructive and interesting, but it could not sustain a book of three hundred fifty-nine pages in which the key argument is endlessly repeated and the same points made time and again. For all the detailed analyses of the military and political machinations that fed the "Angolan wave" of enslaved African between 1585 and 1660, the book is frustratingly superficial when it comes to discussing the heart of the matter: namely the creolized culture of Central Africa, which the authors claim had a substantial impact on the formation of African American culture. Heywood and Thornton tell us that this culture was "best represented by the profession of Christianity but also by the knowledge of European languages (and some literacy) and political ideas, adopting mixed European and African names, some changes in dress with the adaptation of imported cloth and clothing items from both Europe and West Africa, some mixing of musical styles and the absorption of American food crops and preparation techniques, among other things" (p. 67). We are given some examples of what the authors mean by this: the insertion of Iberian baptismal names such as Antonio or Angela into the African name; the use of Portuguese sur-

names among the nobility; Christian burial customs; the introduction of ivory and wood trumpets into the musical repertoire; and the consumption of American corn. Repeatedly we are told that Christianization was the most visible indicator of participation in the Atlantic Creole world. An Africanized version of Catholicism, which appears to have tolerated polygamy and incorporated local deities by identifying them as saints or angels, took root and spread through the region. But the authors do not explain how this actually manifested itself in the lives of the people who became victims of the slave trade or how, other than the use of Iberian names, this creolized culture translated into the fledgling societies of New York, Virginia, and Barbados.

I may be asking the impossible. The authors have diligently searched through an awesome range of archival sources to find the fragments of evidence they produce. They admit that "in contrast to the later Plantation Generation, whose religious outlook and cultural practices are well documented by traveler's accounts, and more recently by studies of material culture and archeology, the Creoles who formed the Charter Generation are poorly described." Limited though the information is, they believe it is "somewhat offset by the manner of

their capture in Africa" (p. 269–270). Therein lies the problem. Following the grossly lopsided nature of the archival evidence, the authors say more than we need to know about the conditions of war and chaos that generated these many thousands of captives. The authors say very little about the creolized culture carried across the Atlantic to the Americas, which they have freighted with such tremendous significance.

There is no doubt that this is an important book about the origins of enslaved Africans in the first half of the seventeenth century. Heywood and Thornton have performed a valuable service in describing the complex set of circumstances particular to Central Africa that produced such a homogeneous cohort. Still, the book does not deliver on the expectations raised by its title, nor the claims of the blurb that the book points to the "ways in which this generation of Africans helped lay the foundations for the subsequent development of African American culture." If indeed the numerically small founding generation was so significant, this reader is not much wiser as to the how, why, and wherefore.

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CATHERINE L. ALBANESE. *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 628. \$40.00.

How do we explain the "religiosity" of Americans at the beginning of the twenty-first century? Answering this question is one purpose of this impressive yet perplexing book, which describes a complex strain of ideas and actions that Catherine L. Albanese names "metaphysical religion." Asserting that many historians have not accorded this form of religion the recognition it deserves, Albanese enacts a process of recovery that stretches from the middle of the twentieth century all the way back to antiquity. Hers is a story of origins, a genealogical narrative that, like the very subject it purports to uncover, piles up an amazing array of people, movements, and themes. Albanese regards the middle of the nineteenth century as a time when something "new" emerged, a full-blown metaphysical religion that is nothing less than "American" religion, incorporating the pragmatic and the spiritual, the high and the low, the divine and the natural and, in virtually all of its guises, suffused with optimism about the capacities of the human mind.

Albanese is not the first to insist on the importance of some such version of religion (or religiosity); a chapter of Sydney E. Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* (1972) details nineteenth-century versions of "harmonial religion," and, in perhaps the worst book ever written on the subject, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (1992), literary critic Harold Bloom proclaimed Gnos-

ticism the American national faith. Unlike Bloom, Albanese provides a fresh and disciplined account of many figures and movements. The first person to come on stage is the mythical Hermes Trismegistus and those who, in antiquity and beyond, articulated versions of hermeticism. Then follow (among others) Rosicrucians, the Kabbala, witchlore and the "cunning people," Hendrik Niclaes and the Family of Love, Quakers, Jacob Boehme, the Ephrata colony in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Emmanuel Swedenborg, Africans brought to the colonies as slaves, Native Americans, Freemasonry, Universalism, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Andrew Jackson Davis, Spiritualists, Shakers, Mormons, free blacks (especially women) who functioned as healers and visionaries, mesmerism, electromagnetism, Christian Science, New Thought, Theosophy, Buddhism (the late-nineteenth-century version that Americans such as Henry Olcott advocated), chiropractic, osteopathy, Religious Science, William James, Ralph Waldo Trine, the Unity movement, Norman Vincent Peale, Alice Bailey, Barbara Brennan, and the expressive tendencies known as New Age.

What do these movements have in common: that is, what constitutes metaphysical religion? Albanese specifies four principal themes that animate these movements and thinkers. First, however, she indicates that by "metaphysics" she means the opposite of philosophical arguments associated with systems of theology. In her

narrative, the metaphysical is actually an “antimetaphysical ideology,” a “preference for direct experience” with one source in the Enlightenment and another in the democratization of thinking in postrevolutionary America; the two are brought together in a “village Enlightenment” that signifies a quintessentially “American” way of proceeding (pp. 10–11). Importantly for her, metaphysical modes of thinking were never esoteric in the sense of being hidden or mysterious.

To summarize the four themes is not a simple task, for each is something of an agglomeration. Mind is the first, in the sense of “consciousness and all that derives from and returns to it.” The second is the “cosmological theory of correspondence between worlds” (as voiced in antiquity) or correspondence in the sense of “human interaction with nature,” a theme Albanese locates in English, American Indian, and African American culture. The larger version of correspondence translates into a way of thinking she terms “mystical,” the assertion that something larger (a capitalized Mind) is replicated in the microcosm. The third strand concerns energy or action of the kind needed to perceive and experience the interconnectedness of things. This energy she calls “magic.” The fourth strand involves salvific healing, understood as “standing in the free flow of spirit energy” that brings to an end all forms of alienation, including what in Christianity is described as sin (pp. 12–15). Implicit and sometimes explicit in these four strands are a penchant for attributing divine-like capacities to the human self and a preference for vitalism: animated by (divine?) spirit, nature responds to humankind’s powers of imagination.

Almost as important to the story, and at moments in the narrative more important, are certain modes or locations of thinking. The key words that evoke these modes are imagination, pragmatic, magic, vernacular, and combinative. Albanese rejoices in the capacity of human beings to speculate about nature, mind, and the cosmos—the imagination emancipated, as it were, from all constraints of doctrine and catechism, clergy and institutional church. Consistent with her definition of metaphysical, she insists as well that the people she describes were always practical or pragmatic even at their most expansive. Magic is an extension of or identical with the pragmatic; here, it is liberated from the negative freight it acquired within Christianity and nineteenth-century theories of religion. “Vernacular” is how she translates the theme of “democratization” in American religious history, though for her it has a much larger resonance. She deploys “combinative” to indicate a practice of thinking that merges or mingles different strands of ideas. She sees this overriding of differences as something that occurs even among people who did not fully recognize what was happening. Alchemist that she is, Albanese creates or uncovers combinations that will surprise everyone who reads this book.

Being surprised is a good thing, and this book’s capacity to startle is perhaps its greatest strength. Themes and ideas that to other historians of religion in America

may, for good reason, have seemed marginal or elusive suddenly take center stage. Cumulatively, all of this evidence reshapes our customary understanding of what it meant to be religious (or metaphysical) in nineteenth and twentieth-century America. Albanese has consistently sought to broaden what counts as religious and to foreground the unexpected, a practice that informs her earlier work, including the textbook-like *America: Religions and Religion* (1992), where Elvis Presley is given much more attention than the Great Awakening, Horace Bushnell, and Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr. The way of thinking she applies to the past and the present is different from the “pluralism” model that is all the rage these days, a model that foregrounds the decentering of Christianity as other “world religions” acquire a stronger presence in the United States. The story she tells is also different from an interpretation that focuses on the fissiparous qualities of Holy Spirit-centered Protestantism of the kind that flourished amid revivals and flared up anew in twentieth-century Pentecostalism. If Pentecostal and charismatic versions of Protestantism are the shape of popular religion to come, little in these pages will help us understand the future—or possibly the America of today.

The book can also dismay. Albanese trespasses intentionally on the usual (or problematic) meanings of mystical, magic, and metaphysical as these terms are deployed within religious or theological studies. Examples abound, as in the jarring allusion to Anne Hutchinson as “mystical.” Leaving aside what does or does not constitute “American” religion, a question she answers too easily by insisting on the popularity of certain publications and by playing on the populist implications of “vernacular,” let me return to matters of intellectual or interpretive method. Albanese’s account of metaphysical religion scants its opponents and the counter-tendencies within some of the movements she includes. Christian Science, which fits awkwardly within her paradigm, is a leading example of counter-tendencies that are largely ignored in favor of an emphasis on Mary Baker Eddy’s connections with Phineas P. Quimby. Outside the boundaries of metaphysical religion, the reaction against “the mystical” was formative in the case of early Methodism and figures significantly in the history of African American Christianity. A dialectic of attraction and rejection also occurred within individuals. Seeking an alternative to desiccated Unitarianism, Ralph Waldo Emerson began to read the likes of Swedenborg and Boehme. He may seem a willing moth to their flame and is so (guardedly) in *Nature* (1836), the early essay on which Albanese concentrates. But Emerson drew back from the claims those writers were making, if only because his own understanding of “the religious” was ultimately naturalistic and because he held on to a powerful concept of the autonomous self. To incorporate Emerson into “metaphysical religion” is to risk expanding a part into a whole; it is to forego the historian’s capacity to discern proportion or significance in dealing with genealogies of influence.

Mormonism offers challenges that point to other dif-

faculties. Relying substantially on John L. Brooke's *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (1996), Albanese discerns in the theology and cultic practices fashioned by Joseph Smith, Jr., elements of alchemy, hermeticism, Swedenborgianism, and the "country magic of the cunning folk" (p. 146), specifically the godlike qualities of human nature, the hermetic fusing of male and female, and the lore of "seer stones and dowsing rods." She accounts for the presence of these themes just as Brooke does: Smith absorbed some of them from Freemasonry and others from esoteric Pietists who settled in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. In his review of Brooke's book, Richard L. Bushman pointed out that Smith held the opposite of certain ideas Brooke attributes to him, like the merger of the male and female. He questioned, too, the plausibility of Brooke's connection making; in Bushman's reckoning, Brooke "cannot point to a single site where Joseph Smith could have learned about the ideas that supposedly formed Mormonism's inner logic," a point Albanese would contest, though in doing so she leans on circumstantial evidence.

Connection and combination-making are central to this work, playing a role far greater than I have indicated: what comes before reappears later on (just as what comes later confirms the presence of what came before), and her figures are continually assembling motifs in the manner she describes as combinative. The possibilities for combination can be put in two quite different ways. Some (orthodox/evangelical) Protestants in the nineteenth century read Spiritualist periodicals and may have witnessed séances, just as some Methodists undoubtedly went to the theater despite injunctions against doing so. Such intermittent practices have been a persistent feature of Christianity as lived by all kinds of people in modern times, some of them

Americans, many not. But these are different from acts of combination that are fundamentally transformative, carrying those who engage in them outside the boundaries of conventional Christianity. The test case that looms on the fringes of this book is modern evangelicalism, which from time to time has hosted some of the motifs described in this book. Albanese acknowledges in her introduction that many historians claim for evangelical Protestantism the centrality she accords metaphysical religion. A question that can only be answered by looking at specific figures and movements is whether evangelicals past and present (especially those affiliated with Pentecostal and charismatic variants) have been significantly influenced by the metaphysical. When and where has doing so shaped religious practice, and especially the practice of healing? For those who may undertake this inquiry, precision about influence and what it means to be combinative become imperative.

The large claims this book makes seem borne out by the lives of certain virtuosi of metaphysical religion. But a skeptic may point to the evanescence of so much of what Albanese describes. Prophets and seekers have scattered many seeds of alternative spiritualities in the course of American history, but some of this seed has never sprouted into long-lasting affiliations or practices. The one Protestant denomination she incorporates into her story, the Universalists, rose and fell in the course of the nineteenth century. So did mesmerism and Spiritualism. Despite its high-pitched claims for metaphysical religion and weaknesses of intellectual method, this book remains important as an act of recovery and a remarkable demonstration of how a very talented historian of religion employs her own metaphysical-like imagination.

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DREW GILPIN FAUST. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2008. Pp. xviii, 346. \$27.95.

The starting point for Drew Gilpin Faust's new book rests on one of the most basic facts about Civil War America: that the conflict produced a startling and overwhelming number of dead, indeed more deaths than all other U.S. wars—prior to Vietnam—combined. Yet, out of this most elementary of all Civil War statistics, Faust has composed a moving and deeply perceptive account of how Americans and their institutions confronted the specter of death, and how death, in its own way, propelled significant transformations in the beliefs, the cultural practices, and the political structures of nineteenth-century Americans.

In her organizational scheme, Faust speaks to the fundamentals of death—chapters investigate topics such as "Dying," "Killing," "Burying," and "Accounting"—with each providing a window for examining

Americans and their society at a cultural crossroads. In her attention to these seemingly straightforward aspects of Civil War mortality, Faust makes the study of wartime death personal and tangible and renders the experience in ways that would have been familiar to those living at the time. We learn of the startlingly new and gruesome ways in which Civil War soldiers died, the novel and technologically enhanced means by which men could be killed, the problems of bodily decay and innovative techniques that might be used to offset that, even the mourning attire that was available—at least to some—to give visible testament to their grief. To make us feel the suffering of nineteenth-century Americans, Faust relies on an impressive trove of primary material, not just the obvious correspondence of Civil War soldiers and their friends and kin. Thus she brings us the

voices of relief workers, coffin manufacturers, government bureaucrats, as well as the rich and poignant words of the men and women—Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, Ambrose Bierce—who turned to literature in a hope to comprehend the war's devastation.

But poetry alone would not ease the pain of death. As Faust's book makes clear, many new innovations would be required to help men and women deal with death on such a massive scale. Death, in effect, gave birth to refrigerated coffins, new embalming practices, improved accounting methods, and carefully delineated bureaucracies. And yet while the pages of Faust's book are filled with stories of grisly burials and poignant sufferings, not to mention the emergence of death-related technology, the author is not just interested in how Civil War Americans managed death. Ultimately, Faust is most concerned with the way death prompted cultural, intellectual, economic, even political responses that reveal a deeper process of historical change. It is noteworthy, I think, that none of these historical transformations would seem surprising to students of nineteenth-century America, or of industrializing societies more generally. Like other scholars—David Blight and Louis Menand, for example—Faust is interested in the change from intense religiosity to increasing secularism, from a weak and unstructured nation state to a more developed and bureaucratized state apparatus, and from sectional division to sectional reunification. Yet, what is striking in this book is how the process of dying and killing, and especially the attempt to make sense of the dying and killing, prompted these transformations. Death, Faust argues, hastened the deterioration of America's era of family-centered Victorianism and sentimentality and ushered in a period of nationalism and uncertainty.

Thus Faust begins her account by locating Americans' understanding of death and dying firmly within mid-nineteenth-century Victorian culture. More specifically, Americans, of all religious denominations, subscribed to notions of "The Good Death" whereby the dying could receive familial comfort and spiritual contentment, while friends and relatives might also find meaning and closure in the end-of-life moment. Influenced by "The Good Death," Civil War Americans sought thorough accounts of a loved one's demise, confirmation that those who died had been spiritually fulfilled, and burials that imparted sacred meaning to one's life and death. Obviously, the Civil War presented enormous obstacles to realizing this kind of demise, yet Americans nonetheless worked to infuse aspects of this domesticated death culture into the Civil War experience. Both soldiers and civilians, for example, welcomed the work of Christian Commission members who provided a death register that indicated not only the name and death date of a soldier but also his spiritual state. In the same vein, soldiers wrote painstaking accounts of battlefield deaths in order that people at home could feel some connection and closure when a loved one was lost.

But, perhaps inevitably, the rituals and beliefs asso-

ciated with "The Good Death" could not survive the chaos and upheaval of the Civil War. Many soldiers died anonymously and in unmarked graves; many bodies became horribly decomposed; and nearly all soldiers would be required to engage in the morally questionable work of killing other human beings. To some extent, as Faust suggests, the agents of market capitalism tried to bridge the growing chasm between Victorian sentimentalism and the war's brutality. Embalmers and coffin-makers promised to prevent bodies from decomposing. Clothing manufacturers offered fashions that would allow for proper displays of mourning. And private agents could be hired to seek out the final resting places of those who had apparently vanished without a trace.

Perhaps under different circumstances, or in a different era, there would have been only the private purveyors of capitalism to fill the void. But in the context of the Union struggle and the unfolding nationalism that accompanied it, the amassing deaths of the Civil War increasingly came under the purview of a developing nation state. Thus, by the end of the war, new government bureaucracies specialized in the work of death, or at least in the work of identifying, burying, and commemorating the dead. The U.S. War Department established national cemeteries where Union graves would no longer fall just under the purview of families but would be supervised by the nation. Likewise, the War Department made it its business to find, identify, and rebury—wherever possible—the scattered remains of the Union dead throughout the South. Even more, notions of national sacrifice came increasingly to dominate the language used to give meaning to death. Where "The Good Death" had stressed duty to God, soldiers on both sides began to speak of their duty to country. And when Abraham Lincoln spoke in 1863 at the new Gettysburg National Cemetery, with its row upon identical row of newly interred graves, he gave voice to the idea that this collective death, or at least this collective Union death, became meaningful in the fight for the nation.

Rather than flatten this story into a simple change-over-time narrative, Faust perceptively demonstrates how troubling and complicated this transformative arc—from religious to secular, from individual to nation—could be. Deeply committed to the culture of Victorian sentimentality, many Americans balked at the increasingly anonymous nature of national burials, and the submergence of an individual death into the collectivized mass of national cemeteries. They resisted, too, the dehumanization that came with such massive slaughter and raised doubts about whether meaning really could be imparted to such shattering loss. Thus it is striking to hear the notes of parody, of irony, of deep skepticism that reverberated during the Civil War, notes that would swell more loudly, and in other parts of the globe, as the toll of dying and killing in war became even more enormous in the twentieth century.

All this makes for a rich historical account, one that

forces us to reckon with straightforward statistics and mundane facts regarding Civil War deaths, indeed all wartime deaths, and to see larger cultural processes at work. In some respects, one wishes that Faust would do even more, turning her insightful analysis in other directions to further understand the ways that death left its mark on American culture. Most notably, in this regard, would be matters about race. Faust, of course, is not inattentive to the central story of race, slavery, and emancipation, nor to the particular dynamics that shaped the process of killing and dying for African Americans. Significantly, she finds many Confederates using racism to justify the vicious slaughter of black Unionists while many black Americans worried that Civil War death would exacerbate a "disturbing tradition of black victimhood" (p. 51). Yet there is a noticeable asymmetry, in Faust's telling, between the way African Americans understood Civil War dying, in a generally straightforward way, as part of the struggle for freedom, and the more tortured ruminations of white Americans who sought to find meaning in wartime mortality. On the one hand, one looks for a richer picture—through religion, literature, and philosophical reflections—of the way black Americans may have also struggled with the price freedom seemed to demand. On the other hand, given the commitment many white northerners had made to a war against slavery, as well as Faust's larger story about the transformative power of death, one also looks for signs that some northern whites might have, even in subtle ways, recalibrated their thinking about race in the context of such massive individual slaughter. The fact that federal officials made some efforts, albeit limited, to count, identify and honor the black Union dead suggests that white northerners certainly had to reckon with the fates and the identities of individual black Americans in ways they never would have done prior to the Civil War. And even if, as Faust and others have argued, the common suffering of white northerners and white southerners even-

tually trumped concerns about the fate of black Americans, there was nonetheless a tradition of honoring the black dead that could not easily succumb to the larger forces of sectional reconciliation. In fact, Faust's picture of grieving and suffering in the opposing sections, and the initial strategies for mourning one's own (sectional) dead while pointedly disregarding, if not dishonoring, the enemy dead suggests that the road to sectional reconciliation may have been far less steady and straightforward than some have imagined.

More, too, might be said about gender, especially the way such massive grieving and mourning may well have challenged traditional notions about male and female behavior. Clearly, the prominent position of southern white women in the postwar commemorative process suggests how a private, yet well-established, tradition of female mourning could be transformed into something public and political. Yet, it is striking how mourning managed to place southern white women in positions of prominence, while northern women—certainly adept at mourning albeit with a proportionally smaller number of dead to be mourned—seemed far less able to avail themselves of this influence. Even more, given the pervasiveness of grief, was it not possible for some men to break from traditional disavowals of public displays of male emotion? Perhaps some men, in some limited venues, might not only have cried but managed to do so in public and to good effect.

Ultimately, these questions, and the urge to investigate further gender and race in the context of Civil War death, testify to the interpretive power of Faust's work. As it should, this book makes us see the individual and collective experiences of the American Civil War in new ways. Even more, it prods us to turn Faust's rich insights onto a whole range of problems that scholars interested in the all too persistent problem of war must continue to think about.

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DURBA GHOSH. *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 277. \$85.00.

MRINALINI SINHA. *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire*. (Radical Perspectives: A Radical History Review Book Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 366. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

South Asian feminist scholarship has been preoccupied with the challenges of locating women's agency in archives that do not readily reveal their contributions to history. Employing innovative approaches to create al-

ternative archives, scholars have sought to reconstitute women's agency by both meditating on the significance of gaps in official documents and identifying traces in existing documents. Durba Ghosh's and Mrinalini

Sinha's books are worthy additions to this growing corpus. Ghosh's impressive study explores the constraints placed on the individual agency of Indian women in interracial conjugal relationships during the eighteenth century, whereas Sinha's groundbreaking book considers Indian women's collective agency in the early twentieth century. Taken together, the two studies establish the stability of certain imperial narratives of Indian women, such as the colonial rescue narrative. Each book also challenges what has become conventional historiographic wisdom in their discrete periods by demonstrating how the colonial state impinged on the most intimate details of family life.

Ghosh convincingly argues against the conventional view that the British Raj became increasingly racialized and created a rigid social order by the end of the nineteenth century. While other accounts of colonial relations have emphasized late eighteenth-century reforms curtailing the participation of mixed-race subjects in the civil service and the military in order to create greater social distance between British and Indians, she suggests that racial anxieties surfaced in the mid-eighteenth century prior to the emergence of nineteenth-century scientific racism. Discounting the image of early colonial British India as a creolized, conjugal golden age of harmonious interracial relations, Ghosh proposes that interracial families and Indian women became sites for enacting the gender and racial hierarchies that would constitute later colonial ideology. Examining a range of materials, including wills, novels, paintings, correspondence, court transcripts, and military proceedings, this study offers a nuanced understanding of Indian women's agency in the face of constraints imposed by the East India Company.

"Colonial Companions," the first chapter, traces the representation of interracial relationships and families in early eighteenth-century novels, paintings, and travel accounts to explore contradictions in colonial ideology. Interracial conjugal relationships, while widespread, were not often publicly acknowledged. Ghosh identifies recurring themes that contributed to the split between the public performance of colonialism and its private domestic configuration: the belief that heterosexual male desire required satisfaction in the absence of large numbers of available European women; the opinion that British men were vulnerable to seduction by exotic Indian women; and the view that conjugal relations with Indian women, who were generally figured as lower-class, backward, and superstitious, compromised the respectability of the British ruling class.

Ghosh uses case studies of two residents in princely states in her second chapter, "Residing with Begums," to explore the contradiction between the political advantages of interracial conjugal relationships for colonial officials and their attendant anxieties regarding cultural hybridity. William Palmer, variously the Company's Resident in Lucknow, Gwalior, and Pune, had a thirty-five year relationship with the noblewoman Begum Faiz Baksh, who bore him three children. Ghosh asserts that the Palmers "preserved different cultural

identities for themselves" within a mixed-race and culturally hybrid domestic milieu (p. 84). Palmer nevertheless had his children baptized, gave them European names, and had several educated in England. James Kirkpatrick, Resident in Hyderabad, had a long-term relationship and several children with an Indian noblewoman, Khair-un-nissa. Ghosh explains how Kirkpatrick's decision to impress a British identity on his children reflected his anxieties regarding their education, their degree of assimilation into British culture, and the lightness of their skin color.

"Good Patriarchs, Uncommon Families," chapter three, further probes this contradiction by reading approximately 600 colonial wills for their construction of interracial families and paternal responsibilities. Ghosh divides colonial interracial relationships according to class status: elite British males' relationships with Indian servants or slaves; long-term conjugal relationships between upper-class British men and Indian women that mimicked marriage behavior; and relationships between lower and lower-middle-class British men and their Indian companions. Of the first category, she notes that the radical power inequality in the relationship was often glossed through sentimental narratives in which Indian women are bound by loyalty to the heroic British men who "rescued" them. Most poignant are the wills in the last category, those of lower and lower-middle-class men who had fewer assets to disperse and did not feel constrained to Occidentalize their children; they often left the bulk of the estates to their female companions and did not issue directives for their children's upbringing.

Ghosh trains her critical eye on Indian women's wills and household inventories in chapter four, "Native Women, Native Lives," to read the self-fashionings of elite Indian women. The wills functioned as identity documents attesting to women's agency, not only to recognize and provide for biological and adopted children, their extended family, and other household members, but also to signify the complex negotiations they undertook as they reconciled European and Indian traditions. The household inventories cataloging European and Indian items of clothing, jewelry, and housewares show the cultural hybridity of quotidian life. Women exercised agency in their wills by specifying their relationships to European men, detailing the distribution of their estates, and stipulating funerary rites and the disposal of their bodies. Complicating their status in the archives, many of these women are identified by European names with no reference to earlier names, or are only identified by a first name, making it difficult to determine their ethnicity, religion, regional, or caste background.

"Household Order and Colonial Justice," chapter five, broadens to a consideration of the ways in which Indian women became legal subjects in early law courts in Bengal. Examining civil and criminal disputes over inheritance and domestic violence, Ghosh contends that judicial decisions upheld the social hierarchies of the colonial order even as they sought to render Eu-

European men accountable for their violence against slaves, servants, and children. Constructed as part of a conjugal unit, regardless of their actual marital status, Indian women were subsumed under the legal status of men; they were not perceived as "rights-bearing individuals, but as members of various communities, and thus, legal constituencies" (p. 174). In criminal cases, courts often based their decisions on ascertaining domestic authority and a determination of "who had the right to hit whom" (p. 179). While trials gave the appearance of exposing the misconduct of lower-ranking European men to scrutiny, the defendants were often acquitted and spared prison sentences. A judicial system that affirmed colonial hierarchies of gender and race often subverted the agency of Indian women.

Chapter six, "Servicing Military Families," considers debates between the crown and the East India Company regarding the nature of families in a context where cohabitation and reproduction outside of marriage were common. Such debates were a vital aspect of determining adequate compensation for military widows and interracial orphans of soldiers. Ghosh examines petitions, applications, and appeals by Indian native women and their intermediaries to Lord Clive's Fund, highlighting the ways in which Indian women appropriated the rhetoric of obligation and service in the face of the Company's increasing unwillingness to grant them pensions. While not often successful, the women's petitions forced the Company to be more transparent regarding the eligibility requirements and contributed to a reversal of the decision to restrict such pensions to European widows. By investigating the Bengal Military Orphan Society, Ghosh illustrates the fluid nature of families in regiments, where Indian women engaged in serial monogamy in order to avail themselves of benefits for their children, who were given an allowance as long as they remained in the care of the regiment to which they had been born.

Like Ghosh, Sinha challenges what has become a conventional narrative regarding gender and nationalism in South Asian studies: the view popularized by Partha Chatterjee that, for nationalists, women functioned as signifiers for cultural identity, particularly in terms of religion, and were associated with the inner/spiritual sphere. Contra this view, she maintains that the "outer/material sphere" enabled "a new construction of 'women,'" becoming the "basis for a national vocabulary of citizenship" (p. 253). To make this case, Sinha reads the 1927 publication of Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* as a "historical event" that ruptured the prevailing understanding of the relationship between the state and society. While Mayo, an American feminist and ardent advocate of imperialism, wanted *Mother India* to bolster the argument against Indian nationalism, much as her earlier volume *Isles of Fear* (1925) had discredited the policy of Filipinization, the reactions to her text vastly exceeded her intentions. Mayo targeted Indian culture, particularly the sexual practices of Hindu men, as being responsible for the low status of Indian women, thus justifying British colonial

rule as a necessary agent of social modernization. The publication of *Mother India*, however, resulted in a different interpretation of the colonial modernizing mission; rather than view the degraded status of women as an Indian civilizational shortcoming, readers were just as likely to assign responsibility for the failures of Indian society to the British colonial state.

As its subtitle indicates, Sinha's study goes beyond traditional nation-based historiography, deftly combining an analysis of "subnational reconfigurations of the social and the political" in India with their "transnational causalities" and reverberations in Britain and the United States (p. 253). Central to Sinha's tri-continental methodology is what she calls the "imperial social formation," which she elaborates in her theoretical introduction and in chapter one, "A Transitional Moment." Sinha appends "imperial" to the Marxist term "social formation" as a reminder that imperialism informs the global alignment of contemporary societies and their uneven development. But she is equally attentive to the multiple sites of resistance to imperialism within both the metropole and colonies during the interwar period.

Against a backdrop of international resistance to imperialism, Indian women contended with pre-existing discourses that constructed them as signs of culture and tradition. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the women's question had been appropriated by religious communities and relegated by the colonial state to personal law determined by these communities. The women's movement, in its early stages, concentrated its efforts on educational reform, but this focus would shift to demands for the franchise based on "equality, rights, representation" (p. 53). The shift from the cultural nationalism of separate religious communities to a more politically oriented nationalism, based on an expanded construction of the polity, mirrored the rhetorical invention of women as a collective group with shared interests transcending differences in caste, religion, class, and region. Through publications such as *Chand*, whose first-person articles popularized "women's right to feel" and their activism, women emerged as subjects of the state, possessing agency to educate, agitate, and organize for their political rights.

In chapter two, "Unpredictable Outcome," Sinha contextualizes the origins of *Mother India*. Mayo's primary motivation for writing the book was to promote better Anglo-U.S. relations by publicizing the beneficial aspects of imperialism to her fellow Americans. Officials of the Rockefeller Foundation prodded Mayo to focus her project exclusively on public health, a topic also of interest to American medical missionaries. They believed that a focus on cholera would present British rule in a positive light and help expand U.S. commercial and industrial interests in India. While U.S. imperialism emphasized public health, and tropical medicine in particular, the British, in contrast, relegated public health to underfunded provincial and local initiatives in colonial India. Indeed, the British had been criticized because of numerous outbreaks of cholera, and officials

at the India Office and Health Ministry in London were dubious about Mayo's proposal. On the advice of someone from the Indian Political Intelligence, a shadowy organization within the India Office, she switched her focus from cholera to the health effects of oversexed Hindu men on Indian women. While Mayo targeted social reasons for India's backwardness with her new emphasis, an unintended consequence of *Mother India* was to invite scrutiny of the colonial state, which had a record of obstructing legislation on the age of consent and prohibitions on child marriage.

Working around the clock, Mayo rushed to complete her book in time to influence the composition of the Simon Commission. But if *Mother India* was intended to strengthen the case for British rule, Mayo also wrote it to influence domestic policy in the United States and to demonstrate her opposition to the U.S. Senate Hindu Citizenship Bill. Her debunking of the cultural-nationalist construction of India as spiritually superior and her offensive generalizations about Hinduism dramatized the impossibility of assimilation for Indian immigrants, making U.S. citizenship for them undesirable. The book's rhetoric unintentionally also pointed to a potential alliance between the struggles against imperialism on the subcontinent and for civil rights in the U.S. While segments of the Indian diaspora clamored for citizenship status on the basis of a shared "Aryan" identity, some nationalists like Sarojini Naidu sought to build alliances with African American and Jewish groups. African American publications such as *Crisis* and *The Negro World* were known for their anti-imperialism and reviewed *Mother India* unfavorably.

"The Rhetoric of 'Facts' in the Controversy over *Mother India*," chapter three, analyzes Indian social reformers' and American criticism of Mayo's text, which used her facts to reject her explanatory framework, as "an ironic reversal" (p. 110). *Mother India* was serialized in Indian newspapers and journals, and reviews of the book were translated and published in the vernacular press. According to Sinha, many Indian responses to Mayo were "tu quoque (thou also)," iterating the social problems of the West and offering lurid accounts of Western sexual practices. American critics for their part pointed to lynchings and segregation as evidence of Western degeneracy. In their responses to Mayo, Chandravati Lakhanpal, Uma Nehru, and Kovai A. Ayyamuthu reversed her causality by suggesting that imperialism was at fault and that Indian women in conjunction with a nationalist government were best positioned to ameliorate social evils. Women organized protest meetings against the book, and the Women's Indian Association (WIA) passed resolutions acknowledging the conditions represented in Mayo's book but refuting its "misrepresentations and false generalizations" (p. 141). These efforts were publicized in London through the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and the Women's Freedom League. In the United States, organizations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the League of Women Voters, along with mission-

ary groups such as the United Free Church of the Scotland Mission and the American Marathi Mission, criticized the book. To Mayo's chagrin, feminists often heckled her when she gave speeches in women's clubs and colleges in the United States.

In chapter four, "Refashioning Mother India," Sinha unpacks the complexities of the 1929 Child Marriage Restraint Act, named the Sarda Act after its sponsor Har Bilas Sarda (and opposed by Mayo), which brought the *Mother India* controversy to a close. Indian officials, following the 1919 Government of India Act, were more willing to tackle social reforms than their colonial predecessors. Sarda introduced his bill several months before the publication of *Mother India*, although both Mayo's opponents and supporters invoked the book during assembly debates. Penalizing marriages where girls were under fourteen or boys under sixteen, the act did not have much force until its 1938 amendments. Nonetheless, its universal applicability across different religious communities, where personal law had reigned in matters of marriage and family life, represented a remarkable legislative achievement. Sinha details the ways in which this legislation enabled women to claim the state as an agent of enlightened intervention. Public discourse shifted to accommodate a new construction of women as rights-bearing subjects, where before specific religious communities had claimed these rights. Debates among women's groups regarding the scope of social reform helped recast "the boundaries of the social as an inherently political and public concern" (p. 180). After the Sarda Act, women's activism expanded beyond a focus on marriage to campaigns for changes in divorce and inheritance laws and attention to pay equity for working women.

Sinha describes the "Ambiguous Aftermath" of the Sarda Act in chapter five, as it unfolded in the women's movement's responses to the 1930 Simon Commission Report. Along with other Indian political groups, the WIA boycotted the commission for its exclusion of Indian men and women. Behind the scenes, Eleanor Rathbone and the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship campaigned for a limited franchise for Indian women based on a "wifehood qualification" and reserved seats for women. But the three major Indian women's organizations—the All India Women's Conference, the National Council of Women in India, and the WIA—insisted on universal adult suffrage with no gender-based reservations. They were backed by a coalition of five British groups, along with Alice Paul and the Women's National Party, who felt Indian women were better equipped than Rathbone to know their own interests. Supporters of gender-based reservations maintained that women could become an enlightened voting block and uplift poorer women.

The Indian women's "articulation of the social with the political" and their creation of cross-communal solidarity among women, Sinha argues, reflected "Indian feminism's foundation in an agonistic liberal universalism" (p. 199). Yet this foundation would be challenged by the Government of India Act of 1935, which estab-

lished gender-based reservations within communal electorates despite continued agitation by women for universal suffrage. Paradoxically, however, such agitation was a privilege of dominant elites and allowed a majoritarian Hinduism to masquerade as abstract individualism. Sinha notes, "Herein lay the most ironic role of the collective political agency of women: as ideological cover for a unitary nationalist imagination that was implicitly a reconstituted male, Hindu, and upper-caste conception" (p. 247).

Both Ghosh and Sinha make substantial contributions to South Asian studies, modeling the practice of feminist deconstructive historiography in stylistically masterful prose. Methodologically innovative, Ghosh's study excavates textual fragments as evidence of indi-

vidual women's agency. In situating her study of Katherine Mayo in a global context, Sinha too pioneers new forms of scholarship. Rather than place Western feminism in a binary opposition with Indian forms of patriarchy in a single national framework, her multi-sited analysis provides a lateral view of alternative global feminist networks whose possibilities are enabled by colonialism but whose significance resides in the ways these groups turned the colonial system against itself. The imperial social formation, her study reveals, exists alongside a global network of resistance.

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JOHN DARWIN. *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire since 1405*. New York: Bloomsbury. 2008. Pp. xiv, 574. \$34.95.

Empires need myths to sustain them. One of the most pervasive myths behind Western imperialism from its eighteenth-through-twentieth-century European variants to its modern American form has been that it was somehow inevitable, a byproduct—welcome or otherwise—of the irresistible spread of "modernity" from its fount in the more "progressive" West to what were usually seen as the "backward" or "static" East and South. That of course is a very Eurocentric view: blinkered, arrogant, and *potentially* racist. (It depends on why you think the East has been "static.") John Darwin takes a very different one. Western imperialism was not inevitable. Its victims, or beneficiaries, were certainly not "static" at any time. Whether you want to call them "backward" depends on value judgments. Even by modern "Western" criteria many non-European societies were at least as "advanced" as most of Europe until the early or middle nineteenth century; European power in the world was highly tenuous and vulnerable before then; and other Eurasian empires—the Chinese, for example, and the Ottoman—were arguably more dominant. Most shifts in the balance of power between empires came about through what Darwin calls "unique conjunctures" (p. 58), or luck, rather than as the result of any "progressive" trend. This applies to Europe's and then America's later dominance, too. The latter has been quite short-lived so far, and could easily collapse—but we cannot be sure, because it is impossible to predict "unique conjunctures." So, the whole history of empires from the fifteenth century on has been "far more contested, confused and chance-ridden" than the current "legend" has it (p. x). That is Darwin's main theme.

Obviously it presents problems. "Confusion" is much more difficult to handle (for the reader) than simple overarching theories about "progress" and "inevitability"—"the end of history," "the clash of civilizations,"

"how Britain made the modern world," and the like. It is unsettling. There is no single "line" to get a firm grip on. It offers very little positive and practical guidance for present times. "No prediction is safe. Like all previous generations, we face the future with little more than guesswork on which to build our plans" (p. 485). Those who want their history to be neat and tidy, and to furnish them with more definite answers and advice, will be disappointed with this book. But is not that all to the good? It is arguable that many of the great political errors and disasters that have been perpetrated in recent times have been at least partly the fault of versions of history that have been *too* simple and definite. Darwin does not mention the "neocons" (by name) and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, surprisingly in a book that was first published (in the United Kingdom) in 2007: perhaps it was for fear of appearing too polemical; but one could make this point about them. The prime role of the genuine historian is to show how complex history really is. That may seem a modest service; but in fact it is a vital one. It is what Darwin does superbly well here, in a vast-ranging, brilliantly stimulating and wonderfully written book.

Its chief virtue is the fresh light it sheds on so many aspects of modern imperial history—for the general reader, at least. Obviously most of its points will be familiar to the specialists whose work it acknowledges. But who apart from Sinologists knows enough about the history of China to realize how very "advanced" and non-"static" it generally was? Armed with an impressively wide reading among these authorities, unfettered by any single "theory," and demonstrating the kind of empathy toward other cultures and civilizations that has been a feature of "imperial" history in the two older English universities for some years now (unexpectedly, one might think), Darwin presents all sorts of things in new ways. Imperialism is *of course* not an exclusively

"Western" phenomenon, even before Japan's big imperial surge in the 1930s; nor was Europe in any way dominant, until quite late on. Asia was at the front of the stage before around 1800, and had an active, not simply a passive "victim" role, for most of the time after that. China gains enormously from this approach, emerging as perhaps the most successful—certainly the most enduring—empire of the whole period. The Ottoman Empire is made to look far more impressive for almost its entire history than its nineteenth-century dismissal by Europeans as their "sick man" was intended to imply. Islam features as prominently, complexly, and even sympathetically as it clearly should. The idea that Europe was set on an imperial path before the mid-eighteenth century is revealed as "an optical illusion," the clear product of hindsight (p. 104). Even as late as 1750 its commercial penetration of most of Asia was very limited indeed. Several particular European imperialisms are diminished here: the Spanish Empire, for example, was from the beginning "less than the sum of its parts" (p. 97), as was the British imperium in North America. Britain's conquest of India in the mid-eighteenth century was very uneven, to say the least, and far from a simple case of the British going in to sort out an oriental "chaos." In reality, before the later eighteenth century there was little to choose between most parts of Europe and Asia in terms of (say) political instability, "backwardness," and religious intolerance; or, on the other side of the ledger, material progress, commerce, "high" culture, and beneficent government.

The "great divergence," in material terms, between parts of Europe and Asia only began then, not before, and only became obvious around the 1830s. (Whether they can be said to have diverged *morally* then, of course, is highly questionable. Muslims in Egypt were impressed by the strength and efficiency of the force that Napoleon Bonaparte sent to occupy their country in 1798, but were deeply shocked by its brutalities. That has been a continuing perception.) Russia's and America's roles in the European expansionary movement of that time were as significant as Western Europe's. Indeed, Darwin treats these three regions as a single unit in this period: a "Greater Europe" with a "sense of shared 'Europeanness.'" ("Americanness," he adds, puckishly, "was merely a provincial variant" [p. 224].) That is an interesting perspective. If anything, America drew even closer to Europe in the later nineteenth century, in its imperialism too; with its only important distinguishing features being "its democratic populism and . . . its open avowal of race segregation" (p. 319). (This was a widespread European view of the United States, although mores and beams may come to mind here.) This loose polity was able to dominate much of the rest of the world so long as its members avoided fighting one another seriously. It was at this stage that Euro-Americans started to believe that they had discovered the secret of "perpetual progress"; the "four cardinal rules" of which, according to Darwin, were freedom of ideas, private property, social order, including the "right treatment of women in their 'separate

sphere,'" and "manliness" (pp. 339–340). That is an unusual list of the main perceived characteristics of Western "superiority"—the last two are not generally put as bluntly as that—but it seems about right. This was the slightly more benign form of ideology suggested by the imperial "successes" of these years. The other was a more virulent form (for Europe) of racism. By that time Europeans had forgotten how close the peoples of the whole of Eurasia had been before the "great divergence."

Even at this zenith of Euro-Russo-American imperialism, however, it was sometimes touch and go for the imperial powers against indigenous resistance and rebellion, which succeeded as often as they failed. Many colonial states, especially in Africa, were "shallow," and—partly as a result—irresponsible and brutal. As a leading historian of decolonization, Darwin is predictably good on colonial resistance movements and the forms they took (and take): firstly, using European knowledge against their masters; secondly, religious revival, usually feared and reviled by the West as "fanaticism"; and thirdly, Gandhi's. There are clear suggestions here, if not clear-cut "lessons" for today. Then along came another series of conjunctures. The first were the great European civil wars of the first half of the twentieth century, which put an end to this cooperative imperialism, and also brought to the stage a couple of more brutal ones (Nazi and Japanese); otherwise, Darwin thinks, the old European empires might have soldiered on. That gave rise to a bi-imperial system, which itself was brought to an end, again unpredictably, by the collapse of the Soviet empire, leaving the United States to soldier on alone. Obviously that latter event bolstered the "progress" idea: the "end of history," and all that. But it may just have been a lucky break, all the same.

Darwin is clear that this still constitutes "imperialism." "It is pointless to debate whether America should be seen as an imperial power," he writes at one point; "the case has already been made" (p. 482). Probably few Americans would dispute this now, especially in academia, although it used to be thought important to deny it: "we don't do empire" (Donald Rumsfeld). Obviously it depends on your definition. Darwin has two. First, imperialism is "the attempt to impose one state's predominance over other societies by assimilating them to its political, cultural and economic systems" (p. 416). Second, empires were "systems of influence or rule in which ethnic, cultural or ecological boundaries were overlapped or ignored" (p. 491). These two versions seem complementary, and also to embrace the modern United States, quite comfortably. It is by these definitions that Darwin also suggests—a suggestion that might be disputed, although it would take too long to dispute it here—that "the history of the world . . . is an imperial history," with "imperial power" being humanity's "default position." But, he goes on, "if empires were common, they were also diverse" (pp. 491–492). Only a few of them conformed to what were probably Rumsfeld's narrow criteria. They took very different

forms at different times, maintained by different economies, political systems and methods, ideologies, and cultures. These too depended on those "unique conjunctures."

This all implies that imperialism is here to stay. Darwin writes of the imperialism of the later twentieth century—the period after formal "decolonization"—as being "colossal" and "unprecedented," and also, incidentally, possibly more damaging collaterally—"the destabilizing effects of covert intervention, the financial succour lent to authoritarian rulers, and the militarization of politics encouraged by the vast traffic in weapons"—than the more formal late nineteenth-century variety was (pp. 470, 477). (This is even before Iraq.) But of course there are also indications the other way. All empires in history, Darwin points out, have suffered from "great stresses and strains," and "spasms of crisis," which in the past have always ultimately undermined them; so that it is a "historical truism that no empire was permanent" (p. 493). So the present one

may "decline and fall" too. Darwin does risk one very cautious prediction in this connection. This is that "in the next fifty years" the "rough equilibrium" that used to exist two or three hundred years ago "between the Euro-Atlantic West and most of the rest of Eurasia" *may* be restored. The American empire could be effectively challenged. But it *might* not be. We are at "an extraordinary moment" now, but it has lasted only fifteen years. That is no time at all, compared to the 600 years covered in this book. At any time, another of those "conjunctures" could intervene to wreck the trend. Or things might go on as they are. That point about the impermanence of empire was only a *historical* truism, note, not a general law. "We will have to see" (pp. 504–505). There is the proper conclusion of a historian. Do not be misled by those who promise you more.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

LORRAINE DASTON and PETER GALISON. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books. 2007. Pp. 501. \$38.95.

Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison have transmuted their famous fifty-page article, "The Image of Objectivity" (*Representations* 40 [1992], pp. 81–128) into a compelling five-hundred-page book. Using atlases of scientific images to reconstruct a period's sense of objectivity, they present a sustained historicization of this essentially contested concept. Three regimes of meaning, they contend, shaped the modern trajectory of the notion of objectivity, each inflecting and displacing but never eliminating what went before. To account for this, they claim that the ideal of objectivity always expresses anxieties about subjectivity: not only are the terms inextricably yoked, but the causal force of the relation arises in and out of fears about some aspect of that subjectivity. "In all cases, it is fear that drives epistemology" (p. 49). "There is no objectivity without subjectivity to suppress" (p. 33).

The most imposing notion of "scientific objectivity" arose only in the mid-nineteenth century. This "new" ideal of "mechanical" objectivity was "knowledge that bears no trace of the knower," i.e., no "interference, interpretation, or intelligence" (p. 18). This "new form of unprejudiced, unthinking, blind sight" (p. 26) came to prevail because it expressed the fear "that the subjective self was prone to prettify, idealize, and, in the worst case, regularize observations to fit theoretical expectations" (p. 34). A century earlier, the ideal of science had been "truth-to-nature," the effort to find the regularity behind the variety of particular instances. "By the 1730s the emphasis in scientific inquiry had shifted to the quest for regularities glimpsed behind, beneath, or beyond the accidental, the variable, the aberrant in nature" (p. 67). Thus, "the true savant was a 'genius of observation' whose directed and critical exercise of attention could extract truth-to-nature from numerous impressions" (p. 203). "Art and science converged in intertwined judgments of truth and beauty" (p. 79). This most Romantic reconstruction of eighteenth-century science, with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as its prototype, serves the grand narrative well. The high tide of "scientific objectivity" in the later nineteenth century was an ascetic repudiation of this aes-

theticism: a heroic and painful self-abnegation in order to "let nature speak for itself" (p. 120). Indeed, "the scientific self of the mid-nineteenth century was perceived by contemporaries as diametrically opposed to the artistic self" (p. 37). This was a "highly trained and specialized sort" of asceticism, a "double reformation of self and sight" (p. 122). The selflessness of the representation had somehow to be grafted onto ceaseless, laborious experiment, "humble passivity" conjoined to "active intervention" (p. 216). The "observer now aimed to be a machine" (p. 140).

But "a mere collection of unsorted individual specimens, portrayed in all their intricate particularity," including the distortions of the medium of representation, turned out to be "useless" (pp. 185–186) for the purposes of defining the "collective empiricism" constitutive of a scientific discipline (pp. 19–27). The abstemious atlas-makers of the era of mechanical objectivity presented a range of un-retouched particulars, leaving it to the reader to accomplish the integration (p. 186). Yet what the reader needed was precisely instruction in integration in order to attain membership in the scientific community: interpretive abstinence undercut disciplinary coordination. No wonder "by the turn of the twentieth century, faith in mechanical objectivity was unraveling" (p. 189).

There were two different responses. The first, "structural objectivity," dismissed all subjectivity whatsoever. Logic and (mathematical) form were the only guarantors of uncontaminated objectivity. Rudolf Carnap and Albert Einstein exemplify this impulse. This account of "structural objectivity" is a most illuminating historicization of logical positivism. But situating it in the larger historical sweep problematizes this recourse as a model for scientific practice, notwithstanding what Daston and Galison write: "The positive ideal of objective knowledge as that which remains invariant under the transformations of any and all perspectives is still current" (p. 306). Indeed, it is Karl Popper's "third world," it is Thomas Nagel's "view from nowhere": it is the "received view." But if it is "still alive and well among philosophers" (p. 46), the same cannot be said of it for much actual scientific practice. That has been the core realization of the Kuhnian revolution in history and philosophy of science.

The second response proposed the judgmental knack

of the expert as the necessary solution to the quandaries into which mechanical objectivity had plunged the scientific practitioner. This was no simple return to the eighteenth-century truth-to-nature, Daston and Galison insist again and again, but presumed all the disciplining that the phase of mechanical objectivity had introduced. It nevertheless affirmed trained judgment as routinely attainable in normal science. "The expert (unlike the sage) can be trained and (unlike the machine) is expected to learn—to read, to interpret, to draw salient, significant structures from the morass of uninteresting artifact and background" (p. 328). This was an ideal of objectivity suitable to the new mass pursuit of science characteristic of the current era. Historicized, ceaselessly mutating, the objectivity Daston and Galison have reconstructed appears more, not less, interesting for the historian, as for the contemporary theorist.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DAVID NASH. *Blasphemy in the Christian World: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 269. \$63.00.

David Nash is a serious historian of blasphemy, and in his new book he continues to make interesting contributions of importance and value. He reconsiders a number of landmark legal cases and sheds new light on relatively familiar figures such as G. W. Foote and Richard Carlile, while reminding anglophone readers of European cases such as that involving George Grosz, and he introduces what for most readers will be new ones, such as that of the eighteenth-century Dutch seaman who was put to death for wild public challenges to the Almighty during a storm at sea. (Nash does not speculate on his possible reading of the Book of Jonah.) Most helpfully, Nash charts changing legal attitudes to blasphemy itself: it is the act that counts, irrespective of any offence the words may cause; it matters only when offense is taken—and municipal credibility put to the test or the patience of believers breached on behalf of their God or scripture; or it is not so much the act or the words as the intention that must be determined.

The last view, narrowly applied as the criterion of "manner" by Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale in 1675, stood in English common law until overturned by the prematurely multiculturalist judgment of Lord Scarman on appeal in the notorious *Gay News* case of 1979, which led to a revival in Great Britain of attempts to give special protection to all religions, not just Christianity. Nash is particularly good on the issue of community organization on behalf of special interests, religious or otherwise. He sees early blasphemers, unlike heretics, as loners touched by madness or drink, but their successors, in his view, came from and were supported by community groups (from as early as the seventeenth century, with its Quakers and Ranters, who

were followed by the deists and rationalists of the eighteenth century). They were opposed by other, equally or more concerted groups such as the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the Festival of Light, or the American Moral Majority. Nash argues that blasphemy (in the form of attacks alleging it) made a spectacular comeback in the last two decades of the twentieth century and provocatively attributes this to the fall of communism (which, in his account, had an effect comparable to that of the French Revolution). The revival of blasphemy is also the product of mass immigration fueled by a multicultural attitude of tolerance that the newly established migrant communities duly reject—a near paradox that joins others detected by Nash, such as the polarization of freedom and human rights, and, in the United States, of federal law versus states' rights.

Much of this is arresting, but there are substantial problems. They begin with the book's title. First, it requires an immediate subtitle, "after 1500." This is the ostensible scope of the book's chapters, and the material that looks to earlier times is sparse. Nash's sense of the medieval is adequate at best, too reliant on the usual surveys and too prone to using "medieval" to signify another country. (He may be too confident in describing some medieval blasphemers as loners; when medievalists learn how to read the social subdialects in which contemporaries encoded their utterances, we can often identify a group affiliation.) Nash's work on early Christianity is superficial and derivative, and he barely mentions the Bible (in Christian or Jewish traditions), an omission that is staggering given the amount of blasphemous material, provocative or outraged, that is primarily and overtly biblical in reference. The apostle Paul does not appear in the book. This means that the definition of blasphemy is never satisfactorily historicized or conceptually explored. Second, the geographical reference falls far short of "the Christian world." There is little about Byzantium, and nothing about Africa, Latin America, or Asia. Nash's geographical scope cannot be called Eurocentric, since the United States and Australia appear with pleasing frequency, but what is not anglophone is European (France, Spain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia). Third, and conversely, the scope is already too broad: while it is more than useful to have a comparative European focus for the main topic, blasphemy in the English-speaking world, one could certainly not use Nash's book to construct histories of blasphemy in those other countries. The book's structure—interrupting chronological narrative, for example, to tell the history through the viewpoints of both practitioners of blasphemy and complainers against it—makes for repetition and backtracking that do not always enrich the account or argument.

There are other problems of execution. Nash is too reliant on the standard histories of blasphemy and does not always use primary sources as he should. Leonard Levy appears as an authority on Augustine of Hippo and as the only one on Thomas Cranmer; no primary source by either appears in the bibliography. The ex-

tensive Australian reference, except for a suggestive but underresearched discussion of the report by the New South Wales Law Commission in 1994 recommending abolition of blasphemy laws, properly acknowledges its debt to a single book published in 1966 by the conservative Australian politician and intellectual Peter Coleman. Nash's interest in visual sources is relevant and helpful, but he does not interrogate them closely. The worst offense here is that of Oxford University Press, with its all too usual array of muddy plates from mediocre photographs. And there are errors indicating slips by both author and copyeditor. Among these, Tam Dalyell, MP, appears as "Dyell" (p. 100); James Nayler's name is spelled arbitrarily as Nayler and Naylor; and, surprisingly, Geoffrey Robertson QC will be mortified to see himself represented as the prosecuting attorney in the *Gay News* case, instead of as John Mortimer's junior for the defense (p. 206).

Nash's interest is clearly most aroused by legal cases or by instances in which blasphemers consciously "evade" the law, which is his reading of *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979). It all results in some unaccountable and misjudged proportions: eight pages on Monty Python, more on the *Gay News* case, and four on the musical *Jerry Springer: The Opera*, compared to less than a page each on the Salman Rushdie affair and the murder of Theo van Gogh (about which Nash overlooks the provocative book by Ian Buruma). Although Nash claims to be offering insight into the minds of blasphemers, he is often more sympathetic to their opponents, giving an exceptionally gentle, even admiring, account of Mary Whitehouse, the complainant against *Gay News* and self-appointed English moral guardian. In his conclusion, Nash throws in his op-ed lot with told-you-so anti-secularists: periods of toleration and secularization were mere "conditional episodes" (p. 242) in the history of blasphemy, and, as for us, "We might ask where the law and culture place God, when we have so emphatically arrived at our regime of rights and freedoms? Societies in the West have been alarmingly confused about answering this question" (p. 146). A secularist might respond that the confusion lies in Nash's conflation of law and culture: God is welcome in culture, but is or should be unwelcome in civil law. That would be quite another history of blasphemy.

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MARCUS REDIKER. *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Viking. 2007. Pp. 434. \$27.95.

Marcus Rediker has written widely on maritime history but not previously specifically on the transatlantic slave trade, and his book seems to be addressed to the general reader rather than to specialists. It is principally synthesized from published material but supplemented by substantial work on unpublished manuscript sources. The work seeks to offer a new perspective on the slave trade by focusing on the slave ship itself, which, Rediker claims, despite the immense recent outpouring of stud-

ies of the slave trade, has remained "a neglected topic" (p. 10). This is perhaps a valid observation for the ship as a physical object, although less obviously so for its human occupants, the crews and the enslaved Africans who formed its cargo. A second claim to novelty is conveyed by the book's subtitle: Rediker proposes a "human history" of the slave trade in terms of individual experience, in contrast to (and as an implicit critique of) the recent concentration upon quantitative approaches. The book does not attempt to deal with the entire history of the slave trade, but only with its British and North American/U.S. components, and therefore extends only to the legal abolition of these national trades in 1807.

In practice, the focus on the slave ship is not rigorously maintained, with one chapter devoted to "African Paths to the Middle Passage," i.e., the experience of the enslaved victims prior to their embarkation on the slave ship. Of nine substantive chapters, only two deal with the slave ship as such: an initial one on "the evolution of the slave ship," and a concluding one on the use of the famous image of the disposition of slaves aboard the ship *Brooks* in abolitionist propaganda from the 1780s. The bulk of the book (six chapters) deals with the human inhabitants of the ships—their officers, crews, and the slaves—and the interactions among them. This is achieved largely through the recounting of the stories of individual persons, often of individual episodes; Rediker's methodology is a sort of pointillisme, which builds up a general picture through the accumulation of detail. In fact, three of the chapters focus on particular individuals, representative of the three groups involved. Enslaved Africans are represented by Olaudah Equiano, the "common sailor" by James Field Stanfield, and the slaving captains by John Newton. The emphasis throughout is on violence and the threat of it ("terror"), with the crews as well as the slaves depicted as victims.

While most of the sources deployed are familiar, some new material is included and some generally neglected topics addressed, notably the mechanics of communication among slaves, who often spoke a number of different African languages (pp. 276–284). Nevertheless, some relevant material available in published form has been missed: for example, the correspondence of Captain James Irving, who was active in the Liverpool slave trade in 1786–1791, and the memoirs of the former slave Boyrereau Brinch, which were published in 1810. The use of source material also seems sometimes uncritical. No explicit discussion is offered, for example, of how the fact that the three individuals who figure most prominently in this book—Equiano, Stanfield, and Newton—were abolitionist activists may have affected their portrayal of their experiences. The author's discussion of the image of the ship *Brooks* does not register mention that it is, in fact, highly unrealistic in its neatly geometric distribution of the slaves on board.

The restriction of this study to the British and U.S. trades also imposes unfortunate limitations on the range of sources drawn upon. In practice, this restric-

tion is not scrupulously observed, since the discussion of enslavement in Africa cites the account of Louis Asa-Asa (pp. 102–104), who falls outside these parameters both nationally and chronologically, since he was transported on a French ship in the 1820s. The inclusion of this source is justified on the grounds that it “fits well” with the evidence on the British/U.S. trade in the earlier period and that “African narratives of the slave trade are so rare” (p. 379, n. 35). This is fair enough, but there are several other such African narratives from the period of illegal trade that might have been utilized. The decision to end in 1807 also has the effect of excluding the mass of material relating to conditions aboard slave ships produced by officers of the British and U.S. naval squadrons, who were subsequently engaged in the attempted suppression of the illegal slave trade, and forgoes the opportunity to consider the transformations in both the physical nature of slave ships and the experience of the enslaved victims consequent on the legal banning of the trade. Although, therefore, this is a stimulating and informative book as far as it goes, it might have been much more so.

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EMMA CHRISTOPHER, CASSANDRA PYBUS, and MARCUS REDIKER, editors. *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*. (The California World History Library.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. x, 263. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

In the history of the African slave trade, the words “Middle Passage” have an ominous ring. They are synonymous with extreme crowding, dehydration, suicide, disease, insurrection, and frequent death. The public exposure of these horrors in Great Britain finally tipped the balance and created a majority in both houses of Parliament to end the slave trade and to start a long campaign forcing other nations to do the same. To many, the Middle Passage across the Atlantic might well be the worst aberration of early capitalism.

However, the essays in this edited volume point out that there existed many other middle passages. In East Africa, slaves were moved over long distances on land as well as across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. A vigorous slave trade was carried on in Southeast Asian waters, and British convicts were sent to North America as well as to Australia. Other contributions analyze the harrowing experiences of soldiers travelling aboard Dutch East Indiamen on their voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, of Chinese and Irish labor employed in the construction of railroads in the United States, and of Chinese and Melanesian indentured laborers working on plantations during the nineteenth century.

Some of these migration circuits did not exist before the nineteenth century, but several had a long tenure in history. No precise quantitative information is available, but most contributors assume that conditions became far worse after the arrival of a capitalist demand

for tropical produce. On several islands in Southeast Asia, slave raiding had existed for centuries, but these raids became more violent and frequent once captives could be used in capitalist export activities. Similarly, Chinese entrepreneurs and Arab slave traders had forced people to migrate and to perform unpaid labor for centuries, but, according to one of the contributors to this volume, the conditions of travel and employment of these bonded migrants only became akin to the slave trade and slavery after 1830.

Yet, in several cases the information provided by individual contributions is at odds with the general thesis of the volume. The essay on the non-capitalist Arab slave trade from East Africa might not provide exact quantitative data, but it seems to imply that, from the fourteenth century onward, the mortality rate during the long overland treks and aboard the primitive Arab dhows might well have been higher than it ever was on ships crossing the Atlantic. Moreover, during the many centuries in which the traditional Arab slave trade was carried on, there seems to have been no significant decline in the mortality rate of its victims, and Arab and other non-Western slave traders were not even interested in reducing it. While some of the essays discuss the dramatic impact of Western abolitionism on the slave trade and the rise of other movements of bonded labor, none make the point that the very idea of free labor and the suppression of forced labor were both typical of the capitalist world and did not exist elsewhere. The imperial Chinese government, for example, discontinued the emigration of its indentured laborers only after the inhuman shipping conditions had been exposed in the Western press.

Another argument crediting capitalism with improving and finally abolishing unfree migration can be found in the many quantitative studies of the largest migration stream after the abolition of the slave trade, that of indentured labor out of India. However, not one essay in this volume is dedicated to the Middle Passage from Calcutta or Bombay to the West Indies, South Africa, Fiji, and Mauritius. Such a contribution would have had to admit that the metropolitan as well as the various colonial administrations took great care in making the recruitment, the transportation, and the employment of the Indian indentured laborers differ from the slave trade and slavery. A wealth of data has been assembled showing that death rates during the voyage were low and that the nutritional status of the indentured migrants improved at their destination, making them the first immigrant group in the Caribbean to experience demographic growth. No wonder that the great majority of Indian migrant laborers preferred to stay overseas and did not avail themselves of the free return passage written into their contracts. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the quantitative and demographic research regarding some of the Pacific labor migrations. The more the capitalist West intervened, the more conditions improved.

The aversion to the use of new evidence in this volume and the lack of quantitative data are epitomized by

the contribution of one of its editors. On the much-disputed connection in African history between the importation of European guns and the exportation of slaves, Marcus Rediker contributed a poem.

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SUSAN DWYER AMUSSEN. *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 302. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Susan Dwyer Amussen seeks to construct “a map of the process of planting in its multiple dimensions” (p. 13) by contrasting Barbadian and Jamaican social development with that of later seventeenth-century England. The book’s principal methodology is a qualitative analysis of manuscript and printed sources, written by contemporary observers and planters such as Ligon, Taylor, the Helyars, Sloane, Rivers and Folye, Tryon, and Drax. These familiar sources are supplemented by an investigation of English portraiture and theater, although surprisingly Amussen’s analysis of material culture does not extend to archaeological findings. Quantitative sources—census materials, land transactions, trade statistics and emigration estimates—are likewise largely overlooked, partly because the author’s interest lies primarily in the movement of ideas rather than people, shipping, or merchandise. There is an extensive secondary literature on Britain’s early colonization, and Amussen rightly acknowledges important contributions by Richard S. Dunn, Larry Gragg, B. W. Higman, Russell R. Menard, and Gary A. Puckrein. Direct engagement with debates over the nature of the sugar revolution, the causes of the adoption of slave labor, or the “Little England” hypothesis, however, is limited. Bilateral analysis of Britain and the two colonies is also only occasionally supplemented by comparisons with mainland settlements in North America or European Caribbean colonies.

The choice of sources and methods in part reflects Amussen’s avowed aim to recover evidence of the transfer of ideas and attitudes between the West Indies and Britain—the Caribbean exchanges of the book’s title. In response to this challenge, Amussen historicizes the conceptual triad of race, gender, and class effectively, demonstrating in the process an impressive knowledge of Barbadian laws and Colonial Office papers. Throughout the text the writing is clear and arguments avoid placing more weight on the documentary evidence than it can bear. This is an effectively organized, soundly referenced, and well-produced book containing three maps and no fewer than twenty illustrations, including nineteen representations of Africans in British art.

In the final analysis, the book lacks sufficient range to supply a multidimensional account of either seventeenth-century planting or the transformation of English society by slavery. Nevertheless, Amussen succeeds in providing a valuable cultural perspective on early col-

onization projects, and her book complements and extends the existing historical literature.

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CATHERINE A. REINHARDT. *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the French Caribbean*. (Polygons: Cultural Diversities and Intersections.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. xiii, 202. \$70.00.

In this book, Catherine A. Reinhardt examines late eighteenth-century French literary representations of slavery and slave resistance in the context of Enlightenment philosophy, the French Revolution, and radical anti-slavery movements in the Caribbean colonies. Her aim is to counter the current official French memory of abolition, which in her view attributes the definitive end of slavery to French abolitionism and the Enlightenment legacy rather than to the autonomous agency of the slaves themselves. Framing her study through a discussion of the debates surrounding the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the second abolition of slavery in 1848, Reinhardt maintains that the contemporary commemoration occults the local history of Caribbean resistance in favor of a celebration of Enlightenment ideals. By returning to eighteenth-century literary and archival sources, she sets out to demonstrate the roots of that forgetting by revealing the ambiguity of Enlightenment representations of slavery and slave resistance, as well as the suppressed contributions of slaves to the discourses and practices of emancipation.

To a certain extent, Reinhardt goes over well-trodden territory. Several historians and literary scholars have done important work on French literary representations of slavery and anti-slavery in the same period, including William B. Cohen, Michèle Duchet, Léon-François Hoffmann, Yves Benot, and, more recently, Louis Sala-Molins and Michel-Rolph Trouillot. Like many of them, Reinhardt draws on a wide range of sources, including literature, “philosophy,” political pamphlets, and legal statutes. To these she adds archival sources such as letters and court cases. Her debt to the earlier scholarship is most clear in chapters one, two, and four, in which she refutes the notion that the French Enlightenment was a firmament of anti-slavery humanitarianism. In chapter one, tracing attitudes toward blackness, slavery, and freedom in figures such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, the Comte de Buffon, Charles Antoine Guillaume Pigault-Lebrun, and Henri Joseph Du Laurens, she points out the frequent convergence of pro- and putatively anti-slavery ideology, as both in the end affirmed a desire to humanize slavery. She takes the “antislavery” philosophes to task for their conservatism: Guillaume Thomas François Raynal and the Marquis de Condorcet, for example, maintained that slaves were not fit for immediate emancipation and therefore proposed postponing abolition for as long as seventy years. The second chapter examines literary figures of the maroon as

an even more fertile ground for charting ambivalences in Enlightenment antislavery, since the phenomenon of slave revolts and marronnage raised questions not only about black rights to freedom but also about black sovereignty, autonomy, and identity before and after slavery. She usefully maps out two dominant, yet opposed, images of the maroon as either vengeful liberator or unenlightened savage in works by Jean-François de Saint-Lambert, Mercier, the Abbé Prévost, Gabriel Mailhol, Olympe de Gouges, and Pigault-Lebrun. The fourth chapter surveys, by contrast, the assimilationist arguments of free people of color who fought for equal political rights during the revolutionary period, highlighting as well the resistance of the French revolutionary assemblies toward the extension of such rights.

Reinhardt's astute, well-researched, and historically contextualized literary analyses yield much interesting commentary as well as some original insights. Her analysis of free colored political ideology exhibits an extensive knowledge of all of the writings of Julien Raimond. Her readings of the trope of the maroon as savage suggests that, for many eighteenth-century French writers, freedom for slaves could be acceptable only if given by the slaveholder as a "reward for total submission" and effected through transformative contact with French Enlightenment ideas. Perhaps the most original contribution of the book is the comparative analysis of French anti-slavery propaganda and the letters of slave insurgents in Guadeloupe, contained in the third chapter. Here, Reinhardt attacks the still influential argument that organized black resistance movements were largely instigated by French anti-slavery propaganda. She does so by revealing the marked discontinuities between the arguments and rhetoric of the Société des amis des noirs and those of the group of Guadeloupean slaves who addressed letters to colonial authorities on the eve of an organized insurrection in 1789. Building on the interpretations of historians such as David Geggus, she argues that, whereas the "politics of pity" in the writings of the Société turned slaves into passive, helpless, deculturated victims who could only be saved through French Enlightenment, the slave insurgents argued that they had already been enlightened by suffering and identified themselves as a nation with agency and a right to sovereignty. Embracing violence as a legitimate means to an end inspired by God (as opposed to Enlightened man), they also broke with the secular libertarianism of 1789.

The main drawback of the book is its somewhat elusive conceptualization in terms of a larger argument about memory that remains under-theorized and largely unproven. In entering the subject through a discussion of the 1998 commemoration, the author contends that she will uncover "forgotten memories" by examining the "focal points" of the 1998 debate on the basis of eighteenth-century materials. The implication is that the suppression of black perspectives in the eighteenth century is at the root of today's silencing of Caribbean actors in remembrances of abolition. Yet this historical argument would be difficult to demonstrate

and is not in fact the focus of the book's five chapters. Equally problematic is the author's uncritical view of revisionist Caribbean perspectives on abolition; while calling for a marginal, plural, nonlinear history with references to Michel Foucault and Édouard Glissant, Reinhardt equates such a history with a particular interpretation that considers slave resistance as the indispensable contributor to abolition. As the author celebrates this revisionism as liberating, she seems unaware of the significant critique of the maroon myth offered in recent decades by French Caribbean writers and critics, including Maryse Condé, whom she cites, not to mention ongoing historiographic debates around the role of slaves in the 1848 abolition. Still, the book makes an important contribution through its close readings and historically contextualized cultural analysis. The last chapter, while somewhat disconnected from the rest, is an interesting descriptive survey of recent monuments to the slave past in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

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NATHALIE DESSENS. *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences*. (Southern Dissent.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xiv, 257. \$65.00.

Despite its obvious historical significance, the Saint-Domingue migration to Louisiana has, until very recently, generated remarkably little interest among professional historians. Nathalie Dessens presents a synthetic overview of the migration and its impact upon the Crescent City's subsequent development. Saint-Domingue and Louisiana, the crown jewel and neglected stepchild respectively of the ancien régime's North American empire, were both established by the French in the 1690s in a failed Gallic attempt to encircle and contain British colonial expansion from the eastern seaboard. Despite their very different evolutionary trajectories over the course of the eighteenth century, Louisiana and its Caribbean sister were inextricably bound together by politics, economics, family ties, and ultimately, fate. Ships sailing from France to Louisiana routinely stopped at Cap François to replenish water stocks and supplies, and some of Louisiana's original colonists were Saint-Domingue buccaneers. For much of the eighteenth century, Saint-Domingue was Louisiana's principal trade partner. For example, Louisiana provided the lumber to rebuild Cap François following a conflagration that laid waste to much of the city in 1773. Finally, as the so-called "Mississippi" colony stagnated, many ambitious Louisiana soldiers and civilian settlers sought greener pastures in Saint-Domingue. In light of this longstanding relationship, it should hardly be surprising that Louisiana provided safe haven to the thousands of refugees—white, tan, and black—fleeing Saint-Domingue's servile-insurrection-turned-revolution of 1791–1803.

The migration of approximately 10,000 Saint-

Domingue refugees to lower Louisiana was the most significant demographic event on the Gulf Coast in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The migration doubled the size of New Orleans, then on its way to becoming a boom town and the nation's second leading port of entry, within a six-month period and transformed the Crescent City's cultural landscape. Indeed, the cultural imprint of the migration, which was most pronounced during the antebellum era, remains indelible. The Louisiana sugar industry, voodoo in the New Orleans area, the consumption of red beans and rice, and the Creole language along the Mississippi River are all part of the immigrants' living legacy. In addition, chess master Paul Morphy, internationally renowned composer and performer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Louisiana civil code compiler Louis Casimir Moreau Lislet, and a host of other noteworthy individuals were first or second-generation Saint-Domingue refugees.

Dessens's overview is drawn principally from secondary sources, many of which remain rather obscure, supplementing information drawn from these publications with gleanings from primary source collections overwhelmingly located in the New Orleans area. The curious absence of European and federal primary source collections in the bibliography, although a notable deficiency, is a less readily discernible problem than the rather alarming lack of editorial control, evidenced by numerous dating and numerical problems and persistent redundancy in the narrative. Yet for all of its deficiencies, Dessens's monograph provides the best available introduction to the subject of the Saint-Domingue refugees, their wanderings, and their ultimately successful quest for a North American safe haven.

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J. R. KERR-RITCHIE. *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World*. (Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 272. \$45.00.

Commemoration is now securely established as a field of historical study, appealing to the growing interest in representation, collective memory, and popular understandings of the past. Asking how the great turning points of the past are remembered, and how modes of celebration change over time, provides both a roughly measurable constant and an accessible, precisely dated archival resource. In the anglophone Atlantic, the abolition of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery (emancipation) represent two such important watershed events. Studies of the history of commemoration in the British West Indies began to emerge in the 1970s, when some of the newly independent island states (temporarily) abandoned celebrations. These histories were joined in 1987 by the work of William H. Wiggins, Jr., *O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations*, and followed by a rapidly expanding range of examples.

The principal contribution of J. R. Kerr-Ritchie's valuable new book is to draw together the experience of the British West Indies and the United States, focusing on the period between the formal abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1834 and Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. It was the ending of slavery in the British colonies that provided the most closely observed model of the "great experiment," and it was the anniversary of emancipation that provided a public platform for bringing attention to the difference as an annual remembrance. The celebration of the day within the United States while slavery persisted in the South was therefore unusual both in the way it acknowledged an event external to the national narrative and added to the transatlantic dimension of antislavery and abolitionism. It was not the only model available. The end of slavery in St. Domingue came decades earlier than British abolition, but Haiti proved relatively unattractive as an example, because (ironically in the light of the Civil War) its emancipation was born in bloody violence rather than being the product of peaceful parliamentary legislation and because it fell beyond the bounds of an ambiguously shared Anglo-American identity. Similarly, the later abolitions of the French, Dutch, and Danish, with their own particular dates, were not drawn into the model.

First August marked the end of slavery in the British colonies of the Caribbean, both the formal abolition of the institution in 1834 and the termination of the "apprenticeship" in 1838. It did not mark the end of slavery throughout the British Empire: the institution continued in India until 1843, and abolition came on December 1, 1834 at the Cape of Good Hope and on February 1, 1835 in Mauritius. In the West Indies, First August matched the long established "crop-over" or harvest-home festival, that marked the conclusion of the sugar-making season, and the celebration of freedom was added to this customary holiday. In this way it offered opportunities for the consolidation of concepts of identity and liberty opposed to the dominant modes of whiteness and domination in the context of British colonialism.

More importantly for the history of abolitionism in the United States, argues Kerr-Ritchie, the celebration of the day in the North—where it was sometimes called West India Day—and in western Canada enabled the mobilization of a transnational consciousness and indicated the existence of cross-national connections between black people across the Atlantic world. This was a significant development, although largely confined within the context of British interests and the British "Black Atlantic World," and not extending freely to the French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese spheres. It would be interesting to know how the day was regarded in the non-British colonies of the Caribbean, and how freed West Indians considered the continuing enslavement of their island neighbors.

Although Kerr-Ritchie emphasizes the "universal" character of abolitionism and the love of liberty, his project is more limited. He does present an illuminating

discussion of the role of Africa—particularly Egypt and Ethiopia—in accounts of black civilization, but limits his account of commemoration on the continent to events at the Cape. It would be equally interesting to know how the day was thought of in West Africa, notably Liberia (Kerr-Ritchie lists a speech made there in 1859) and Sierra Leone. Use could have been made of the comparative studies in *Facing Up to the Past: Perspectives on the Commemoration of Slavery from Africa, the Americas and Europe* (2001), edited by Gert Oostindie. Within the Caribbean, Kerr-Ritchie concentrates on the well-documented cases of Jamaica and Trinidad, but he does provide an intriguing account of a West Indian Emancipation Day festival held in Haiti on August 1, 1838, and he offers clues to the feelings of freed West Indians toward the still-enslaved people to the north. How the enslaved people of the South thought about these commemorative days remains unexplored. It is the role of August First in the North and in western Canada that most concerns Kerr-Ritchie and constitutes his most original contribution to the history of abolition.

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MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ. *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 285. \$34.95.

Written by one of the most prolific historians of the formal education of American Indians, this book has one dominant and one subordinate purpose. Its main task, accomplished with careful research and enormous clarity, is to record the eighteenth-century history of the Presbyterian Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which carried out its strongest efforts in the Scottish Highlands, but which also funded efforts to bring reformed Christianity through schools to the Indians of North America. As a solid and engaging work on the SSPCK, an institution vaguely familiar to many early Americanists but as yet unstudied, this work is important, informative, and very useful. Telling the story of the SSPCK provides Margaret Connell Szasz with an opportunity to take on, as a persistent but minor theme, the complicated responses of indigenous peoples to the pressures, represented by the SSPCK and its North American affiliates, of ideological colonialism. To accomplish this latter task, Szasz investigates, less convincingly, what she considers to be the parallel cultural traits and the parallel colonial experiences of Highlanders and Native Americans, both peoples whom, Szasz accurately reveals, the SSPCK targeted.

The subtitle, not the main title, alludes to these two themes. It is at its best more a transatlantic than a comparative work, for the activities of the SSPCK affected both Indians and Highlanders. The SSPCK, founded early in the eighteenth century, sent hundreds of missionary-teachers into the dubiously (for reform Chris-

tians) Protestant and sometimes even Catholic Highlands to redeem these Britons to the “true” religion, to the Scots (English) language, and to literacy and away from popery, from Jacobitism, and from the “Irish” or Gaelic language. Before long, it also sent funds to satellite organizations in the colonies that ministered to, and set up schools among, Native Americans, especially in the middle colonies and southern New England.

The book, despite the main title, is not about Highlanders who encountered, in every sense of that word, Indians in America. Highlanders who worked among and married into Native American communities do not appear. Nor do the many Highlanders who, in the British service, invaded Indian Country at places like Fort Duquesne in 1758 or the Cherokee Mountains in 1760. There is no discussion of, or reflection about, these Highlanders who ceased to be “indigenous” and became colonial, some of whose children became differently “indigenous” again. That matter is for other books. In short, the Highlanders of this book remain, with few exceptions, in the Highlands, Native Americans, with one important exception, in the Americas, and rarely the twain shall meet. Oddly enough, though the tens of thousands of Highlanders who made their way to America vastly outnumber the American Indians who were steered toward Britain, the only “indigenous” person to cross the Atlantic in this book is the Mohegan, Samson Occam, the first ordained Native American minister to reach Scotland.

Occam is not incidental. His fund-raising voyage to Great Britain, which Szasz demonstrates brought in more money, per capita, in Scotland than in England, went sour when his mentor, Eliezar Wheelock, diverted the funds from their original purpose—to educate Indians—to the founding of Dartmouth College, mainly for British colonial boys. Szasz deploys Occam to exemplify the complexity of indigenous responses to the SSPCK on both sides of the Atlantic, pairing him with Dugald Buchanan, a Highlander and contemporary. Both men became key figures in the activities of the SSPCK, and both found ways, Szasz convincingly argues, to adapt their cultures to the demands of colonialism. Not only that, both reclaimed their people’s heritage through the very colonial apparatus of education that was meant to eradicate it. Both walked the streets of Edinburgh in 1767. Both, she reasonably speculates, may have met in that city of some 15,000, and had they done so, Szasz counterfactually assumes, each would have identified with the goals and experience of the other.

The other, however, raises a question. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the image of the Indian in the English-speaking world was reaching a low point. It is equally imaginable that Buchanan shared the growing prejudices of his era and adopted language. Even as an anti-Jacobite he felt outrage over brutality of the British suppression of his enemy kinsmen in the 1745 rebellion; might he not have felt outrage about the deaths of regimental Highlanders at Indian hands in the ferocious American wars of 1754 to 1766? Did the ex-

periences of Highlander troops, did the reports of the American wars, have no impact on the images of Indians among Highlanders back home? We do not know. Buchanan may have seen Occam as a fellow cultural intermediary, a fellow student of the SSPCK, a fellow churchman, and a fellow creative preserver of culture, as Szasz guesses. But we can as easily guess that, in line with currents sweeping the British Empire, he saw Occam as a savage who, rather oddly, became a minister. Such views made it easier for men like Wheelock to dismiss and subvert the goals of men like Occam. To put it another way, Dugald Buchanan in 1767, though a native of the Highlands, did not identify as "indigenous." In an age of racial formation, to do so would be to take a dangerous tack. "Indigenous" is a current and controversial term. Although the word is in the subtitle, Szasz steers clear of its definition. Part of the controversy bears on the task of the historian, for there are those who assert that to be indigenous, a people must identify as such.

But the core of the work is strong. For the colonial and religious historian, Szasz, through fascinating historical sleuthing, demonstrates the connections that colonial evangelicals, including Wheelock, Samuel Kirland, and David and John Brainerd, had with the SSPCK. For the American Indian historian, Szasz raises provocative questions about native responses to colonial education. For the historian of the British Empire, Szasz draws attention to an understudied institution. Richly researched, embellished with many of Szasz's (and her spouse's) own photographs, the book carries with it, as a bonus, the sense of adventure that the author clearly felt in its research and writing.

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ELAINE G. BRESLAW. *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America: Expanding the Orbit of Scottish Culture*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 348. \$55.00.

Elaine G. Breslaw's book is a well-written and welcome addition to the body of literature on late colonial America. In some respects her vivid descriptions bring to mind the style of Lady Antonia Fraser, who made the tragic life of Mary, Queen of Scots jump off the pages and into the thought worlds of those fortunate enough to have read her finely penned book. I had the same reaction to Breslaw's book. While it is a pleasant and worthwhile account of the spread of British culture during colonial times in North America, it does project some rather erroneous notions about the origin and diffusion of Scottish culture.

Breslaw takes us from the uncivilized frontier of colonial Annapolis to Edinburgh, Scotland, and back again. All the while, the author shows how Dr. Alexander Hamilton's life and perspectives were shaped by his social and cultural environments. It is a carefully crafted study of the life of an American immigrant. His

views most likely were representative of the thoughts and feelings a small percentage of British social elites that made North America their home, so the book contains some valuable insights into the diffusion of British culture during the eighteenth century.

The author's notion that Hamilton helped expand the orbit of Scottish culture is not accurate. As she describes well, the family of Alexander Hamilton moved from a small Scottish town to Edinburgh, so that his father could serve as a professor at the University of Edinburgh. This allowed young Hamilton, who was born in 1712, to absorb the enlightened thoughts and ideas of young students who stayed with his family, a common practice among professorial families in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scotland. Breslaw's description of the socialization process through which Hamilton became a member of Great Britain's social elite class is wonderfully expressed. The social and political circumstances that created those social situations and the emergence of the new enlightened social elite class, however, are dismissed almost entirely.

This is unfortunate because it gives the reader the wrong impression about Scottish culture, for Scotland too was, during Hamilton's youth, a newly acquired prize of English colonialism. Breslaw does not discuss the union of crowns of 1603 or the union of Parliaments in 1707 and their roles in expanding the orbit of English culture. As Christopher Allan Whatley points out in his book *Bought and Sold for English Gold? The Union of 1707* (2001), many Scots did not want to lose their national sovereignty to England, but that is precisely what they experienced.

The attitudes and culture that Hamilton displays in Breslaw's book are not Scottish. Rather they are English, which James I and VI called British when he moved from his native Scotland to ascend the English throne in 1603. Breslaw would have enriched the history behind Hamilton's story and correctly identified his culture had she noted that the Act of Union caused the Scottish court to move to London. Scottish social elites, like their sovereign, were impressed with the splendor of English court life and were quick to learn its ways and attitudes.

The union of the Parliaments finished the absorption of Scotland into England that began with the union of crowns, for Scotland's Parliament was dissolved and all legislative actions were henceforth held at Westminster in London. The University of Edinburgh was an important agent for the Anglicization of Scotland's political capitol.

Given that Hamilton's family had just settled into Edinburgh at the time of the union of Parliaments, Breslaw missed a great opportunity to show how Scotland was influenced by the expanding orbit of English culture. Perhaps this is why Hamilton became a member of the Church of England once he settled into the uncivilized frontier in Maryland. He was a member of the British elite class.

In summary, Breslaw's book is a welcome addition to the body of literature on the immigration of British

elites to colonial America. It is well written and even entertaining for the novice historian. It does, however, lack grounding in the larger social and political worlds that created and expanded the orbit of British, not Scottish, culture.

BARRY ARON VANN
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ROD EDMOND. *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, number 8) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 255. \$90.00.

Rod Edmond's book sits in the Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories series but certainly fits the latter rather than the former. It is squarely cultural history, as interested in the fictionalizing of leprosy and the leper in the past as in recuperating the leper's lived experience. It is also cultural history in its use of theorists to analyze the particular social meaning of leprosy, remarkably persistent over time and to a large extent, place.

Edmond has written a wide-ranging book, partly comparative history, partly literary studies, partly history of medicine. It synthesizes a large existing literature on the history of leprosy management over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into a welcome whole, adds his own original research at intermittent points, and frames the object of inquiry—leprosy and empire—within a broadly Foucauldian analysis. The result is rather more a series of essays with a good linking introduction than a monograph. The "postscript" rather than the conventional conclusion adds to this effect. Chapter two is a good medical history of the sudden public airing of leprosy in the late 1860s, and the question over its transmission: contagious or inherited? Chapter six is a present-tense analysis of travel writing on leprosy, which interrogates texts by well known authors from Robert Louis Stevenson to Paul Theroux. I learned a great deal from each chapter, and yet the whole does not quite add up to a historical monograph whose stated intention is "to historicize the processes that Foucauldian cultural history and theory conceptualise" (p. 14).

Edmond should be praised for taking on such disparate and extensive locations to make his historical and cultural point: Hawai'i, Australia, South Africa, Britain, and New Zealand. It is about time a good scholar pulled these places of leprosy segregation and confinement together. But the reader should be prepared for varied depth of original research on each of these. Edmond's own work on Molokai in Hawai'i, for example, is by far the most original: the posthumous public discussion of Father Damien de Veuster's possible sexual relations with Hawaiians as the conduit for his own infection and death is an important extension of scholarship. The remaining cases are more or less derivative of other scholars' work. This is not so much a problem as a technique that makes for an uneven read.

In discussing his approach, Edmond refers to historian of medicine Roger Cooter's assessment that much literary-cultural work on medicine is historically empty. Edmond's work, however, is a world away from this assessment: it is assiduously referenced and Edmonds is deeply knowledgeable about a remarkable range of periods and colonial contexts. Still, to a historical reader, even one inclined to interdisciplinary work, the literary analysis gets in the way, partly because it is not adequately put to work in the larger aim to historicize Foucault et al.

Take chapter three, a discussion on the tropics, degeneration, and leprosy in the late nineteenth century. Edmond synthesizes very well what is now a large literature on tropical medicine and colonialism in the period. He is at his most original when discussing not the colonies but London. And he then turns to George Gissing, Oscar Wilde, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Elizabeth Gaskell. No doubt for literary historians the section "Leprosy and literature in the Victorian period" will be valuable, but for historians, it seems a parallel rather than an integrated part of the analysis.

Ultimately, the book is a study of the meanings of segregation and confinement in modernity. Leprosy management in these imperial centuries has been analyzed in this way before, and Edmond is careful to acknowledge this. I don't agree with his use of Erving Goffman's total institution argument: so many of Edmonds's examples seem to substantiate precisely the opposite. Nonetheless he brings Paul Gilroy and Giorgio Agamben freshly into this field, extending our understanding of the modern history of carceral and exclusionary practices. Edmond is to be applauded for taking such a large view, such a global approach to his cases and his sources.

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MICHELLE T. MORAN. *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States*. (Studies in Social Medicine.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 280. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

This intelligent, nuanced, and carefully argued study approaches the U.S. experience with leprosy in a productive and revealing way. Author Michelle T. Moran compares the government policies, medical practices, and patient experiences of the two leprosy settlements in the United States, the Kalaupapa colony in Molokai, Hawai'i, and the mainland settlement in Carville, Louisiana. These institutions served simultaneously as prisons to confine the dangerous, sanitariums to isolate the contagious, laboratories to study the diseased, and hospitals to treat the sick. They interacted from the start, with Molokai first serving as a model for Carville and later adopting medical knowledge and practices developed at Carville. The two settlements developed different regulations, however, based on local public health officials' racial and gender views regarding the

patient populations in Hawai'i and Louisiana. Moran's comparison of Molokai and Carville therefore brings into relief more than a century of American debates regarding imperialism, disease, race, citizenship, and public health, and reveals the complexities of these interactions by examining how patients sought to influence them and by capturing the myriad ironies of a leper colony in the modern world.

Drawing from extensive research in government documents and archival sources in Hawai'i, Louisiana, and Washington, D. C., as well as patient newspapers and memoirs, Moran argues that U.S. imperial adventures exposed the nation to regions where leprosy was widespread and therefore "raised fears of its contagion and prompted the development of institutions and policies to contain what was increasingly viewed as a foreign threat encroaching on the national body." Moran seeks to show "not only how public health policy emerged as a tool of empire in the colonies, but also how imperial ideologies became imbedded within mainland medical practices" (p. 3). This, she argues, intertwined issues of imperialism with public health policy and medical science with concepts of citizenship. Ultimately she concludes that "Imperial legacies and medical definitions could bring leprosy to the consciousness of Americans, but they could not make it an 'American' disease" (p. 12).

In order to build her argument, Moran has organized the book thematically rather than chronologically, which works surprisingly well. She begins in the United States with the decades-long debate about whether to establish a national leprosarium which culminated during World War I with congressional authorization of a federal facility. The next chapter turns to Hawai'i and the 1866 establishment of a leper colony on an isolated peninsula of Molokai and the Euro-American seizure of the Hawaiian government in 1893. The new provisional government used public health policy—specifically regarding leprosy—to demonstrate the need for Western moral and civil authority. Confining people with leprosy enabled the new government to police native Hawaiians, gain support from white settlers, and was seen "as a means of protecting Western business interests from the taint of leprosy and of exerting physical and moral control over Hawaiians" (p. 72). The third chapter returns to the United States and the establishment of a leprosy settlement in Louisiana in 1894, run by the Catholic Daughters of Charity until 1921, when the U.S. Public Health Service took it over for the national leprosarium. The next two chapters examine how patients at Molokai and Carville negotiated the terms of their confinement and treatment. Here Moran counters the myth of the helpless leper and convincingly shows how "patients in both Kalaupapa and Carville worked to carve large autonomous spaces for themselves and to forge alliances with groups on the outside" (p. 10). The final chapter embraces both settlements in their last years of operation as physicians, government officials, and patients grappled with how to

manage leprosy as it became Hansen's Disease, curable with antibiotics.

As Moran moves easily between Carville and Molokai, she highlights the patients' perspectives, stressing their role in shaping policy and their communities. Some of the most interesting stories concern veterans. One byproduct of American imperialism was the leprosy that some soldiers and sailors contracted during their service overseas. While their numbers were small compared to those who developed malaria, tuberculosis, and dysentery, they were enough to cause alarm. After Spanish-American War veteran John Early gained attention for having contracted the disease in the Philippines, Congress finally approved the national leprosarium, and Moran writes that some legislators reasoned that "if the work of managing colonies exposed native-born American citizens to disease, then the federal government had a responsibility to treat them" (p. 40). She counts twenty-three World War I veterans at Carville in 1931 and thirty-three World War II veterans in 1947, and shows how they could cross the divide of a foreign disease to gain support from veterans' groups and others for better conditions and treatment.

Moran's sense of irony is appropriate in this story of a biblical and medieval disease recast in the modern era as a colonial disease of the tropics. One of the most fascinating ironies is that while the Organic Act of 1900 restored Hawaiians' right to vote for their local representatives, Louisiana patients lost the vote when they were incarcerated at Carville. Moran provides a powerful image of politicians, unable to set foot on the colony at Molokai, standing in boats offshore to give stump speeches to leprosy settlement voters. As Hawaiian officials sought to groom leprosy victims for citizenship, Carville physicians curtailed patient rights citing the need for control and surveillance to administer modern medical care. World War II produced more ironies such as Boy and Girl Scout troops at the isolated Molokai settlement and Carville newsletter writers demanding their democratic rights while living in a racially segregated facility. Efforts to teach the public that leprosy patients were not dangerous repeatedly failed; instead people were frightened, causing officials to redouble efforts to ostracize and isolate them. It has turned out to be easier to cure Hansen's Disease with antibiotics than it has been to overcome the centuries-old cultural stigma of leprosy mythology.

Although Moran focuses on patients, I would have liked more discussion on what it was like to actually have the disease. What caused the deformities that have so terrified people over the centuries? How did sulfone drugs and antibiotics help patients? Such information would provide a richer context to understand the patient experience and the evolution of public health policy. More importantly, Moran's theoretical analysis of imperialism and colonialism at times weighs down a fascinating and dynamic story of patient confrontation and negotiation with public health officials in these communities. Sentences such as "Colonizing Leprosy ana-

lyzes such policies to place the United States in dialogue with other regimes over the management of disease within the imperial landscape and to understand the dynamic exchanges flowing between colony and mainland" obscure more than they reveal (p. 6).

Nonetheless, the theoretical framework, if not the language, is the strength of this book, and therefore it has much to offer scholars in the history of medicine and provides a useful model for doing comparative history. It is an excellent addition to the literature on modern empire and expands our understanding of the roles health and disease often play in the story of Western imperialism.

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STERLING EVANS. *Bound in Twine: The History and Ecology of the Henequen-Wheat Complex for Mexico and the American and Canadian Plains, 1880–1950*. (Texas A&M Environmental History Series, number 21.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 314. \$42.00.

This book explores the connections between U.S. and Canadian grain harvests and the Mexican source of fiber that bound countless sheaves of grain between 1880 and 1950. It is a masterful account of interdependence, from the concomitant rise of henequen production in Yucatan and of grain production farther north, through cascades of effects (social, political, environmental, technological, and economic) throughout this international system, as a result of the Mexican Revolution, World War I, the Great Depression, Dust Bowl droughts, and the emergence of new grain harvesting technology. Sterling Evans captures in fine detail a major chapter in American agricultural history in its most appropriate and telling international context, with a keen eye for the multiple registers in which agricultural developments resonate. Commodities are never just commodities; they have, as Evans argues, lives of their own, which are bound with the lives of those people who are dependent on commodity production or who exploit land and labor in order to profit from it.

Evans's history offers a wide-angle view of North American grain production that shows how dependent this industry was on the production of one Mexican commodity: the fibers of *Agave fourcroydes*, or henequen, a plant native to Yucatan and one of the few cultivable on an industrial scale in that state. (Henequen was often referred to or confused with sisal, derived from a related plant also native to Mexico.) Henequen production met the demand of cordage manufacturers in the U.S. and Canada who supplied binder twine to grain farmers in great quantity. While advances in agricultural technology (including the widespread use of binders themselves) diminished the need for agricultural hand labor in the U.S. and Canada—a familiar theme in American agricultural history—fiber and twine production demanded a great deal of labor, much of it captive: in Yucatan, enslaved and indentured

workers and political prisoners after 1915, and in the U.S. and Canada, inmate labor in state and provincial penitentiaries. There were private cordage manufacturers, of course, who supplied the bulk of binder twine in North America (and controlled most of the export of henequen fiber from Yucatan), and who also displayed their heavy hand in international affairs by encouraging the rapid development of henequen production in Yucatan and moving Woodrow Wilson to intervene in a "sisal situation" on the heels of the Mexican Revolution, which threatened to deprive grain farmers of twine for a particularly abundant harvest.

While all of Evans's argument draws on and adds to ongoing scholarly conversation about large-scale issues (models of international economic relations, particularly those describing imperialist imbalances of trade and power, as well as anthropologists' understandings of the "lives of things," and many disciplines' contemporary turn toward environmental evidence and transnational perspectives), he addresses more particular questions as well, such as those regarding definitions and manifestations of the plantation and slavery. Evans's account of the deportation and enslavement of thousands of Yaqui people from Sonora to the henequen plantations of Yucatan under the orders of Porfirio Díaz deftly weaves cultural and landscape history together with the histories of Mexican and U.S. appropriation of indigenous lands, industrial modernization, "free trade," and political relations, all through the web of interdependencies occasioned by the use of henequen fiber in grain harvest. That Evans further links henequen fiber production to the manufacture of binder twine by prison inmates in the U.S. and Canada ties one knot in this complex fabric; that Mexican farmers on Yaqui land in Sonora used U.S. twine derived from Yucatecan fiber processed by Yaqui people ties another. The world of fiber and twine Evans describes predates the era of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by nearly a hundred years, and yet the lines of comparison are suggestive and revealing. His evidence is painstakingly particular, but the scale of Evans's work is large, both in connecting ecologies, economies, societies, and technologies through binder twine, as well as in reminding us of the not-so-distant prehistory of current and pending free trade agreements.

Evans relies on rich primary documents of the henequen-twine industries, from Mexico and Canada as well as the U.S. He also collects telling images and vernacular reflections on both henequen and twine and the binders that went with them. He is quietly attentive to cultural nuance. One Mexican observer noted that the henequen worker was "contorted like an agonizing Christ" by wounds from the plant, which itself was described by another source as Yucatan's "crown of thorns" (pp. 53, 36). Evans's book is beautifully illustrated with trade journal images, including a line drawing of an abandoned binder in lush overgrowth next to a wire fence—as loving and ambivalent a depiction of scrap metal as one is ever likely to see. Connected in

relations of labor, landscape, economy, technology, and indeed memory through the enduring "lives of things," North American people have been bound in twine in intimate and far-reaching ways.

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MELVYN P. LEFFLER. *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2007. Pp. xx, 586. \$35.00.

VLADISLAV M. ZUBOK. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 467. \$39.95.

Cold War specialists had a very good year in 2007 with the publication of a number of fine books, including Melvyn P. Leffler's most recent assessment of significant case studies during the Cold War and Vladislav M. Zubok's evaluation of Soviet Cold War policies from Joseph Stalin through Mikhail Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War. Leffler's and Zubok's interpretations reflect the ebbing of the "Cold War" among historians that has continued long past the end of the conflict. The authors not only make use of significant new primary sources but also offer a more inclusive approach with respect to the considerations shaping policy on both sides. Their approaches are not identical, but they share a focus on leaders who made a significant impact and a thesis that the Cold War, in the most important sense, transcended strategic, economic, and domestic political considerations. As Leffler summarizes, the battle for "the soul of mankind" is about the importance that policy makers placed on advancing and defending their respective systems and visions on a global basis. The competition between two different models of modernity was shaped by the post-World War II structure of international relations, leaders' historical memories, fears, and ambitions, and geopolitical, economic, and political considerations.

Leffler's and Zubok's orientations are somewhat different. Leffler questions why Soviet and American leaders did not stop the Cold War before its final end and examines five case studies: the origins of the Cold War in 1945–1948; the 1953–1954 maneuvers of Dwight D. Eisenhower and the post-Stalin leadership; Nikita Khrushchev and American leaders in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis; the erosion of détente under Leonid Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter in 1975–1980; and the end of the Cold War in 1985–1990. In evaluating each of these cases, Leffler examines policy makers on both sides and relies quite extensively for the Soviet side on primary source publications from the Cold War International History Project, translations, and recent scholarly assessments, especially Zubok's book. In contrast to Leffler, Zubok's focus is more exclusively on Soviet policy leaders, and only at the end with Mikhail Gorbachev does he evaluate the impact of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush on Gorbachev's de-

marches to end the Cold War and resolve the status of the two German states.

Zubok does contribute a most important, additional element to Leffler's case studies in advancing the "revolutionary-imperial paradigm" as a central framework for understanding Soviet policy from Stalin through Gorbachev, until the latter abandoned it. In his *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (1996), co-authored with Constantine Pleshakov, Zubok significantly reshaped the debate among American scholars over whether state interests, security, and realpolitik or Marxist-Leninist ideology shaped Soviet policy. Zubok did not suggest that the Kremlin's leaders had a grand design for world communism. Instead, he advanced a persuasive thesis that Soviet officials viewed international relations within their Marxist-Leninist training, applying ideological precepts and assumptions such as inevitable conflict among the capitalist powers and enduring conflict between capitalist and socialist states. Whether ideology or imperial state interest shaped a particular policy depended on the leader and the issue in question, and Zubok found Stalin and other Soviet officials through Khrushchev blending the two approaches whenever possible, using ideology to justify Soviet actions, especially when challenged within the international communist movement by China in the late 1950s.

Zubok's paradigm challenges Leffler's assertion that his case studies represent "lost opportunities" to limit the conflict before it escalated in 1947–1948 or to reduce it after the death of Stalin in 1953. Leffler recognizes this challenge and uses Zubok's paradigm to help explain why, for example, neither President Harry S. Truman nor Stalin wanted a Cold War after the end of World War II yet ended up in an escalating conflict. Leffler suggests that the international environment created risks and opportunities that neither could resist (pp. 57–58). Zubok's assessment of Stalin, on the other hand, suggests that the Soviet leader was determined to incorporate Eastern Europe into the Soviet system, to make the Soviet empire invincible, and to enhance it with gains on the periphery in Turkey, Iran, and the Far East.

Leffler's second example examines the post-Stalin discussions about the fate of Germany and arms control, which involved the new collective leadership in Moscow on one side and Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on the other. In this situation, the deteriorating relationship between the Soviet and U.S. leadership and their competitive perspectives that each had the best system clearly worked against any relaxation of tensions. Leffler demonstrates that Eisenhower wanted to pursue negotiations with the Kremlin on the Cold War in Europe but encountered persistent resistance from Dulles and other Washington officials (pp. 103–106). At the same time, in the context of Leffler's Soviet-American competitive struggle, Eisenhower approved expanded engagement against the presumed current and future allies of Moscow in Vietnam, Iran, Guatemala, and elsewhere. Zubok, moreover,

emphasizes the post-Stalin Soviet leaders' preoccupation with sorting out their own power positions and dealing with the serious repercussions of Stalin's domestic Cold War of purges, xenophobic isolationism, and antisemitism (pp. 50–61). On the critical issue of whether or not Moscow would have accepted a united, neutral Germany, Zubok depicts Soviet diplomatic demarches from the Kremlin in 1953–1955 as maneuvers to hinder U.S. plans to integrate West Germany into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) rather than as a meaningful attempt to negotiate a compromise.

Leffler illuminates well the multiple pressures and spreading global competition that worked against a lasting détente. In his review of Khrushchev and Kennedy's negotiations of a limited nuclear test ban, Leffler emphasizes that the constraints on both sides were very substantial (pp. 187–201). Zubok offers a more critical perspective on Khrushchev than Timothy Naftali and Aleksandr Fursenko in their recent study, *Khrushchev's Cold War: The Inside Story of an American Adversary* (2006). Zubok rejects their thesis that Khrushchev had a grand strategy for détente. Instead, he suggests that Khrushchev's reliance on "nuclear brinkmanship was exceptionally crude and aggressive, reckless and ideology-driven" and that he "relied more on his instincts than on strategic calculations" as "his ideological beliefs, coupled with his emotional vacillations between insecurity and overconfidence, made him a failure as a negotiator (pp. 153, 338). There was little room for more than limited agreements, as Khrushchev stepped up competition in the Middle East, Africa, and Cuba, and Washington more than matched the Kremlin in these areas and the conflict in Vietnam escalated.

Leffler and Zubok highlight the efforts of Carter and Brezhnev to continue détente after 1976, even though it had been fatally weakened by actions and inactions on both sides, as well as by the decline of Brezhnev's health after 1972 and his gradual loss of control of Soviet policy and initiatives. Nevertheless, Leffler points out Carter's persistent effort to keep détente alive with Brezhnev, and Zubok emphasizes Brezhnev's efforts to maintain détente in order to avoid the risks of war that Khrushchev had encouraged. In relying extensively on memoirs by and interviews with Brezhnev's advisers, Zubok minimizes the overall destructive impact of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 on both détente and on the Soviet Union's relationship with Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the Kremlin's offensive in Africa was at least as unsuccessful in exporting its model of socialist modernization as the United States was in exporting democratic capitalism, a point that is convincingly demonstrated in Odd Arne Westad's *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (2005).

In their assessments of Reagan and Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War, Leffler and Zubok reaffirm their central consensus on the nature of the conflict, why it lasted as long as it did, and why it ended the way it did. Both authors give significant credit to Reagan,

but not to his revitalized containment strategy. Instead, they emphasize the importance of Reagan's willingness to negotiate with Soviet leaders, especially Gorbachev, and to reassure him that the U.S. did not threaten Soviet security and was prepared to negotiate on most arms control issues (Leffler, pp. 449–450, 462–466; Zubok, pp. 285–289, 343). Leffler and Zubok also assign to Gorbachev primary credit for making the most significant changes concerning Soviet ideological preconceptions, views of international relations, and policy orientation toward external involvements from Central America to Afghanistan. In effect, Gorbachev abandoned the "struggle for the soul of mankind" that the authors emphasize as the core of the Cold War conflict.

Leffler and Zubok give different emphases to the final stage of the conflict, the collapse of the Soviet empire, and the Soviet Union itself. Gorbachev is Leffler's favorite Soviet leader, and he approves of Gorbachev's unwillingness to defend communist regimes in Eastern Europe, including East Germany. Zubok, however, criticizes Gorbachev for replacing the revolutionary-imperial paradigm with "new thinking," a radical transformation of Soviet ideology and political and economic systems, which included opening the country to the West and the world. Zubok would have preferred a cautious, gradualist approach based on a systematic strategy that insisted on negotiations and concessions from the West for major Soviet actions, such as agreeing to the unification of Germany within NATO. In short, Zubok endorses Stalin and Brezhnev as superior strategists and negotiators over Khrushchev and Gorbachev.

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PATRICK WRIGHT. *Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 488. \$34.95.

It is rare to find a historian willing to explore, in any systematic way, the relationship between politics and language. After all, the popularity of political history owes much to the easy complicity with which we accept the conventional modes of human communication, leaving terminological issues to the philosophers, or to occasional scolds like George Orwell. But Orwell is long gone and the philosophers today seem rather disinterested. Individual words often carry a lot of dangerous freight. Mischievous hybrids ("Islamofascism" would surely be one current example) flourish provocatively in the media. And academic as well as public discourse is littered with emotion-laden images and truth-obscuring metaphors.

All credit then to Patrick Wright for inquiring into the origins of the "iron curtain," a ubiquitous metaphor of the Cold War era. The term is indelibly associated with Winston Churchill, who made it the central image of his famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, sounding the alarm about

Soviet postwar expansionist ambitions in and around Europe. Churchill was perfectly happy to leave undisturbed the general impression that this was yet another of his imaginative coinages. Actually, Joseph Goebbels, similarly drawing attention to the Soviet threat, had used the phrase earlier in 1944. Now Wright takes us further back to the aptly named "iron curtain" devised in the nineteenth century to provide some metallic security against the many deadly infernos caused in London theaters by the use of candles, oil lamps, lighted chandeliers, and highly inflammable special effects, including fireworks. The iron curtain protected the audience, if not the less-enraptured actors and stage hands on the other side. The transition to political imagery was made, appropriately, by the playwright and pacifist/internationalist Vernon Lee. Shocked by the advent and experience of world war in 1914, she lamented "the moment when war's cruelties and recrimination, war's monstrous iron curtain, cut us off so utterly from one another" (p. 80).

A variety of references to the "iron curtain" surfaced during the turbulent 1914–1920 period, although it seems not to have become a stock phrase. Internationalists in Lee's circle used it to express their anguish over the breakdown of European civilization. Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians employed it in 1915 to condemn the high tension electricity wires with which the occupying Germans closed the Belgo-Dutch frontier. A postwar French prime minister warned against "lowering an iron curtain on the frontier of unoccupied Germany" (p. 222). It fell to the British leftist Ethel Snowden—who, upon her arrival in the postwar Soviet state as part of a supportive delegation, noted "We were behind the iron curtain at last" (p. 152)—to pioneer the henceforth more exclusive focus of the image upon the Red specter. However, despite a good deal of venomous East/West imagery in the interwar years, actual references to the "iron curtain" appear to have been rare and, as Wright acknowledges, "the phrase fell into comparative disuse during the 1930s."

In the end then, although this book is very well written, interesting, and full of stimulating digressions, the results of the quest, insofar as it relates to the metallic phrase itself, are rather thin. One senses a certain unacknowledged disappointment in the author, who begins, as the small well of quotable usages dries up after World War I, to use the phrase to describe various political tensions and ruptures in interwar Europe, especially with regard to the Soviet Union. The assumption seems to be that if people were not using this particular metaphor, they were nonetheless thinking along the lines it had been coined to suggest. But that is not quite the same thing, and the constant reiteration of the phrase leads to a confused thesis.

One cannot help but wish that Wright, once he saw the limits of a subject confined in this way to the odyssey of a single phrase, had adopted a different strategy focusing not, as is the case here, on the many misguided pilgrims to the new socialist state (whose illusions have been exhaustively unmasked by many unsympathetic

writers). Instead, he might have focused on the iron curtain, not as an exclusive mental construct but as one of a number of similarly striking, strongly suggestive, and surely related metaphors that have been devised repeatedly and with profound effect since 1914 to serve particular interests and to shape public responses to the tensions and divisions of European power politics. The "*cordon sanitaire*" is one obvious example of a similar image that could have been creatively linked (it receives only a brief treatment here) with the "iron curtain," which in its familiar Churchillian form was perhaps its lineal descendant, and one that then led in its turn to the enduring "containment" images of the mature Cold War. That would be a subject worthy of the literary and forensic talents impressively on display here.

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MICHAEL CRESWELL. *A Question of Balance: How France and the United States Created Cold War Europe*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 153.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 238. \$49.95.

In the crucial year 1950, Western powers were on the defensive in the global context of the Cold War. A communist government had gained control of mainland China. France found itself bogged down in a colonial war in Indochina. The Korean War erupted, stretching thin the resources of the United States. And, despite the signing of the NATO alliance the year before, Western Europe's security seemed precarious in the face of substantial Soviet conventional forces in Eastern Europe. To further strengthen the defense of Western Europe, given French colonial preoccupations and the U.S.-led engagement in Korea, the Truman administration decided that West Germany, now rebuilding its industrial economy, would need to be rearmed. There were risks involved. The Soviets would oppose; the British would consent; but would the French be willing to have Germans in uniform five years after the defeat of the Nazi regime? An older historical narrative has France accepting German rearmament reluctantly and only as the result of high-handed pressure from the United States—a French Caliban yielding to the material might of an American Prospero. Recent scholarship has challenged this story of American omnipotence and French dependency. The revision argues that the United States did not always get what it wanted from the French, despite the weaknesses of the Fourth Republic and the asymmetrical power relationship between the two countries.

Michael Creswell's extensively researched monograph makes a significant contribution to this revisionist trend and carries the assessment of France's role in the Cold War a step further by arguing that French statesmen feared the Soviet threat to French security more than they dreaded a revived German militarism. The same statesmen understood, however, the psychology of the French electorate. Germany was the historical enemy and thus the Soviet Union, at least for a sub-

stantial opinion on the left, was admired for destroying the German army. French public opinion required caution in a negotiating German rearmament as a necessity to meet the Soviet Union's military challenge. Creswell interprets evidence from the archives to show that French statesmen, such as Georges Bidault, soft-pedaled the anti-Soviet menace publicly while assuring United States authorities that the Soviet military threat was more to be feared than a rearmed Germany.

Given the instability that characterized the parliamentary system with its seemingly endless cabinet rotations, a solution to German rearmament had to be found without raising a firestorm of domestic opposition. René Pleven came up with a compromise proposal that pleased the Americans. The European Defense Community (EDC) would provide a European force in which the Germans could serve alongside contingents from other national armies, allaying fears of a new German militarism. Germany would not have a separate national force of its own, nor would it be part of NATO.

The EDC was a French plan that failed famously when the French themselves refused to ratify the treaty, much to the exasperation of their U.S. allies who constantly pressured a succession of French prime and foreign ministers to do so. The story of the EDC becomes the major focus of this book, which describes Franco-American wrangling over French delays in ratifying the EDC treaty. Creswell offers a convincing explanation why French rejection of their own solution to German rearmament was neither irrational, as some American accounts would have it, nor contrary to French interests. Domestic opposition to the treaty came not only from French Communists. Gaullists decried placing French units under foreign commanders, and when Marshal Alphonse Juin publicly opposed the treaty, the military establishment sided with the Gaullists. After two years of debate, Prime Minister Pierre Mendès-France refused to make the vote on the treaty a matter of confidence, and the National Assembly rejected the treaty in 1954. Cries of anguish went up in Washington, but Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration, despite Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's threat, did not carry out an "agonizing reappraisal" of Franco-American relations. Instead, agreement was reached on the admission of Germany to NATO. Creswell's account of the debates over EDC is as good a guide as one can find to this vexing issue.

By rejecting EDC and accepting German membership in NATO as a sovereign power, the Fourth Republic obtained what Georges Clemenceau failed to get in 1919: an Anglo-American commitment to continental defense as essential to European security. This represented a defeat for Eisenhower, "who saw America's military presence in Europe as temporary" (p. 6). By showing how a second-tier power could force great powers to compromise time and again, Creswell questions the theory of great power hegemony advanced by Kenneth Waltz (p. 166, n. 1). Further, French leaders successfully overcame considerable domestic opposition, thus challenging another theoretical argument

about the decisiveness of domestic considerations in the shaping of foreign policy. Finally, the author concludes that France had a "pivotal role" and not just a supporting one, in both the rearmament of Germany and the containment of the Soviet Union during the early stages of the Cold War.

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KATHRYN C. STATLER. *Replacing France: The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. xii, 378. \$45.00.

For years, accounts of the U.S. war in Vietnam left mysterious the process by which the nation first became entangled in the conflict. Vietnam in the mid-1950s seemed a magician's box: France, the colonial presence in Indochina from the late nineteenth century to 1940, went back into the box after World War II, and out the other side, around 1960, came the Americans. Recent work by David Anderson, Mark Lawrence, and others has pulled the lid off the box, but no one has so thoroughly examined its contents as Kathryn C. Statler in her fine new study. Making extensive use of French archival sources, Statler argues that the demands of the Cold War weighed heavily on French and American decision making toward Southeast Asia during the 1950s. The Americans wanted containment, not only (or even mostly) in Indochina but in Western Europe, and France was crucial to both efforts. The French, for their part, wanted desperately to hold onto their Indochina colony—powers had empires, and France was determined to be a power once more—although they came to understand that they would need help to do so. A commitment to the anticommunist side in Vietnam, however that looked and whoever it meant, seemed a logical thing for both the United States and France.

Logic ended there, Statler tells us, for the Americans and French could not agree on the terms of their commitment. In fact, they could not even agree among themselves; the policies of each, uncoordinated with the other, were also plagued by uncertainty in Paris and Washington. The Americans wanted the French to be more thoughtful colonialists, and finally to stop being colonialists at all, while nevertheless insisting that France attend to its alliance obligations in Europe and join the European Defense Community (EDC) with the loathed Germans. The French sought U.S. help, in Europe and in Southeast Asia, but without conditions. That meant having it both ways, and fading powers are not generally allowed to have things both ways. French rejection of the EDC in August 1954 dismayed the Americans but also freed them to jettison French concerns and go their own way in Vietnam: if the French refused to cooperate in Europe, there was no point in doing French bidding in Southeast Asia. By 1960, Statler tells us, and despite the surprising persistence of some French advisers and teachers and business types in Saigon, the Americans had taken charge, replacing French colonialism with "neocolonialism," substituting

American wisdom for French, and imposing English place names, new highways, and longer working hours on the puzzled Vietnamese south of the seventeenth parallel. The United States, perversely, got what it wished for: responsibility for trying to create a South Vietnamese state and simultaneously to smother a nationalist-communist movement that would not, in the end, be denied victory.

Ambitious in its scope, this book manages for the most part to maintain the structural integrity of its multinational analysis of French, American, and Vietnamese relations during this period. Statler is clearly comfortable working with French materials, having plumbed more thoroughly than anyone previously archives in Paris, Chateau de Vincennes, and Aix-en-Provence—tough duty, but someone had to do it. (She also worked at the British Public Record Office, and knows the scholarship on Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese diplomacy during the 1950s.) The book illuminates the intricacies of Franco-American discussions of Vietnam and offers authoritative versions of French and American disputes over the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and the southern Vietnamese government of Ngo Dinh Diem. The biggest surprise of the book is its revelation that the French still had a considerable military presence in southern Vietnam in 1956 and retained, ironically, some influence with Vietnamese leaders, who found them more sympathetic listeners than the confident Americans. And Statler is convincing that the French, feeling abused by the Americans in Vietnam, never again valued so highly the Atlantic alliance that had seemed to them both desirable and essential after World War II.

Statler's close attention to detail makes her account heavy going; non-specialists will be more inclined to dip into the book for specific information rather than read it front to back. Statler also pleads too strenuously for the originality of her argument. Instead, while she digs deeper than scholars have previously done, she does so in largely familiar ground. The account begins abruptly with events in 1950, and Statler's claim that "the Truman administration began working on the question of aid early in 1950" (p. 19) is technically untrue. Most of all, the book pays little attention to American, French, or anyone else's attitudes, assumptions, or values, on which decisions for intervention were predicated. There is not much here about ideology, political economy, or culture. One comes away from this book deeply impressed by Statler's research and her ability to piece together a complicated narrative from many hundreds of documents. Readers should, however, bring their own interpretative frameworks.

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VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ. *It's So French! Hollywood, Paris, and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 259. \$25.00.

Histories of European film in the 1950s and 1960s frequently highlight the struggle against Americanization, but Vanessa R. Schwartz provides a compelling alternative narrative and an important new way of thinking about a global popular culture. Whereas others emphasize competing artistic visions rooted in nationalism, she sees international cooperation and a Hollywood-Paris connection as crucial to the development of a "cosmopolitan film culture." Schwartz looks behind the films, examining documents from their production and marketing, to reveal how filmmakers, studios, business interests, and diplomatic delegations crafted a shared transatlantic vocabulary of movie-making. In the process, they placed France at the center of a global industry.

Schwartz begins with a nuanced analysis of "Frenchness" films from *An American in Paris* (1951) to *Gigi* (1958), demonstrating how Hollywood used stereotypical depictions from the belle époque to popularize a compelling vision of France. Drawing on her earlier research, Schwartz argues that the late nineteenth century was the period when French visual culture itself became "cinematic." American film from the 1950s drew on pre-World War I art, especially impressionism and the work of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, to link the earliest images of a "modern" France with the "modern" art of filmmaking at its inception. In the "Frenchness" films, American viewers saw themselves as they wanted to be: "In the moment considered to be the height of postwar American cultural imperialism, some of the most commercially successful, critically acclaimed, and eventually cherished films were tributes to France rather than transparent ciphers for promoting the 'American way of life'" (p. 53). France was the peak of the art world, and film was the most modern artistic medium. American filmmakers and audiences drew on these associations to imagine themselves as artistic and modern, too.

These claims lay the groundwork for Schwartz's larger argument that France—rather than Hollywood—was the starting point for a worldwide postwar film culture because of its openness and innovative artistry. Hollywood only reinforced those associations.

Schwartz stresses the circularity of cultural exchange between the United States and France, especially in her chapter on the Cannes Film Festival. Cannes became the world's gathering place for filmmakers and the launch pad for careers, including those of American stars. A creation of French government and film industry interests, Cannes was billed as "Hollywood on the Riviera" (p. 67). Without early participation from the United States, French organizers knew, the festival could not work. Yet, Schwartz suggests, only the French could create an international event of this magnitude.

Brigitte Bardot became one of the most famous stars of the period in the United States, even though she never worked there. The sexy actress helped create the American market for French films and became one of France's most important cultural commodities. She was the "modern woman" in the modern age, a symbol of

France as a society in motion, who could transcend national boundaries and translate French culture to American audiences. And she was a link back to the titillating can-can girls of the "Frenchness" films, connecting an earlier vision of a modern France with a contemporary one.

Around the World in Eighty Days (1956) was the culmination of the cosmopolitan film culture from the postwar period, Schwartz proposes. Ignored by historians, this production demonstrates how an international cast and crew traveled the globe filming in dozens of locations to create a cinematic fantasy using the latest technology of the day. The fact that the story is based on the classic *fin-de-siècle* novel by Jules Verne links it with the rest of the book. The late nineteenth-century French visual culture that spawned modern motion pictures had become thoroughly global by the 1950s and 1960s.

Schwartz's argument is truly remarkable in its scope and its ability to reconceptualize conventional narratives about Americanization, globalization, Franco-American relations, and the history of film. By reframing the relationship between art, commerce, and celebrity that provided a common cultural point of reference for Western Europe and America, she also challenges us to rethink the early Cold War years. Did these cooperative relationships extend into other artistic forms? Music would seem a logical area for a Franco-American connection since, by the 1960s, Johnny Halliday was considered the French Elvis.

In bringing cooperation to the fore, Schwartz nearly erases the very real cultural struggles that did exist between France and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. She amply proves the transatlantic film connections, but in other ways France still felt its power in the world slipping away. She argues that only France had the cultural capital to create a cosmopolitan film culture. But her argument also shows just how much a rising Hollywood and a declining France needed one another. France was no longer strong enough to be the center of the world's artistic culture all on its own.

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ASIA

MIRANDA BROWN. *The Politics of Mourning in Early China*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 205. \$75.00.

Miranda Brown's name is familiar to many undergraduates in Chinese history classes: she is coauthor of the textbook *A Brief History of Chinese Civilization* (2005). In contrast to her textbook, this volume is likely to appear forbiddingly narrow to the general reader. But the topic is far from narrow. In China, mourning was considered the ultimate expression of filial piety, itself the society's cardinal virtue. And the Han dynasty, which is the centerpiece of this study, was the period when filial

piety came to occupy a central position in the discourse of statecraft. This book thus examines a central theme in Chinese government and society and does so for an important and formative time period.

Brown begins with Max Weber's assertion that statecraft in China was predicated on the primacy of the father-son relationship, which served as the analogy on which bureaucratic service was structured. One learned to be a good official by being a filial son, turning devotion for his father into loyalty to his lord—a construction of political life that Brown refers to as the lord-father analogy. The book is organized around the question of whether there were alternative discourses for constructing political life. The author begins with the Western Han (206 B.C.E.-9 C.E.), when the court professed devotion to the filial ideal. Despite this lip service, there is little evidence that male members of the political elite actually carried out three-year mourning, a series of rigorous protocols that many classical texts considered the hallmark of proper mourning. Brown identifies an alternative discursive thread, one that emphasized that filial devotion was best expressed not by observance of three-year mourning but by exemplary public service. The good son, in this view, expressed his devotion to his father by transcending his personal feelings and serving the public good.

A different view of mourning prevailed in the Eastern Han (25–220 C.E.), when the record is filled with evidence of careful observance of the mourning protocol. Here too the author's focus is on discourse; she persuasively argues that Eastern Han people reinterpreted mourning, stressing family obligation over public service. Brown discovers a surprising aspect of mourning in the Eastern Han: the enormous attention given to the mother-son bond. Accounts of mourning in this period include lavish descriptions of sons' despair over their deceased mothers. Brown links this shift in discourse to Western Han clichés about mothers versus fathers—the latter being objects of dutiful service and the former being objects of emotional attachment. By the Eastern Han, the expression of tender emotions toward the mother came to offer a real alternative to the patriarchal ethic embodied in the lord-father analogy and opened a way to express ambivalence about public service. In the final chapters, the author departs from examining familial relations to examine friendship and reclusion. In the case of the former, she argues that while relationships between elites were indeed sometimes described using hierarchical and paternalistic language, they could also be described using a language of equality. In discussing the important topic of reclusion in the Han, Brown effectively demonstrates a third rhetorical path between the options of service and withdrawal: service to the local populace which was distinguished from service to the ruler.

While it uses a variety of sources, the backbone of the book is surely inscriptions, primarily from the Eastern Han. These are difficult sources, and Brown deserves immense credit for her careful use of them. But the book should have included a fuller discussion of their

genre and audience, without which it is difficult to weigh their importance against other sources. Moreover, the data is sometimes thin. In examining the number of men who observed three-year mourning in the Western Han, the book considers a pool of just eighteen cases, and of these the mourning practices of eight are not clearly discernible. Brown is open about the limitations of her sources, a problem she deals with by methodically questioning her hypotheses. In so doing, she is able to cast doubt on the logic of other historians who have studied the period, effectively disproving, for example, Yang Shuda's suggestion that imperial policy shaped new mourning practices in the Eastern Han. As she notes, imperial policy on mourning was itself inconsistent. At several points the logical inquiry might have been carried further. For example, if rhetoric about mourning changed so markedly in the Eastern Han, when writers emphasized the importance of three-year mourning, why were there no Eastern Han writers criticizing the practices of their Western Han forebears?

This is first and foremost a book about the discourse of mourning, and one finds oneself anxious for the more systematic discussion of politics implied in the title. For example, Brown uses Prime Minister Zhai Fangjin to epitomize the Western Han view that a son served his father best through his own impartial public service. But Zhai's multifaceted political career receives scant attention, and the reader is left searching for a fuller picture of the political choices that underlay discursive strategies. These defects aside, the work is a valuable addition to the literature on the important subject of filial piety in China.

NORMAN KUTCHER
Syracuse University

JONATHAN D. SPENCE. *Return to Dragon Mountain: Memories of a Late Ming Man*. New York: Viking. 2007. Pp. xiii, 332. \$24.95.

Zhang Dai (1597-ca. 1680) was an esthete, connoisseur, essayist, historian, lavish party-giver, dramatist and drama director, zither player, collector and displayer of lanterns, cock-fighting enthusiast, boatman, huntsman, tourist, admirer of actresses and courtesans, and much else. His lineage, the Zhang of Shaoxing prefecture in southeast China, numbered several earlier winners of the jinshi degree who became Ming officials. As did many other rich rural lineages during the sixteenth century, the Zhang moved from the countryside into the city (of Shaoxing, in the case of the Zhang) where, as absentee landlords, they enjoyed a lifestyle of what to us appears to be astounding affluence. Zhang Dai wrote about all this in later and poorer times with little embarrassment or regret. Indeed, he forcefully stated that a flawed piece of jade is better than a perfect piece of common stone. And he, together with some half dozen of his male relatives, lived up to the idea that all that mattered in life was to pursue one's heart's desires with every ounce of one's passions and energy. Then came the Ming collapse.

The great turning point in Zhang Dai's life came with the Qing conquest of the mid-seventeenth century, when the writer and bon vivant was in his forties. Up until then, he had failed the Ming civil service exams on many occasions, and, angry with the whole system, especially the grading procedures, he spent much of his time pursuing his own extravagant interests. Aside from a brief stint in the service of one of the fugitive Ming princes, Zhang Dai never held an official position. He declined to serve or even recognize the Qing and went into poverty and seclusion for the rest of his long life at Dragon Mountain, really a hill in Shaoxing, near which the Zhang had earlier owned extensive properties. There he devoted himself to writing about history, as well as family and personal matters. His historical works are an important source for Ming studies to this day. His biographies of several of his senior relatives effectively tie their official careers into the larger picture of late Ming times. But Zhang Dai's many personal recollections are of a different order: a huge jumble of brief but precisely drawn scenes and episodes from his younger years, just as he recalled them, in no particular order. He saw no grand narrative, no saga, no long story to tell about his own life.

Jonathan D. Spence's book is mainly a literary study of Zhang Dai. The culture, society, and politics of the seventeenth century placed heavy contours on Zhang Dai, but his own impact was quite modest. Thanks to Spence's research, translations, and elegant presentation, we can now catch vivid glimpses of the long vanished world of the late Ming upper class that Zhang's fine-ground lenses provide.

JOHN W. DARDESS
University of Kansas

SUSAN MANN. *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book in Asian Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 322. \$21.95.

In her new book, Susan Mann builds on her long engagement with educated women in Qing-period China. Her earlier, prize-winning *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (1997) dealt with subjects ranging from the ways the state shaped gender ideologies to women's work and religious piety. Women's writings were treated as precious, since they provided direct access to their authors' thoughts and feelings, but much of the material in the book came from works written by men. In her new study, Mann narrows her focus to a single family, in which women poets appeared for three generations in a row, and draws a large share of her material from their writings. The first of the talented women was Tang Yaoqing (1763-1831), who married into the Zhang family of Changzhou, in the center of China's prosperous Jiangnan region. Yaoqing had four daughters—Zhang Qieying, Guanying, Lunying, and Wanying—all of whom became proficient poets and three of whom remained at home after marrying, living as a joint family with their one surviving

brother, who in time arranged the publication of their poetry. These uxori locally married daughters also had daughters who were given literary educations, the most notable of whom was Wang Caipin (1826–1893).

The family on whom Mann has chosen to concentrate definitely belonged to the educated elite but was neither rich nor famous. Only one of the men married to these six women attained the highest civil service degree, the jinshi. Several spent decades away from home, trying to maintain the family's literati status by studying for the examinations and taking on jobs as tutors or assistants to local officials. Even the women writers that this family produced were not especially prominent. None of them is included in the two recent, 800-plus-page anthologies of works by Chinese women writers (Kang-i Sun Chang and Huan Saussy's *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism* [1999], and Wilt L. Idema and Beata Grant's *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* [2004]).

The book Mann has written about this fascinating family is not a conventional one. In the prologue, she explains that she adopted the Chinese tradition of the *waishi*, outré histories that freely mix in material from gossip, unauthenticated sources, and imagination to make the story more lively. She writes each chapter from the point of view of one of the women and invents scenes where events occurred, ideas that passed through the characters' minds, and letters that they wrote or received. Her educated guesses make the narrative more vivid and surely will be appreciated by most general readers. Mann's method should be distinguished from that of the historical novelist, however. Novelists would probably have invented much more about the interaction of the talented women with their maids, their children, their husbands, and their husbands' concubines and shown them occasionally unpleasant, angry, or self-centered. Mann, by contrast, uses the license of the *waishi* form mostly to substantiate the virtues attributed to the literate women who form the center of this book and for whom she clearly feels affection.

Historians reading Mann's book will wonder at times whether particular statements in the book are based on documentary evidence or have been imagined. For instance, Mann says that the man who married Zhang Wanying "bragged shamelessly to his friends about his eldest daughter's brilliance," that the brother of the four sisters wrote long letters in reply to his young nieces' poems and art work, and that sales of Lunying's calligraphy "paid for all of the family's food and clothing" (p. 131). Since none of this is footnoted, it is unclear which of these assertions is based on direct evidence, which on reasonable inference, and which on imagination. Historians will also have questions about biases in the sources. Did the absent men in fact return home more often for the women's fortieth and fiftieth birthday parties than for funerals, or does it just seem that way because birthday parties were a poetic topic and funerals were not?

Perhaps in part to address concerns of this sort, Mann ends each chapter with a section labeled "the his-

torian says," again borrowing from Chinese historiographical practice. When she is writing in the voice of the contemporary historian, Mann provides nuanced analyses of issues raised by the story of the Zhang family. The substantial epilogue (pp. 165–200) is written in this voice and addresses not only central topics, such as the ways literate women were assets to their families, but also interesting sidelights, such as the brother's sequel to the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the greater mortality of the men in this family (which she links to the fact that their peripatetic lives exposed them to more infectious diseases), and possible reasons why the sisters hardly mentioned the woman who joined the family as a "faithful maiden" (after the death of their brother, to whom she was engaged). She thus provides historians much to think about.

PATRICIA EBREY

University of Washington

WEN-HSIN YEH. *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843–1949*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book in Asian Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 305. \$39.95.

This book is a product of Wen-hsin Yeh's longtime study of the history of modern Shanghai, particularly the lives of the city's middle class during the Republican period. Its seven chapters are loosely arranged in chronological order, and within this structure a number of chapters are organized by theme or subject: chapter four is on the Bank of China, chapter five on the journal *Shenghuo zhouban*, chapter six on the journal *Dushu Shenghuo*, and chapter seven on the Wing On Department Store and wartime Shanghai. Most of the theme-oriented chapters are based on Yeh's previously published work.

Although the subtitle of the book indicates that it will cover the entire period of what is usually called "modern Shanghai," that is, from the opening of the city as a treaty port in 1843 to the Communist takeover in 1949, the book actually is about Shanghai during the three decades from the 1920s to the 1940s, with passing references (mainly in chapter one) to the nineteenth century and first two decades of the twentieth century. Yeh apparently is most interested in relating Republican Shanghai to the post-1949 era and, wherever possible, to current developments. For instance, Yeh argues that life in the self-contained residential compounds of the Bank of China, a topic discussed in great detail in chapter four, bore a striking resemblance to life in the *danwei* (work unit) system in the People's Republic of China (PRC) (p. 98). Readers are told that the regulation of trade and commerce launched in the early twentieth century set in motion the process that led to the central planning system in the PRC, and that state control of certain economic affairs central to the development of a modern economy "straddled the regime shift in 1949" (p. 50). Shanghai's post-Mao boom is celebrated, as the title of the epilogue puts it, by "the

return of the banker"; hence, "parts of the city were able to acquire an origin and reclaim a genealogy" (p. 215).

The book recounts numerous tales of daily life, including some intriguing anecdotes and autobiographic sketches, thus putting a human face on the history of the city. It uses materials, such as letters to the editor of popular journals, journal columns that feature dialogues on given social topics, visual commercial advertisements on Nanjing Road, and job application letters kept in the archive of the Wing On company, to illustrate the "social-cultural dynamics that fashioned the people and their politics in the city" (p. 8). For instance, a sketch of the life of Gu Zhun, a young trainee in a vocational school who later became a leader of the Communist takeover team in 1949, is offered as a case in point how "the petty urbanites of Shanghai had found their new place and allegiance within the CCP [Chinese Communist Party]" by the end of the Republican period (p. 204). On the one hand, readers may be struck by a certain irony that the tales told in a book titled *Shanghai Splendor* in fact reveal that the lives of the petty urbanites were far from splendid and glamorous, but instead were full of anxiety, despair, and, sometimes, desperation. On the other hand, many of the "vocational youth" who formed the bulk of the audience of the journals that the author analyzes had opportunities—both in terms of materially improving their lives and in terms of cultivating their minds—that only modern and progressive cities like Shanghai could offer.

Overall the book is light on theory but often insightful. A central concern to anyone doing serious scholarly work on modern Shanghai is the issue of modernity. Yeh points out that the lure of modernity "was not only about a good life in the material sense, but also about a just one in ethical terms" (p. 101); in other words, it was about "how far did the material turn succeed in reorganizing ethnical [sic] norms in social practice in Shanghai in the first half of the Twentieth century?" (pp. 77–78). Likewise, Yeh indicates that the "Nanjing Road Phenomenon," a term coined by a Shanghai scholar some years ago but one that has not been commonly used, "was not just about the promotion of goods, but also about the production and consumption of images—a collage of images that was more than the aggregate total of the shops and stores" (p. 63). Such images could in turn form a "visual politics" that helped promote national goods in times of popular protest against foreign intrusions. Thus modernity and nationalism were ultimately inseparable; in Yeh's words, "Not only was it possible to be simultaneously 'modern' and 'Chinese,' it was virtually imperative for a patriotic Chinese to be modern" (p. 101).

This book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on modern Shanghai. Its thought-provoking arguments and accessible style make for stimulating reading both for those who have some knowledge of the history of modern Shanghai and for those who are new to the subject.

HANCHAO LU
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RICHARD J. SMETHURST. *From Foot Soldier to Finance Minister: Takahashi Korekiyo, Japan's Keynes*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 292.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. xiv, 377. \$45.00.

What an extraordinary man! Takahashi Korekiyo utterly confounds the stereotype of the cautious Japanese man with a predictable society and career. Born at the end of the feudal era, Takahashi began life at the bottom rung of the samurai-class hierarchy, had almost no formal education, lost several jobs because of his propensity to criticize his bosses to their faces, engaged in shady business deals that lost him the support of many former friends and patrons, and eventually became Japan's most swashbuckling finance minister and prime minister. His unusual life reminds us how fluid Japanese society was in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and the extent to which everyone was improvising a new society into existence.

Takahashi was born in 1854 as the illegitimate son of a low-ranking samurai retainer to the Tokugawa family, whose hereditary duties centered on landscape painting. At the age of ten, after the Tokugawa Shogun had signed a commercial treaty with the Western powers, he was sent to Yokohama to learn English and work as a houseboy for a British merchant. Three years later, in 1867, the Shogunal government sent Takahashi and four other young samurai to California to study. After they arrived, the parents of the Yokohama merchant who had arranged the journey sold Takahashi and another young boy into indentured servitude, reminding us how bold these Japanese truly were and the hostility of the environment they faced. As Richard J. Smethurst argues, by the time Takahashi returned to Japan two years later, he was decisive, self-confident, pragmatic, and fluent in English.

Still a teenager, Takahashi returned to a Japan that was changing incredibly fast. He was quickly pressed into service as an interpreter and translator by the new Meiji government's top leaders, contacts that would smooth his way many times over the next decades. He developed a reputation for both thinking innovatively and accomplishing complex tasks, leading in 1881 to an assignment in the new Agriculture and Commerce Ministry. The absence of patent and trademark laws was one justification used by the Western powers to refuse to renegotiate unequal treaties with Japan. Takahashi was assigned the task of creating them, marking a new level of responsibility for him within the Meiji government.

Takahashi worked out his economic philosophy over the next two decades, and Smethurst takes pains to establish the sophistication and coherence of Takahashi's ideas. Like John Maynard Keynes, to whom Takahashi is often compared, the Japanese economist thought the government should stimulate economic growth and establish monetary policies that encouraged exports at a time when most economists around the world put their faith in controlling the money supply instead. Interest-

ingly, Takahashi championed decentralized infrastructural development, particularly of traditional industries and rural areas, rather than centralized urban industrialization. He focused on raising standards of living throughout Japan and not just the size of the national economy, another unusual stance that he shared with Keynes. By 1893, when Takahashi became a member of the new Bank of Japan, he had also become wary of military spending that drained resources from the civilian population. While he supported Japan's imperialist ambitions, he understood the costs involved and thought Japan should only pursue territory when it contributed to economic growth.

Nonetheless, Takahashi's career was much enhanced by his efforts on behalf of Japan's war against Russia in 1904–1905. Unlike earlier enemies, Russia was a major military power, and Japan could not hope to vanquish it without Anglo-American financial and technological support. Takahashi sailed to London in early 1904 and secured that backing. His experience negotiating these loans heightened his beliefs that Japan had to cultivate its alliances with Great Britain and the United States and that uncontrolled military spending could endanger Japan's access to the global capital market. By the early 1920s, as prime minister, he was advocating civilian control of the military, universal manhood suffrage, greater power for local governments, and rights for industrial workers in order to diffuse economic benefits throughout society. He also pushed for foreign policies that included withdrawing the army from Siberia and ending "acting like a stepmother toward China" (p. 227).

Takahashi became acting prime minister again in 1932 after naval officers assassinated his predecessor. He achieved his greatest fame by stimulating the economy through deficit spending, a strategy only later advocated publicly by Keynes. His unorthodox policies successfully shielded Japan from the Great Depression. Smethurst develops these themes with skill and also builds a careful case to show that Takahashi would not have allowed the inflation that occurred after his death in 1936.

Smethurst reserves an entire chapter to rebut the charge that Takahashi's policies allowed the military to grow powerful enough to initiate World War II. In his words, even when Takahashi "increased allocations to the army and navy, [he] consistently offered them less than they demanded, and continually fought the military ministers and their minions" (p. 270). Such a stance required considerable bravery; indeed, Takahashi was assassinated by angry army officers on February 26, 1936. That event really was the end of an era.

LAURA HEIN
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OLGA DROR. *Cult, Culture, and Authority: Princess Liễu Hạnh in Vietnamese History*. (Southeast Asia: Politics, Meaning, and Memory.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 260. \$52.00.

This book is a compelling study of the complex history of one of Vietnam's most renowned spirits, Liễu Hạnh, commonly known to the Vietnamese as either Princess Liễu Hạnh (Bà Chúa Liễu Hạnh) or Mother Liễu (Mẫu Liễu). Uncertainty exists regarding Liễu Hạnh's exact origins, but since her cult emerged in Nam Định province of northern Vietnam during the sixteenth century, it has developed into one of the most popular in Vietnam, and she herself is regarded as one of the most responsive spirits in the contemporary popular religious pantheon. Nevertheless, while this historical depth demonstrates a certain level of continuity in the cult's ritual form over time, it also conceals significant changes that have occurred in the attitudes toward the cult and the ideas associated with it. As Olga Dror persuasively argues, over the centuries official attitudes toward the cult have varied, and narratives about Liễu Hạnh and her cult have proven to be potent vehicles for the public articulation of a variety of philosophical, moral, and political ideas by Vietnamese intellectuals and the state.

The study begins with an examination of the production of texts related to deities, particularly biographies, from the fifteenth century onward. During this period, official interest in the writing of spirit biographies grew, which, as the author clearly shows, was often colored by political motivations as spirit biographies became important channels for the articulation of officially approved ideas. This interest was an early example of the type of official engagement with popular religion that has loomed so large in the cult's history. Once the cult had achieved popularity, notably through the activities of women, officials sought to integrate it into the realm of officially sanctioned cultic practices. This combination of official acceptance and mass popularity was critical in transforming the cult of Liễu Hạnh into a legitimate and compelling medium through which elite authors could express their ideas publicly.

In the book's most compelling section, Dror analyzes a series of biographical narratives about Liễu Hạnh produced by different members of the Vietnamese elite. Beginning with the seminal biography written by the female author Đoàn Thị Điểm in the first half of the eighteenth century, which set the boundaries for later narratives, Dror examines five accounts written over a two-hundred-year period. By carefully analyzing the authors' backgrounds and the sociopolitical context in which they wrote, and by conducting a close textual examination of which elements were highlighted or elided in their retelling of Liễu Hạnh's biography, Dror demonstrates in fascinating detail the multiple messages that have been communicated through the use of Liễu Hạnh's biography. The texts examined include Đoàn Thị Điểm's subtle criticism of the male domination of Vietnamese society; the Buddhist School of Inner Religion's narrative, which openly asserted its domination over Liễu Hạnh's cult; Thanh Hòa Tử's text, which highlighted the Daoist elements in her cult while simultaneously maintaining Vietnam's strength in response to foreign threats; Nguyễn Công Trứ's emphasis on

Liễu Hạnh as a sublime being; and Kiều Oánh Mậu's portrayal of her as a representation of authentic Vietnam in the face of the changes brought on by French colonialism.

The study concludes with an examination of the fate of Liễu Hạnh's cult in the socialist and postsocialist periods. Again her cult attracted official attention, which began with the state's initial rejection and stigmatization of the cult as superstitious in the August Revolution's early years. However, with the relaxation of controls over cultural and religious life in recent decades, the state has sought to reappropriate Liễu Hạnh's cult as a symbol of authentic Vietnamese tradition. In this more open environment, the cult has again blossomed, and the author successfully captures the important interactions among worshippers, intellectuals, and state officials that influenced the nature and direction of this reinvigoration.

Dror's work is a model of careful scholarship, sound reasoning, and clear exposition. Particularly compelling is its ability to link broader issues in Vietnamese society to the types of texts that authors produced. Despite these many strengths, two questions are raised by this book. First, Dror comments that, "In socialist Vietnam the party and state set in motion a relentless struggle against popular religion as a 'superstitious vestige of feudalism' responsible for clogging people's minds with superstitions instead of providing them with education" (p. 165). Certain elements of popular religion certainly fit this description, but other aspects of popular religion, such as the socialist state's embrace of the Lunar New Year festival (Tết Nguyên Đán), or some aspects of the cults of Trần Hưng Đạo or other "national heroes," demonstrate a more selective approach by the state. Second, Dror comments that, in pre-nineteenth-century villages, "a relatively large portion of the population acquired some knowledge of characters and literary modes" (p. 120). This is not unconvincing, but greater clarification on the numbers of literate and illiterate would have added an interesting dimension to the question of the social consumption of some of the later narratives. Still, these are minor points. The volume sets a new standard for the historical studies of popular religious cults in Vietnam that will be valuable not only to Vietnam scholars but to anyone interested in popular religion and the politics of religion.

SHAUN KINGSLEY MALARNEY
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PENNY EDWARDS. *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945*. (Southeast Asia: Politics, Meaning, and Memory.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 349. \$62.00.

This book is an important contribution to the study of cultural nationalism generally and a superb study of its formation in Cambodia. Throughout her text Penny Edwards uses *Cambodge*, the French spelling, "to denote the political life span and geographical name of the protectorate, and the conceptual rubric of nation

structured within this temporal and territorial frame" (p. 18). One can see immediately that Edwards is a historian who is not only concerned with "the facts"—although she is a master of the available sources—but also deeply interested in theoretical problems of history.

Thus the book begins with reflections on Saloth Sar (better known as Pol Pot) and his ultranationalist Khmer Rouge regime that ruled Cambodia by terror for four years (1975–1979). Edwards is intrigued by his ideological "blend of Angkorean antiquity and revolutionary modernity" (p. 2), and she asks where it came from. Her answer is from the French, whose colonization of the country produced the major contours of modern Khmer nationalism. For modern Khmer nationalists, the colonial period has been a kind of "non-history" (p. 8). But the perceptions of the French were the opposite, as they felt that they had saved Khmer culture from extinction and restored the nation. Neither story is accurate, and one of the most rewarding aspects of Edwards's book is that it shows the collaboration between French and Khmer in the creation of modern "Khmerness."

The Angkor temple complex, known regionally as Nakorn Wat, emerges as not only the central icon of modern Khmer nationalism, but, interestingly, also as the central icon of French colonialism in Indochina (to the chagrin of the Vietnamese). Angkor was, as Edwards points out, France's compensation for the "loss" of India to the British, and French Indologists were crucial to the re-Hinduizing of the complex. Not surprisingly, Angkor also became the main icon for tourism to Indochine. In the early days, the complex revealed the gulf between European and Khmer understandings of ruins. For the latter, the temples, however dilapidated, were a source of religious power, and, far from the complex being "discovered" by French explorers, it had remained a place of devotion and pilgrimage. For Europeans, Angkor was a site for the restoration of the Khmer nation. Some Khmers finally grasped what the Europeans were talking about.

Edwards traces the intellectual traffic between the Khmer, who became crucial to the functioning of the colonial state, and the "Khmerofiliac" French with their Orientalist fantasies. Colonialism provided opportunities for social mobility to Khmer who were not attached to the traditional patronage structures of the court. The author traces in detail the careers of two figures, Son Diep and Thioun Sambath, who became deeply involved in the preservation of "national" culture through "their position as gateways between colonial and Khmer vocabularies and political authorities" (p. 67). More generally, Edwards writes, "a person seeking success in this system had to accept an understanding of himself and his own culture as the other, and thus the system cultivated a self-conscious appreciation of indigenous difference" (p. 73).

The colonial project produced a standardized view of Khmer culture, and this standardization was repeated in its encounter with Theravada Buddhism and its myr-

iad local mutations and spiritual accommodations. Bangkok was a center of Buddhist learning and, consequently, the creation there of a “modernized” Buddhism by the future King Mongkhut (Rama IV) in the form of the Thammayut sect had an impact on Cambodian Buddhist monks. As appealing as this purified form of Buddhism was to Orientalist scholars, it contradicted the French desire to break Siamese influence in Cambodia, and thus they supported a reformist group of monks within the dominant Mahanikay who were attracted to the idea of having a “national religion.” Here we are once again introduced to two key protagonists, the monks Chuon Nath and Huot That. They would later team up with the Sanskrit scholar and first woman appointed to the *École Française d’Extrême-Orient*, Suzanne Karpeles, who “engineered and oversaw an institutional framework for the documentation and codification of a specifically ‘Khmer’ Buddhist tradition that helped to secure the ascendance of the reformist faction in the sangha” (p. 188). There was a sense of urgency to this project in the 1930s, as many Khmer became attracted to the decidedly unregulated Cao Dai movement, with its syncretistic pantheon, just over the border in southern Vietnam. Strangely, Edwards does not refer to the key works on this movement, such as those produced by Jayne S. Werner.

By the mid-1930s, Edwards argues, a reified “Khmer-ness” had formed across the spectrum. Clubs and societies of various kinds began to build a sense of civil society beyond the local community, which intensified under the Vichy regime of the World War II years, with its promotion of boy scouts and its essentialist ideas of nation and culture. Key figures of modern Khmer nationalism were formed at this time, such as Song Ngoc Thanh (one of a number of Khmer from Cochinchina—possibly the precursors of long-distance nationalists) and several future leaders of the Khmer Rouge. In the 1950s, Cambodia disappeared, but the nationalism it nurtured did not.

The Khmer monarchy is out of focus in this otherwise stimulating study. Certainly its powers had been severely curtailed by the French, but it still packed a powerful cultural punch as can be seen, for example, in King Sisowath’s ability to arbitrate doctrinal disputes in the sangha (p. 116). Is this some kind of overcorrection vis-à-vis royalist histories? Also, to get a clearer picture of the specificity of the nationalism promoted by the French, one feels a need for further contextualization of Khmer nationalism within the general historical formation of nationalism. One cannot help wondering whether Khmer nationalism would have been all that different without the French.

GRANT EVANS

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AMITY A. DOOLITTLE. *Property and Politics in Sabah, Malaysia: Native Struggles over Land Rights*. (Culture, Place, and Nature.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2005. Pp. x, 224. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.50.

In this book, Amity A. Doolittle provides a helpful illustration of some familiar themes surrounding property rights, discourse, and unequal power relations in Sabah, Malaysia, over the period from 1881 to 1996. She uses a multidisciplinary approach that straddles perspectives from anthropology, political science, environmental history, and political ecology.

The subject matter is resource ownership and utilization in Sabah and the related issues of native land rights and state policies, all of which have a much wider significance for indigenous peoples marginalized by capitalist expansion and resource expropriation. In the introductory chapter Doolittle presents a brief summary of the historical and analytical framework, while in chapters one and two she addresses the connections among the British North Borneo Chartered Company administration, resource management, and environmental degradation. In the third and fourth chapters, she examines the “politics” of development during the Chartered Company, colonial, and national periods. The author has three main concerns: the role of government, the politics of “colonial” ideologies, and land use and local struggles for land rights. She also illustrates the relationship among the three themes when she argues that the battle for the forests and forest resources was more about controlling resources and people than improving the lives of the inhabitants (p. 121).

Doolittle offers important comparative insights for other parts of Asia and Africa, citing the works of other scholars in establishing and explaining these connections. It is thus perplexing that she has largely ignored work on an analogous theme in the neighboring state of Sarawak. Is it because she considers Sarawak under the Brooke administration “less” colonial than Sabah under Chartered Company rule? There is also a lack of nuanced discussion on the differences between the Borneo states and peninsular Malaysia in terms of state power and property relations under the three different administrations prior to 1963. Much of the discussion on “globalization” in the book relies too much on well-worn generalizations (for example, “economic globalisation, the latest version of European colonialism is . . . affecting natural resource use worldwide in ways that are similar to the localised effects in North Borneo” [p. 160]). The oversimplification of colonial rule in Sabah up to 1963 and the use of terms such as “Malaysian” and “Dusun” with regard to languages (p. xi) are also puzzling.

Furthermore, while the characterization of the different time periods is strong, the causal explanations are somewhat less convincing, because the author fails to recognize the continuing dominance of staples such as timber and petroleum/gas in the economy, as well as the lack of emphasis on industrialization in Sabah (and Sarawak) compared to peninsular Malaysia, largely due to labor shortages, poor transport and communications systems, and low foreign investment levels. Currently, most of the investment is in oil palm cultivation, with clear connections to environmental degradation and resource depletion. The overall impression is somewhat

marred by the failure to accentuate the key issues of social and environmental justice concerns surrounding the marginalization of the indigenous people under the administration of the late Tun Mustapha and the Sabah Foundation, which have increased the vulnerabilities of the indigenous groups. Indigenous peoples were, and are, fighting not only for their property rights but also for their political and survival rights in the face of the large-scale entry of Filipino Muslims (under Mustapha) and Indonesians (under Mahathir bin Mohamad's Project M).

Despite the minor shortcomings outlined above, I regard the book as an excellent discourse on aspects of land rights and of immense value for its comparative perspective and lengthy time horizon, which makes it indispensable for anyone researching property issues, unequal power relations, and the interests of indigenous peoples.

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NANDITA PRASAD SAHAI. *Politics of Patronage and Protest: The State, Society, and Artisans in Early Modern Rajasthan*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 276. \$35.00.

Nandita Prasad Sahai's book explores the integration of the early modern Marwar state, Rathor of Jodhpur, during the last half of the eighteenth century. Her particular interest is the relationship between the state and ordinary members of occupational castes, Marwar's thirty-six *pavan jat*, including such important craftsmen as weavers, smiths and carpenters, dyers and printers, tailors and potters, tanners, and those employed in the many other low-ranking service communities, whom she declares the true subalterns of the state. During the first of these fifty years, approximately from 1750 to 1800, the Rathor state expanded and attempted to consolidate its rule. It was a state working to establish its legitimacy, quick to pay for services rendered. At the end of the period, in the face of Maratha predation and demands for tribute, Rathor struggled with insolvency, pressed its subjects to pay a growing range of new taxes, and failed to compensate its service providers. Ordinary artisans increasingly used the judicial system to petition against and maneuvered to avoid and resist what they considered unjust taxes and labor (*begar*) impositions.

The book's main argument, within which many smaller arguments are nested, is a conception of the early modern state as constrained by a broadly held notion of appropriate governance (*wajabi*). Governance is a highly dynamic, negotiated process of argument and counterargument in which craftsmen too play lively, self-motivated roles. This is a view of the state and of poor subalterns contrary to interpretations that see artisans as powerless, largely silent subjects of the state, ruled from above and forced to live out their meager lives without recourse. Countering this view, Sahai finds Rathor to be a form of a dialogic, contested state, an

interpretation very much like that described by Eugene F. Irschick in *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (1994), a book with which Sahai's findings closely resonate, although she does not cite it. The conduit or vehicle of this dialogue are the petitions (*arzees*), royal orders (*sanad*), and letters of authorization to officials (*parwana*) that the author found in the state archives, including numerous petitions to the state written on behalf of members of the *pavan jat*. Sahai argues that the petitions during this period, while they were written in a highly deferential formal style that obscures the actual "voices" of the petitioners, nonetheless reveal spirited appeals and requests arguing the petitioners' self-interests.

But why this interest in the relationship between craftsmen and the Rathor state? Sahai notes that interpretations of early modern Indian states largely depict them from the perspective of the state elite, mostly from the top down. A few historians (she cites C. A. Bayly) penetrate more deeply into society and have noted that states could not have functioned without the cooperation and collaboration of their subject populations, such as merchants. But she wonders about the poorest sectors of society. What was their relationship with the state? Were they oppressed and powerless? The petitions reveal artisans as active agents of their interests, who were not shy to stir the ire of the state when need be. What interests Sahai is that the state provided a judicial process under the umbrella of *wajabi* that enabled craftsmen to argue their interests even when those interests were against the state.

Craftsmen, then, may have been poor and abused by their superiors in the local hierarchy, but they were far from helpless within this state structure. Nor were they limited to James C. Scott's "weapons of the weak," although they clearly used these as well. Artisans, Sahai observes, would simply leave situations where they were too oppressed, and they would do so collectively, en masse, when necessary. Caste strikes were also a method used to coerce the state. But the state also incorporated artisans into its governance structure, relying on local caste councils to administer the internal affairs of their members. In short, artisan castes had a place in the state structure. There were, then, avenues open to craftsmen, which were used to engage in contested dialogue with the state and allowed craftsmen to develop notions of appropriateness (*wajabi*) that simultaneously enabled them to resist the state and to use the justice system to gain redress and to represent their interests.

This is a densely written book that includes many unglossed foreign terms, making it difficult to follow some of the details. Although compellingly argued, the book treats artisans as a single category, which they are not, of course. For this reviewer, what is striking is how closely the contested Rathor state resembles Madras in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Perhaps this time period in Madras reveals more about the early modern state in India than has been

recognized. Sahai's book certainly raises the question in this reader's mind.

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ROSIE LLEWELLYN-JONES. *The Great Uprising in India, 1857–58: Untold Stories, Indian and British*. (Worlds of the East India Company, number 2.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2007. Pp. xviii, 237. \$55.00.

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones describes this intervention in the debates over the Indian uprising of 1857 as a contribution toward an "alternative history" (p. xv), one that sees those events in terms of individuals caught up in conflicting motives and unintended consequences. This approach would seem to follow the current consensus across a range of schools of thought that 1857 was less the singular narrative of rebellion or mutiny claimed by imperialist and nationalist historians than a series of often competing uprisings driven by local as well as cross-regional affiliations, circumstances, and goals. The anecdotal style of Llewellyn-Jones's narrative, while characteristic of her previous publications, becomes in this way positioned as reflective of the need to reject totalizing explanations. At the same time, the unevenness of that style, its abrupt shifts between the macro- and micro-levels, reflects the uneasy location of her book somewhere between its academic impetus and the more mainstream histories which it liberally draws on and which are predicated on finding just such easily apprehensible narrative lines.

The division of the book into six largely unconnected chapters, each designed to illuminate particular "neglected areas" in 1857 studies (p. xiv), might also be taken to flow from the problem of situating a more panoramic vision. Nevertheless, the first chapter on "Rebels and Renegades" is largely familiar in its format of engagingly illustrated generalizations about rebel constituencies and motivations drawn mostly from well-worn contemporary sources. Chapter two on the "Kotah Residency Murders" goes further toward the kind of recuperation of individual actions that the preface promises and which has become a key element in the historiography of 1857 in the last three decades. Although subaltern involvement remains peripheral and reactive, very much the product of what Ranajit Guha has called "the prose of counter-insurgency," Llewellyn-Jones's fluent reconstruction here of the concealed considerations and ambiguous signals of British and Indian protagonists offers a compelling account of the genesis of elite decision making at a localized level. This kind of fine focus is then dissipated in chapter three where, despite a return to her own area of expertise in Lucknow, she excavates little that is new from the familiar script of the Residency barricades, rebel divisions, and beleaguered relief columns. The rather inconclusive detailing of Indian defensive fortifications around the city that apparently provides the rationale for the chapter is matched by the catalogue of British

graves and "Mutiny" memorials that forms chapter six, as minute in its physical particulars as it is reticent on its broader historiographical significance. In contrast, chapters four and five consist of some intriguing elaborations on the exorbitant processes of British retribution, bringing Foreign and Home Department archives to bear on the often improvised punitive exactions, physical and financial, visited on Indian society in 1857–1858. The connection sketched here, for instance, between the earlier Thuggee campaigns and the commission for the detection and apprehension of mutineers in the Northwest Provinces, on the one hand, and the renewed attention to the lawless predations of the British Prize Agents, on the other, would bear further investigation in terms of the institutional redefinition of the colonial state.

The uneasy dual location of this book, negotiating an unstable line between older popular histories of the uprising and the more recent insights of academic studies, becomes most immediately apparent in the introductory chapter. Here the main contending arguments in the historiographical debate are usefully emphasized as both partial and relevant, but, despite this refusal of overarching theories of rebellion, certain familiar totalizing tropes make their appearance. Llewellyn-Jones characterizes the uprisings as regressive and "feudal" in nature, unwilling to face up to "mid-nineteenth-century colonialism in the industrial age" (p. 4). Yet this perception of "an inbuilt resistance to change" (p. 6) in the rebels is belied by the fluidity of allegiances and interests that they manifested throughout 1857–1858 and that made the situation so difficult for British officials to interpret. As the historian Thomas Metcalf and others have noted, the concept of the irremediably feudal nature of Indian society was in part a retrospective and self-reflexive discursive response by the British in India in the wake of the events of 1857–1858, an attempt at consolidating a vision of indigenous sociopolitical formations that had shown themselves as anything other than fixed. The access here to such contemporary forms of perception resonates in Llewellyn-Jones's descriptions of Indian society in terms of its readability, each individual precisely mappable according to "the colour of their skin, their facial features, their name, their language, their occupation and their dress and headgear" (p. 25). This is the static museological mode of later colonial governance, designed to construct as much as describe its object, and it signals the failure at certain points throughout this study to analyze fully the discursive features of the contemporary sources on which it is based.

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ANTOINETTE BURTON. *The Postcolonial Careers of Santha Rama Rau*. (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 214. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

Few people may now remember Santha Rama Rau's work, but from the late 1940s to the 1960s, Rama Rau was America's foremost commentator on India: a novelist, memoirist, dramatist, travel writer, and cookbook author. Rama Rau's very versatility and popular success may have contributed to her current critical neglect, but her adaptability and popularity are the elements that most interest Antoinette Burton. In this book, Burton makes a virtue of Rama Rau's minor literary status. It is the minor writer, Burton contends, who most clearly illuminates the workings of cultural and material power. For Burton, Rama Rau translates India for the U.S. market, providing a way to understand India's role in the collective imagination of Cold War America.

Burton does not offer a conventional biography of Rama Rau but rather a partial and selective account of her various literary careers. Through this strategy, Burton seeks to shift the emphasis away from the writer as an individual and toward the realm of cultural politics in which she operated, but Rama Rau's rich and varied life holds its own fascination that pulls the reader back to the individual.

Rama Rau was born in 1923 into a remarkable family of social reformers and diplomats. Her mother, Dhanvanthi Rama Rau, was a feminist activist, founder, and first president of the Family Planning Association of India. Her father, Benegal Rama Rau, was a career diplomat who was posted to Great Britain and South Africa before Indian independence and then served as the first Indian ambassador to Japan and the United States. Santha Rama Rau had lived on four continents by the time she was in her twenties.

Educated in Great Britain and the United States, Rama Rau accompanied her father on his posting to U.S.-occupied Japan, fulfilling the role of diplomatic hostess in lieu of her mother (who remained in India working for the All India Women's Conference). In Tokyo, she met her future husband, Faubion Bowers, General Douglas MacArthur's aide-de-camp and interpreter and a connoisseur of Japanese arts, particularly Kabuki theater. Her father's next posting, to Washington, D.C., brought Rama Rau to the very heart of American power. By the 1950s, she had settled in New York City, where she became a fixture on the social scene, a regular contributor to *The New Yorker* and the *New York Times*, and all-round India expert.

Rama Rau's cosmopolitan mobility is one of Burton's central concerns. The author moves between the worlds of late colonial Britain, nationalist India, occupied Japan, and neo-imperial America. Rama Rau's debut, *Home to India* (1945), published when she was just twenty-two, recounts her return to India and her grandmother's house in Bombay. The memoir follows the progress of young Santha's Indian education as she navigates her way between the traditional expectations of her Brahman grandmother and the nationalist ideals of her mother. *East of Home* (1950) recounts Rama Rau's travels in Japan, Southeast Asia, and China. She found echoes of Indian culture throughout the region and, in-

fluenced by Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of pan-Asian solidarity, discovered a common Asian identity.

With these two books, Rama Rau established her credentials as an expert on India and Asia, but it was an entirely different genre that brought her the most fame. In 1960, she won E. M. Forster's approval for a dramatized version of his 1924 novel, *A Passage to India*. Burton uncovers the negotiations attendant on the script's passage from stage play to screenplay. She follows the critical receptions of the West End and Broadway productions, detailing Rama Rau's disagreements with David Lean over his 1984 film version. In Burton's account, Rama Rau becomes Forster's American interpreter and champion.

Rama Rau's final incarnation in Burton's study is as a cookbook writer. In 1969, she published a Time-Life book, *The Cooking of India*. Burton traces the editorial struggles involved in producing this compendium of recipes, history, and memory. From the multiple cuisines of the subcontinent, Rama Rau fashions a multicultural past for India. The cookbook encapsulates Rama Rau's various careers by, quite literally, offering a version of India for American consumption.

Rama Rau's genre-crossing career has found the perfect chronicler in Burton. As in *Dwelling in the Archive* (2003), her study of an earlier generation of cosmopolitan Indian women writers, Burton combines the archival precision of the historian with the insights of the literary critic. Burton truly inhabits the interdisciplinary space that has become the common ground of much recent "new imperial history." She illuminates both the individual writer and the wider social and cultural forces at work in Cold War America. She demonstrates how an apparently minor figure can open up an era. At the same time, Burton provides a much-needed genealogy for the cosmopolitan writers and theorists who dominate postcolonial studies today.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

HARVEY AMANI WHITFIELD. *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815–1860*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont Press, Burlington, Vt.. 2006. Pp. xiii, 179. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Amid the dizzying array of transnational, borderlands and Atlantic World studies published in the past two decades, very few have looked seriously at the U.S.-Canadian border in a more expansive geographic, geopolitical, or historical light. Fewer still have sought to connect the history of Nova Scotia and Africans in Canada to the larger African diaspora. It is in this context that Harvey Amani Whitfield's new study enters the discussion and fills a needed interpretive and historiographic void. While he owes a debt of gratitude to scholars like Robin W. Winks, Whitfield's richly detailed study of the history, struggles and triumphs of black refugees in

Nova Scotia offers a unique contribution to our understanding of the complex and dynamic lives of Africans in the Atlantic World. Effectively conceptualizing the U.S.-Canadian border as a fluid and permeable space, Whitfield's study is much more than a regional study or a local history. Indeed, by weaving together historical threads connecting Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Trinidad, the Chesapeake, the Georgia Sea Islands and lowcountry, New England, and Nova Scotia, this work creates a dynamic tapestry that is truly diasporic and Atlantic World in scope and scale.

Although Whitfield tracks multiple migrations of diasporic Africans to Nova Scotia, including the Jamaican maroons, black Loyalists and fugitive slaves, the focus of his narrative is the so-called black refugees who largely came to Nova Scotia from the Chesapeake and the Georgia Sea Islands and lowcountry in the aftermath of the War of 1812. What distinguished this group according to Whitfield is that, unlike most of their predecessors who left Nova Scotia for more hospitable climes, the majority of the black refugees refused offers from the colonial government to be relocated in Trinidad, electing instead to stay in British North America. In actively making this decision, Whitfield persuasively contends that the black refugees became, in effect, "a distinct group of African British North Americans" (p. 62). In the face of racial hostility, limited and sporadic occupational opportunities, poor crop yields, and their settlement on infertile lands by the colonial government, the black refugees eked out an existence, developed mutual aid societies and churches, and built a more common sense of community and identity during the nineteenth century.

Whitfield attributes much of the success of the refugees to their ability to maintain and augment land holdings through successful petitions to the colonial government. In addition, they managed to replicate aspects of southern, Caribbean, and Atlantic African market culture in Nova Scotia. At the Halifax public market, African Canadian women sold produce and items crafted from wood as a means of augmenting meager family incomes generated by farming and seasonal urban labor. Herein lies one of the weaknesses of Whitfield's book. Beyond a brief passing reference, the background to this story is largely missing. Given the importance of market culture in the framework of Whitfield's contention that engagement in this activity helped undergird the economies of black refugee families and communities, he could have discussed Chesapeake, Georgia lowcountry, and Caribbean antecedents at greater length.

On this note, in the chapter entitled "Two Distinct Cultures of Slavery," in which Whitfield discusses the Chesapeake and lowcountry origins of the black refugees, he misses an opportunity to assess the culture of the people who came from those regions. Instead, the author focuses most of his efforts describing the variations in labor and agricultural production in the Chesapeake and the Georgia Sea Islands and lowcountry. This chapter, and by extension the entire book, could

have been greatly strengthened if Whitfield had detailed the cultures of slaves, rather than the cultures of slavery. While it would be dangerous to extrapolate cultural dynamics which may have been unique to particular geographic spaces and time periods or to emphasize the possibility of cultural continuities across regions, including informed discussions of market culture, religions and religious institutions, identity formation, and the creation of slave communities in the Chesapeake and the lowcountry in this work would provide the reader with a foundation upon which the actions of the black refugees in Nova Scotia could be better understood and interpreted. In the end, this is a relatively small quibble in an otherwise fine study of free blacks in British North America.

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JAMES OPP. *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930.* (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 274. \$65.00.

The title of James Opp's masterful history of "the cultural practice of divine healing" highlights the study's major themes and contributions. This is a book about "the body" set within the overlapping (and competing) contexts of religion and medicine in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada. Protestants who participated in faith healing, Opp argues, perceived their bodies as sites of sacred encounter, rather than subjects of scientific scrutiny. By embracing theological definitions of disease and health, proponents of divine healing challenged dominant medical discourses and diagnostic practices that "atomized" and "depersonalized" the body. Religion and medicine, in Opp's view, represented "rival priesthoods" vying for cultural authority and social control in a period of sweeping historical change.

Embedded within Opp's thesis is a corollary claim about the gendered dynamics of divine healing. Women, he contends, "dominated the practice of faith healing in Canada. . . . Women were not simply a part of the divine healing movement, their bodies were the movement" (pp. 204-205). By taking "the Lord for the body," women contested prevailing medical theories that associated female physicality with illness and infirmity. Through their healing testimonies and the informal social networks they developed, Opp asserts, women shaped and sustained the faith healing movement, and in so doing subverted "scientific" assumptions of female frailty.

A third and related argument connects women's agency in faith healing with the broader social history of the movement. During the late nineteenth century, divine healing took place primarily in homes: private, domestic spaces in which women "exercised a considerable amount of power" as purveyors of moral and religious influence. As faith healing expanded in Canada,

male leaders took on prominent roles in developing institutional structures and theological rationales for the movement. With the emergence of controversial figures such as John Alexander Dowie and the advent of Pentecostalism, divine healing became an increasingly public practice, subject to heightened scrutiny from medical and legal authorities. By the 1920s, urban evangelistic campaigns transformed faith healing into a "public spectacle," attracting thousands of seekers while provoking "investigating committees" to assess the scientific credibility of the cures. Despite these changes in social geography, Opp argues, "the practice of divine healing remained deeply gendered" (p. 160). Women continued to outnumber men in testifying to and experiencing healing.

Opp's analyses of gender, social space, and contests over cultural constructions of the body in the history of Canadian faith healing make his one of the richest and most sophisticated studies in an expanding literature on religion and medicine in North America. Indeed if his title illumines the book's central arguments, it also masks the work's broader significance. Because divine healing has always been an international and trans-denominational movement without defined theological, social or geographical boundaries, Opp's examination has relevance far beyond the borders of "English-speaking Canada." As he admits, "the intellectual debates surrounding faith and healing spanned the Anglo-American world," producing a "fluid" set of "interconnections" and "shared concerns" that were never encompassed within a "strict national narrative" (pp. 12–13). Opp's reconstructions of these overlapping associations, transregional networks, and wide-ranging deliberations reveal much about the global history of divine healing and remind us that viewing religious history through the narrow strictures of political geography obscures important connections, coalitions and contestations. As scholars such as Mark Noll have pointed out, the histories of religion in the United States and Canada are deeply intertwined and ought not to be isolated. Opp's work is a positive step toward integration.

This strength of Opp's study, however, also exposes one of the book's limitations. Although he acknowledges that divine healing was a diffuse movement with multiple centers and a diverse constituency, Opp fails to explore fully the ambiguities, complexity, and inconsistencies that arose, at least in part, as a result of this indeterminacy. Because he pits proponents of faith healing against the "rival priesthood" of professional medicine, Opp largely ignores the contests, disputes, and debates about theology and practice that occurred within the movement itself. Although many advocates of divine healing embraced atonement theology, for example, some prominent leaders were suspicious of this approach from the very start, arguing for a more supple doctrine that made room for the mystery of God's sovereignty. By focusing primarily on external pressures, in other words, Opp overlooks an opportunity to analyze how the internal fissures and fractures within the move-

ment contributed to its vibrancy, adaptability, and ultimate instability.

Opp's portrayal of religion and medicine as "rival priesthoods" also affects his interpretation of women's roles within divine healing. By framing faith healing as a means for resisting male authority over female bodies, Opp rightly calls attention to the cultural power of devotional practices to contest social norms and structures of power. But Opp's own narrative suggests a more complicated story. Men were involved divine healing, serving as key institution leaders, public apologists, and prominent evangelists. Although Opp briefly addresses faith healing's attraction for men, a fuller assessment of gendered dynamics within the movement would have amplified his analysis. How, for example, did the movement's changing social geography reshape relations between male and female leaders? The question of women's leadership within divine healing raises another issue. In Opp's account, women appear primarily as actors within the domestic realm: as authors of "devotional" testimonials or bedside visitors who help spread the message of faith healing through personal and informal contact. Men are the movement's "public face," in this telling, while women remain "significant" but seemingly sequestered within the private sphere. In fact, women played vital and visible roles in developing and leading the institutional structures that supported the movement (such as the Christian Alliance). They also helped to define faith healing theology, not only through their personal testimonies but also in published theological treatises and essays. By downplaying women's intellectual and organizational contributions, Opp risks reproducing a gendered dichotomy (women associated with domesticity, devotion, and the body; men associated with the public, the political, and the mind) that participants in divine healing (both male and female) actually worked to revise.

That Opp provokes such an expansive range of questions about the social geography of religion in North America, the politics of gender in this period, and the complexity of divine healing in relation to scientific culture testifies to his book's significance. This stimulating work should be required reading for anyone interested in the history of religion, medicine, and the body.

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CATHERINE GIDNEY. *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920–1970*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 32.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 240. \$75.00.

When I entered college in 1958, I joined the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF). Two years later, my religious views having become more liberal, I moved over to the Student Christian Movement (SCM). By the time I received my B.A. degree, I had lapsed into a non-aggressive and durable agnosticism.

These personal details illustrate one aspect of the

phenomenon that Catherine Gidney discusses in her study of liberal Protestantism and the Canadian universities from 1920 to 1970: the decline of Protestant influence on Canadian campuses. Her focus is on six English Canadian institutions. It is no surprise that, during the first half of the twentieth century, Protestantism dominated the ethos of the denominational universities she discusses: the University of King's College in Halifax (Anglican), Victoria University, Toronto (Methodist/United Church of Canada), and McMaster University in Toronto (to 1930) and Hamilton, Ontario (Baptist). The same was true, however, of the three nonsectarian universities she studies: Dalhousie University in Halifax, University College in the University of Toronto, and the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver. Dalhousie had its roots in Presbyterianism, but by 1920 it was private and nondenominational. University College and UBC were both founded as provincial, nondenominational entities.

Although these institutions may have been nonsectarian, those who administered them or taught or studied in them generally saw them as part of a Christian society. Furthermore, their presidents were either prominent laymen in various Protestant churches or clergymen. Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto from 1907 to 1932, was a Presbyterian minister who came to Toronto from the principalship of Pine Hill Divinity College in Nova Scotia. Falconer's successor, Canon H. J. Cody, was the rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Toronto. A. E. Kerr, president of Dalhousie from 1945 to 1963, was principal of Pine Hill Divinity College at the time of his appointment to Dalhousie.

Gidney traces the gradual decline of religious observance and commitment in the six institutions, and of rules of behavior relating to alcohol, smoking (by women), dancing, residence curfews, and relations with the opposite sex. During the early decades of the period the responsibility to raise students to become Christian ladies and gentlemen was accepted if not always openly stated. In this context, Gidney points out, Jewish students were outsiders, but not as much as Jewish faculty, who were few and far between in Canada before the university expansion of the 1960s. Although more numerous, Catholics were also outsiders. However, in Central and Eastern Canada they were likely to attend or teach at their own institutions.

A major challenge to the established behavioral norms came with the influx of the veterans after World War II. Young men (and some young women) who had served in the forces were impatient with the restrictions that were part and parcel of the "in loco parentis" policies of universities. If the 1950s saw an apparent return to the prewar standards, in the 1960s these standards weakened along with the universities' parental role. For example, in Ontario the drinking age dropped to eighteen late in the decade, and by 1970 pubs were opening on campuses across the province, something that would have seemed unimaginable a decade earlier.

The assumption that universities had a Christian role to play was vanishing at the same time, while religion became a subject for academic study rather than personal commitment. McMaster became nondenominational in 1957, at the same time opening a department of religion. The IVCF, holding a conservative theological position, managed to maintain itself reasonably well; the SCM ran into difficulties during the 1960s. It still exists, but perhaps even more than in the past its focus is on progressive social change.

More than anything else, Gidney argues, the religious and cultural fragmentation of the 1960s undermined the position of the university as a moral community, and of liberal Protestantism as its animating force. The children of immigrants from continental Europe were entering the universities in unprecedented numbers, and the adherents of the major Protestant denominations declined as a proportion of university students and faculty members. At the same time, secularization was on the rise. In 1966 it was still possible for Marc Ferro, a French historian then teaching in the summer school of the University of Calgary, to say that, unlike France, which he described as a secular country, the Canada he knew had freedom of religion but not freedom from religion. However, this was ceasing to be true even as he spoke.

There are a couple of small glitches. H. Ian (not I.H.) Macdonald was dean of men at University College until 1965, not 1966. The man who sang "Rock around the Clock" was Bill Haley, not Hailey. All in all, though, Gidney's study is intelligent, interesting, and admirably concise.

MICHEL HORN
York University

ROBERT C. GALGANO. *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 212. \$32.50.

As David J. Weber has reminded American readers, popular imagination in the United States often limits its notion of Spanish colonialism to Christopher Columbus, Hernan Cortés, and the first era of conquistadors. This view pays little attention to the nuanced and complicated negotiations forced by the multiple, diverse, and still powerful Indian populations who commanded the attention and diplomacy of European and Euro-American officials for centuries after 1492. All was not successful conquest by "blood and fire," not by a long shot. Yet that circumscribed image continues to be reproduced and repackaged in U.S. history textbooks, as the Spanish realms of North America make appearance as only a second or third-class story in the first couple of chapters. Even worse is the curtailed coverage most textbooks offer to American Indians. Robert C. Galgano seeks to redress this teaching dilemma with his book.

Galgano offers readers a nimble synthesis of the scholarship produced over the last thirty years about

the seventeenth-century Spanish missions founded by Franciscans in Florida and New Mexico—regions that constituted the earliest “frontiers” established by Spaniards in North America (here defined as the region north of Mexico). He argues that “by comparing the options Indians and Spaniards took in two different places over the same century, we can achieve a deeper understanding of Indian responses to conquest, religious conversion, and Spanish imperial goals” (p. 10). Only when we push beyond local and regional analyses, he asserts, can we investigate the “dynamic variations of Spanish colonization schemes,” the “broader designs in the negotiated coexistence between natives and newcomers,” and the question of “whether natives’ experiences were unique or common” (p.4).

In six neat and compact chapters, Galgano then outlines the differing belief systems Spaniards and Indians brought to their contacts in Florida and New Mexico; the establishment of the two mission systems that accompanied native subjugation by military force; the diverse factors shaping Indian responses to conquest and conversion; the competitions and conflicts among Spaniards in both regions as they vied for leverage over Indian populations particularly in terms of labor; the resulting demographic decline from European diseases as well as enemy raids (be they Apache or English); the native resistance, rebellions, and revolts in response; and the destabilization and ultimate disintegration of both mission systems that followed.

Galgano explains that his goal is to supply college instructors and undergraduates with an accessible history, and he has ably achieved that with a narrative history of each Spanish province outlined in clear and readable prose. He argues convincingly that Spanish imperial projects could not have survived without the Indian populations upon which they depended (primarily in terms of labor), but he makes less persuasive assertions that missions were the sole inspiration and goal for Spanish colonization in the two areas. Spanish claims to the regions arose from beliefs in the economic profit to be found there, and Spaniards remained in order to meet geopolitical needs that could be achieved only with the aid and alliance of resident Indian populations. Neither the Florida nor the New Mexico province existed solely to convert Indians, despite the rhetoric of administrators who regularly gave religious window-dressing to their political and economic goals in the Americas.

Galgano’s proposal that a comparative study will provide new perspectives on Spanish policies and Indian responses for the most part also falters. It is never fully explained why Florida and New Mexico merit comparison to the exclusion of other seventeenth-century missions fields in New Spain’s northern provinces such as Sonora/Arizona, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya. Though the introduction lays out the potential import of exploring the similarities and differences of the two colonial projects and each chapter puts side by side the processes and events simultaneously taking place in Florida and New Mexico, it is left to the reader to draw

analyses and conclusions from the comparison. Further undermining the comparative study are sometimes surprisingly old-fashioned generalizations about both Spanish and Indian populations of Florida and New Mexico. It is jarring to read references that fold “Indians” into a single category with simplified analogies that flatten the very important distinctions among Timucuans, Guales, Apalachees, and Pueblos (as well as the distinctions among Hopi, Zuni, Keresan, Tanoan, Piro and Tompiro groups who fell under the Spanish rubric of “Pueblo”). As well, the narrative often seems unable to slip its hold from the dominant Spanish perspective that drives the chronicle of events, meaning that Indian perspectives disappear. Some of these weaknesses may have their roots in the fact that this book is a reproduction of Galgano’s dissertation, which remains virtually unchanged except for a handful of revisions, mostly of a copy-writing nature.

Nevertheless, this is a quick, lively, and eminently readable retelling, if not reinterpretation, of the seventeenth-century mission histories of Florida and New Mexico that will make a welcome addition to the repertoire of U.S. history instructors.

JULIANA BARR

University of Florida

DANIEL ROYOT. *Divided Loyalties in a Doomed Empire: The French in the West from New France to the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2007. Pp. 282. \$57.50

This well-written narrative with lively prose will provide interesting reading for an undergraduate survey course. Students will find this an enjoyable and stimulating book and will enjoy the many anecdotes that grace and enliven Daniel Royot’s writing. The author attempts to incorporate the French-language historiography of the western Great Lakes into his work and thus provides an alternative perspective on French influence in the region. Royot contends that French influence in the Mississippi River valley extended across the entire Great Lakes region, and into the trans-Mississippi west. This suggests an alternative version to the “Middle Ground” model of an indigenous village landscape. He presents an older historiographical model, one in which these lands became “frenchified” and one where Frenchmen exerted an influence disproportionate to their limited population. This perspective questions the prevailing assertions about the power and influence of this indigenous world, especially that of Indian women.

In this work, the Frenchmen who went west found an escape from the feudalistic orientation of New France. Frenchmen and Indian women transformed newly founded communities into outliers of French civilization. This orientation suggests the “power” of European cultural ways, especially that of the French. Because the author does not fully examine the process of ethnogenesis he conflates the birth process into the genesis of a Métis population. From Royot’s perspective, the birth of mixed ancestry children led to new eth-

nic and racial categories. Then, he tells us in rather problematic language that "Unions with Indian women were common, hence the number of Squaw men and Métis in the area" (p. 167).

There is a tendency to use dramatic examples and to reach conclusions that often undermine parts of this narrative. Equally problematic is the author's reliance on terms that have racialized implications, such as "half-breeds" (p. 164), "backwoods squaw man" (p. 177), and "the squaw man" (p. 174), to explain the role that Frenchmen occupied on the frontier. Equally problematic are the author's generalizations about Indian women's sexuality. The author frequently relies on French observers but he fails to fully contextualize their observations. This is especially true for western Indian communities, like the Arikara. For instance, the author depends on one embittered French trader to proclaim that "The women surrounded the fur traders when they ate their meals and offered their favors for a few mouthfuls. The husbands who seemed to pardon the union paid no attention, being sufficiently occupied in fighting over the soup" (p. 193). Sexual experiences signify very different things to persons of dissimilar cultures, and in this instance the author fails to provide a relevant context for this quotation. Scholars expect a fuller understanding of indigenous culture, because sexual encounter often played an important role in the lives of Indian women. This was especially true among the Arikara and here sex had a variety of implications. Sex had spiritual power because it transferred power from one person to another, it also conveyed social prestige, and it was integral to the exchange process. Finally, women relied on sexual favors to forge commercial links with traders.

This narrative offers no sense of how a very few Frenchmen were able to successfully enter this vast, indigenous landscape and were able to influence historical outcomes. Migration, exchange, and human interaction were interrelated in the Great Lakes but when the French found themselves caught in a crossfire between the Hurons and the Iroquois, Royot does not use this confrontation to show how conflict in the east enveloped the western Great Lakes into the chaos of the fur trade wars. Instead, Royot often segments and isolates events. Rather than explore the expansive power of the seventeenth-century Iroquois, the author tells us that "warriors were actually more prone to torture and enslave their enemies than to kill them." Statements like this may surprise not only historians but also the Huron, Erie, and Neutral—all of whom came close to annihilation, following the Iroquois onslaught.

This narrative is shaped by several problematic historical assumptions. Royot's work supports Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. Then, in his analysis of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Royot contends that "The Voyage of Discovery . . . constituted a return journey to prehistoric time, when the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest were exemplified in daily occurrences" (p. 164). If the author had linked his research to recent U.S. historiography this volume would have greater appeal to the scholarly community. Work

by Richard White and Daniel H. Usner may have encouraged Royot to forego these references to older historical narratives. Recent historiography on indigenous encounters in adjacent regions, such as Juliana Barr's prize-winning monograph, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (2007), would have encouraged the author to imagine a world where Europeans were colonized and "indianized," rather than Indians being "frenchified."

SUSAN SLEEPER-SMITH
Michigan State University

NEIL RENNIE. *Pocahontas, Little Wanton: Myth, Life and Aftermath*. London: Quaritch. 2007. Pp. xii, 209. £58.00.

Neil Rennie presents us with a tripartite book on Pocahontas. The first section ("The Myth") details the evolving references made to Pocahontas by Englishmen who either were or had been present in the Virginia Colony in its early years. Most of this material comes from the works of John Smith, of course. The second section ("The Life") summarizes the events of the real woman's career, as far as the author knows them. The third section ("The Afterlife") recounts the myth of Pocahontas as it took shape and embedded itself within American culture. The author insists that the value of his contribution to the literature lies in the fact that his is the only book to combine a study of Pocahontas as a real person and Pocahontas as a myth within the covers of one book.

The book is flawed by the author's having failed to keep abreast of the current literature while he worked. He opens by saying that there are two serious studies of Pocahontas, one by Philip L. Barbour (1970) and one by Frances Mossiker (1977). He fails to mention that in the last decade there have been numerous others. Two of them do appear in his bibliography: David A. Price's *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation* (2003) and Helen C. Rountree's *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown* (2006). However, he seems entirely unaware of my own *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (2004), Paula Gunn Allen's *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (2003), the extremely relevant section of Daniel K. Richter's *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001), and two important articles by Kathleen M. Brown and Karen Robertson that appeared in the 1990s. When these other works are taken into account, there is, unfortunately, nothing new in Rennie's work.

Rennie's book does have its strengths, however. Despite the extraordinary amount of writing that has been done on Pocahontas and her world, the field has not had available (until now) a careful culling and placing in order of every extant reference to Pocahontas in the papers of the Virginia Colony's chroniclers. Indeed, the first section is by far the strongest. The author's detailed commentary on each reference would help convince even the most recalcitrant reader that Pocahontas did

not in fact rescue Smith from being bludgeoned by her father. The second section ("The Life") is the weakest, but Rennie is a literary scholar, not a historian. He has missed key details available in the historical record, such as the exact timing of Pocahontas's decision to convert. The last section repeats much of what was in Robert S. Tilton's *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (1994), but here at least the author gives his predecessor credit, and in addition, carefully includes all the works that were key to the unfolding of the myth. We see, for example, how John Davis, the English writer who spread the Pocahontas story in the early nineteenth century, himself evolved in his thinking in response to a market hungry for the myth as he produced successive books. Why the American public loved the story so, however, is not treated, perhaps being a subject better left to historians. In short, this book will undoubtedly prove useful to many as a sort of annotated bibliography of the available sources.

CAMILLA TOWNSEND
Rutgers University

DANIEL R. MANDELL. *Tribes, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 125th Series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 321. \$55.00.

Daniel R. Mandell's 1996 book, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*, put to rest the notion that New England Indians had disappeared after King Philip's War in the late seventeenth century. His new book continues that story, tracing the cultural, political, religious, and economic history of New England Indians to the end of the nineteenth century, through such momentous changes as the termination of tribal status.

Mandell approaches his story thematically, using separate chapters to examine issues of land and labor, community and family, authority, reform, and public perception. This structure means that some aspects of the story get retold several times, but it allows Mandell to showcase the wealth of sources he has drawn on for this study.

One of the greatest strengths of this book is its prodigious research. Anyone who has studied Native American history knows the tedious sifting required to pick up the scattered and infrequent references to Indians in the documentary record. Mandell has done this not only in the obvious places—state archives—but also in multiple local historical societies and museums, the National Archives of Great Britain, eighteenth and nineteenth-century newspapers, published personal histories of Native peoples, and dozens of nineteenth-century town histories, whose descriptions of the "last" Narragansett, Nipmuc, or Schaghticoke are primary evidence of contemporary misperceptions. Mandell provides a detailed essay describing his sources, but a bibliography would also have been helpful.

While Mandell's first book was limited to Massachu-

setts Indians, this work expands to all of southern New England, including Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The Mashpees, Mohegans, Narragansetts, and Gay Head Indians, who still had significant land reserves in the early nineteenth century and thus were most affected by termination, receive the bulk of attention in this study. But Mandell also documents persistent Indian identification and community ties among individuals and families absorbed into Anglo-American communities throughout the region.

The story Mandell traced in his first book was the depressingly familiar one of Native American dispossession and depopulation, redeemed by adaptations that enabled distinct Indian groups to survive. One of these adaptations was female Indians' intermarriage with African Americans, a response to the fact that the Native male population had diminished through military service and maritime employment. While non-Indian spouses could not own native land or exercise authority within Indian communities, their labor permitted Native women to preserve their land base, and the offspring of their unions kept the community alive. This second book reveals the ironic aftermath of this adaptation. Evolving American racial ideology categorized mixed Indian-African families as part of a "colored" underclass and used this classification to argue that "real" Indians had disappeared and special status or protection was no longer needed. One way Native communities responded to these arguments was by drawing racial lines that excluded "outsiders," and sometimes their children, from tribal benefits. Thus, the place of African American spouses and children became a potent source of division, fueling conflicts over what qualifies one to be Indian that have continued up to the present day. Mandell rightly notes that gender played a major role in this power struggle. As whaling shifted away from New England, Native men began returning and demanding authority and land largely held by women and their Indian-African children. While some of these men used racial arguments to press their right to tribal resources, state authorities continued to reject the continued existence of "pure" Indians and to push for termination and assimilation. In the process, some native reserves took on the political structure of Anglo-American towns, and Indian women lost authority and the right to vote in tribal affairs. Despite these changes, Mandell notes that Indian communities continued to be attractive refuges to both Native people and other "subaltern minorities."

Mandell has made a very valuable contribution to our understanding of Native American history in a period long overlooked. This accomplishment was recently recognized by the Organization of American Historians, which awarded Mandell's work the first Lawrence W. Levine Award in cultural history. The fact that the study only alludes to the battles for federal recognition that such tribes as the Mashpees waged up to the present day (the Mashpees were finally granted federal recognition of their tribal status in 2007) raises the pos-

sibility that Mandell might complete the trilogy with a twentieth-century study—a result to be hoped for.

JENNY HALE PULSIPHER
Brigham Young University

THOMAS S. KIDD. *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 392. \$35.00.

Unlike famous evangelist George Whitefield's colonial American preaching tours, which took him from Georgia to New England and spanned all the way from 1739 till 1770, most modern students of the First Great Awakening have been reluctant to reach so far or so long in their efforts. The result over the past two or three generations has been a series of regional, biographical, and congregational studies that have illuminated many aspects of the eighteenth-century American and transatlantic revivals. But collectively they have left open the need for a broader synthesis, even to the point of making it possible to question whether anything deserving the appellation "Great Awakening" occurred in early America. Thomas S. Kidd's new book ably fills that gap and should put to rest any lingering doubts about the Awakening's existence or significance.

Building on much rich, recent scholarship on the Awakening, his own prior study of anti-Catholicism in New England, the pamphlet and newspaper literature of the era, and some underutilized archives, Kidd delivers a well-rounded and mostly satisfying account of what he calls the "long Great Awakening," a phenomenon that stretched from Georgia to Nova Scotia and from the 1730s to the 1780s. Kidd insists on the need for such a long view in order to understand adequately what he considers the Awakening's most important fruit: the creation and development of Protestant evangelicalism. That movement's lasting significance for the shape of American Christianity and American culture warrants close attention to its origins and early evolution. Kidd gives its eighteenth-century history some much-needed narrative coherence and persuasively argues that the events associated with the later Second Great Awakening be seen as emerging naturally out of evangelical growth rather than arising as a reaction to evangelical decline. He is similarly convincing in his central contention that the divide between moderate and radical evangelicals within the Awakening was as critical for evangelicalism's future character as was its better known conflicts with anti-revivalists. Following the lead of historian Douglas L. Winiarski, he finds widespread evidence of mystical spiritual manifestations (heavenly visions, dreams, trances, bodily shakings) amid some of the Awakening's adherents. Radical evangelicals more quickly sanctioned such experiences as works of the Holy Spirit, alongside their endorsements of unregulated itinerancy, public attacks on unconverted ministers, and great confidence that new converts could have full assurance of their salvation. These stances served as key fault lines between them and moderate evangelicals, and fractured the movement almost

from its very beginnings. Kidd takes great pains to trace the ups and downs, and ins and outs of the three-sided ministerial contests (radicals, moderates, and anti-revivalists) over these matters in the 1740s, especially in New England. Like the Awakening itself, however, his history seems to get bogged down at that point with too much attention to pastoral rifts and too little focus on the revivals' broader social contexts or its lasting results among the laity. To his credit, though, Kidd always takes the radicals seriously and gives them their due rather than yielding to the all too common tendency to dismiss them as fanatics or lunatics.

Kidd's narrative picks up steam again in the final third of the book when he follows the Awakening geographically southward to Virginia and the Carolinas and northward into Nova Scotia, chronologically into the American Revolution and the 1780s, and racially into Native American and African American communities. He effectively shows evangelicalism's penetration into all these times and places, though specialists on any one of them might find reasons to quibble. So, for instance, his chapter on Indians focuses rather exclusively on missionary efforts generated out of New England evangelicalism and largely ignores the simultaneous and generally more effective outreach of Moravians. Moreover, his decision to orient that chapter mostly around the careers of white missionaries rather than the activities and fortunes of new or existing Christian Indian enclaves in eastern New England and elsewhere seems a missed opportunity to present a more Native-centered perspective on the Awakening. More positively, Kidd teases out well the overall ambivalence of white evangelicals on the social and political implications of their message, whether in relation to women, the poor, Indians, African slavery, or the colonies' relationship with Great Britain. As a result, as the movement expanded in numbers and cultural clout in the nineteenth century, it proved capable of both radical calls for change and dogged defenses of "the historic barriers of race, class, and gender" (p. 323). In helping us to understand more fully how and why that was possible (and perhaps even predictable given the moderate-radical split of the eighteenth century), Thomas Kidd has gone a long way toward filling the need for a synthetic history of the Great Awakening and the evangelical Christianity it spawned.

RICHARD W. POINTER
Westmont College

JACK D. MARIETTA and G. S. ROWE. *Troubled Experiment: Crime and Justice in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. x, 353. \$59.95.

Jack D. Marietta and G. S. Rowe have produced a solid piece of local crime and criminal justice history, from the initial establishment of Pennsylvania's criminal justice system in 1682 through to 1800. The first two chapters focus on the earliest period of the criminal laws and courts, up to 1718. The next two chapters, more the-

matic, examine the difficulties faced by an increasingly plural society and the persistence of violence across the period. The last three chapters cover crime and criminal justice during the remainder of the colonial period, under the revolution and during the first decades of the republic.

Marietta and Rowe adopt the classic approach of those studying the history of crime and criminal justice, combining a history of the justice system itself (laws, courts, and personnel) with a social history of crime, criminals, and victims. From these two perspectives, they cover themes such as the progressive Anglicization and then Americanization of criminal law and procedure, the professionalization of the magistracy and bar, the justice system's role in relations between whites and Indians, the effects of race and gender on criminalization, and urban-rural differences in crime. Overall, the book presents a system that began with the benevolent ideal of William Penn and at first functioned well, due to Quaker homogeneity, but that faced increasing difficulties in the face of immigration, especially of the Scots-Irish. After an initial period of experimentation, a period of relative stability followed the reception of English criminal law in the late 1710s and lasted through to the 1760s, accompanied nevertheless by a gradual increase in crime. Finally, the American Revolution ushered in a period of profound change in personnel, such as the exclusion of Quakers from judicial office, and the adoption, in the last two decades of the century, of substantial reforms in the laws and in punishment. However, these changes did little to solve the troubles of crime and criminal justice, which continued and amplified prerevolutionary patterns.

In their account, the authors argue strongly for the specificity of Pennsylvania, using frequent comparisons with England and the other American colonies. Thus, they show how Penn's initial system was indeed the mildest in the Anglo-American world, not only in theory but also in practice. Or again, they suggest that Pennsylvania's early experience with immigrants and transients, to whom they attribute the bulk of crime, presaged the general American experience in the nineteenth century. They nevertheless make relatively limited use of the comparative literature, especially non-American. For example, the latest work they cite on English constables is from the mid-1980s (p. 132, n. 88); and their dismissal of magistrates' summary jurisdiction, based on the paucity of surviving records (p. 42, n. 14), would have benefited from comparison with the growing number of studies on such jurisdiction in England, as would their treatment of pre-trial resolution (pp. 43–45) and of trading justices (p. 226). Further, the last two chapters of the book, on the revolution and the early republic, eschew international comparison almost entirely.

There are also methodological issues that detract from some of the authors' arguments. Hence, while they assert having exploited all of Pennsylvania's extant judicial criminal records (p. 2), we get no general sense of what is missing from the documentary record, so that

the overall figures of crime in Pennsylvania, presented in various tables and graphs, are difficult to assess. We learn only in passing that there are no criminal dockets from Philadelphia before 1759 and that much of the book's evidence on local court personnel and proceedings up to the mid-eighteenth century comes from the records of Chester County alone. A brief description of the major criminal court records, and their lacunae, along with a bibliography of sources consulted, would have been helpful. A better discussion of the methodological problems resulting from simply aggregating all cases found in the extant records would also have been useful. For instance, what the authors present as a radical rise in the number of criminal prosecutions at the end of the period could perhaps be attributed in part to the apparently increasing preservation of county court records. Further, the authors sometimes have the tendency to equate prosecuted crime with crime itself, as when they assert, again based on extant criminal records, that early Pennsylvania was virtually free of major crime (pp. 18–19) or that the rise in criminal prosecutions at the end of the period reflected a rise in actual crime (p. 216), though elsewhere they acknowledge the problem of the "dark figure" of crime. These and other difficulties make the book's quantitative arguments less compelling, though their qualitative analysis remains strong.

Despite such reservations, this is a useful study, replete with information which clarifies the criminal past of one of the major American colonies. It will serve not only Pennsylvania historians but also those engaged in similar studies elsewhere and in more broadly based comparative analyses.

DONALD FYSON,
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JASON SHAFFER. *Performing Patriotism: National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theater*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 230. \$45.00.

Jason Shaffer traces the evolution of the theater in the North American British colonies in the eighteenth century, demonstrating its strong connections with the British theater before independence as well as the innovative gestures toward a more pro-American rhetoric during and after the American Revolution. Emulating Joseph Roach's approach to performance culture in *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (1996), Shaffer considers the circulation of cultural tropes that spread from Britain to the American and Caribbean colonies in his effort to "place the performance culture of British North America in the broader context of the politics of the British Atlantic." In particular he shows the influence of certain British plays with Roman republican imagery on the rhetoric of the period, especially emphasizing Joseph Addison's *Cato, a Tragedy* (1712), which not only dominated the professional and amateur theater repertory but also influenced political and social discourse.

Shaffer also identifies certain motifs such as the tyrant, the sacrificial victim, and the patriot that continually recurred in performance. He argues that certain plays dealing with political tyranny such as *Cato*, William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, *Richard III*, and *Macbeth* and Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlaine* as well as other favorites such as George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* could be read in various ways by audience members with divergent viewpoints (with British soldiers, Tories, and Patriots sometimes attending the same theater) or could be framed to encourage a specific interpretation by the addition of a newly devised prologue. But he also suggests that certain plays appeared or disappeared from the repertory in accordance with political circumstances. In general Shaffer demonstrates that much of the theater performed during this period engaged with the debate over republican versus monarchical government, as well as with notions of identity, patriotism, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the community. Moreover, he shows that new features of American theater at the time of the revolution, for example, the appropriation of Native American character and imagery, revealed a transformation in national rhetoric and self-representation.

Although much of the material (such as plays, professional theater companies, and political discourse) has been discussed by earlier scholars such as Hugh Rankin, Norman Philbrick, Walter J. Meserve, Richard Moody, Jared Brown, Gary Richardson, Heather S. Nathans, Jeffrey Richards, and Odai Johnson, Shaffer provides useful new analyses of the theater texts of the period in relation to the historical context (especially Addison's *Cato*), and he examines more closely phenomena that have been glossed over in the past, such as college amateur productions. He has discovered new material about college performances, and provides considerable insight into the dramatic activities at Harvard, Yale, and other colleges before and during the American Revolution. While some of Shaffer's argument, especially in chapter three where he discusses the possible reasons for the changes in the repertoire of British theater in the North American colonies, is quite speculative, the book has been well researched and is generally convincing. However, I question his claim that "propaganda plays of the Revolutionary period have remained largely unstudied," since, not only I but also Philbrick, Richards, and several other scholars have analyzed these works. There are also a few confusing moments in the text, such as the various descriptions of General Richard Montgomery as "Irish-born," "British-born," and an "Irish born Briton" within a few pages (pp. 160–163), and I was surprised that Shaffer did not place more emphasis on Mercy Otis Warren's work and her use of Roman republican figures that might have been compared with those in *Cato*. It would have been helpful to provide a select bibliography since many of the citations in the notes give only the last name of the author and the page number.

S. E. WILMER
Trinity College, Dublin

IVY SCHWEITZER. *Perfecting Friendship: Politics and Affiliation in Early American Literature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 276. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book aspires to nothing less than a recovery of the centrality of friendship—arguably the most important and undervalued social bond in human history. While there has been some important critical work on friendship in early America, Ivy Schweitzer's goals are in many ways different. In the end, homosocial friendship in American literature for Schweitzer is not, as is often the case in contemporary scholarship, simply code for closeted homosexual relations. Instead, she finds the ideal of "perfect friendship" as defined by Aristotle, and honed and revised over centuries of political philosophical debate, meaningful in its own terms. Modern capitalism and the modern state have found the heteronormative marriage contract a more profitable and easily regulated social bond around which to organize the transactions of market and nation. And while there remains something utopian about this book's vision of an America liberated from the marriage and capitalist contracts into a prelapsarian impossible ideal of perfectible friendship, it is a utopia we would be foolish to reject.

Given these stakes, there were times that I would have preferred Schweitzer had allowed some of the literature review to move to the background and her own political arguments to move more fully to the front. The book is scholarly in every way, and one feels the weight of both the primary and secondary texts that she has mastered to confront this monumental task. The first chapter more than claims her authority over her subject, and after that I found myself eager to get to the individual chapters—focusing on central American texts from John Winthrop through James Fenimore Cooper and Catharine Maria Sedgwick. As Schweitzer argues, for example, everything changes when we read "Modell of Christian Charity" (1630) through the lens of friendship discourse, but we have to wait almost half the chapter to find out exactly how those changes became meaningful.

And the stakes of this reading do indeed measure up to the claims of Schweitzer's introduction. Winthrop attempted to translate his understanding of friendship theory into the unprecedented compact required of the passengers on the *Arbella*. And in so doing, he wrestled with the powerful and seemingly unanswerable questions at the heart of friendship discourse: "How do we make another's condition one's own?" (p. 85); how do we make of another our "second self" while acknowledging the alterity that threatens to undo that ideal? For Schweitzer, it is ultimately the emerging language of contract—legal and commercial—to which Winthrop turned to affectively knit his community into a cohesive body.

In some sense then, although Schweitzer is careful (perhaps too careful for her own good) not to overplay such overarching melodrama, the ideal of friendship Winthrop brought with him was already undermined by

the language of commerce to which it was “wedded,” a devil’s pact that was unavoidable for a community that wanted the bonds of friendship to miraculously coexist with the scales of hierarchy. Commerce and contract provided a language to make the two appear reconcilable, but as chapter three suggests, reading the tragic death of female friendship in Hannah Webster Foster’s *The Coquette* (1797), when friendship and hierarchy (capitalism, sexism) coexist, hierarchy will win, every time. Friendship is reduced to a “ghost” haunting the early American landscape.

In many ways, I found the final chapter on Cooper’s *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and Sedgwick’s *Hope Leslie* (1827) to be the most revelatory. Here the “ghosts” of friendship are brought, temporarily, back to life, allowed to explore fully their possibilities in the cross-racial friendship between Hawk-eye and Chingachgook, a nostalgic fantasy of “interracial friendship that simultaneously appalls and ennobs us” (p. 163). As Schweitzer convincingly reads *Hope Leslie*, then, the novel is not a utopian argument for inclusion and the radical possibilities of friendship, a familiar reading of the novel, but a rejection of Cooper’s nostalgic fantasy of the same. But it is a rejection that works to ultimately clear the ground for future possibility for a more meaningful and honest friendship in and with difference.

In truth, I wished that there were time enough for a fuller consideration in the epilogue of the issues raised in the introduction: the stakes of friendship in the new media age of social networking and digital communities. One senses throughout the book the relevance of the contemporary revitalization of the term “friend” in the twenty first century. And I cannot help but hope that Schweitzer might consider letting herself put aside her impressive and important archive in a follow-up volume to fully meditate on the theoretical and political consequences of this history for the century that lies ahead, a century in which friendship and difference are in charged contact as never before.

JARED GARDNER
Ohio State University

HESTER BLUM. *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 271. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

While recent maritime historians have investigated the complexities in the lives of seamen and their communities, few literary studies attend to the influence of print culture on the lives of mariners and their participation in the rise of a uniquely American literature. Hester Blum offers a much-needed literary and cultural critic’s perspective on this important subject.

Blum focuses on first-person narratives written by mariners from the American Revolution to the Civil War, when the sea was America’s fount of economic prosperity and source of national pride. She divides the study into two parts: the first recounts the proliferation of sailors’ nonfiction writing, and the second analyzes

what she calls the “epistemology of maritime narratives” (p. 2). She examines works by well-known antebellum authors, such as James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, and Edgar Allan Poe, as well as noncanonical mariner authors, such as Nathaniel Ames, David Porter, and James Riley, and reveals fascinating implicit interchanges between the relatively forgotten mariner writers and the canonical authors.

Throughout, Blum attends to a type of vision in sailor writing and thinking she labels the “sea eye” (p. 3). The sea eye describes both the mariner’s perspective and a theory of representation. The sea eye is the literal view from the masthead that gives sailors their unique perspective on their maritime world, and on a theoretical level, the sea eye exhibits the reciprocal relationship of reflection and labor. Thus in the first half of the book, she explores the perspective of sailor writers by uncovering the rarely researched literary culture within which they participated: the types of libraries found aboard ships, their reading lists, and common characteristics in typical nonfiction sea narratives. Blum thoroughly investigates how sailors’ literary experiences affected their experience as observers, laborers, and writers. For example, Blum turns to Barbary captivity narratives and naval memoirs, asserting that the sea eye allowed them to pass along crucial literary and survival strategies to other sailors who might encounter dangers similar to the experiences of the hundreds of American sailors taken captive during the struggles with North African corsairs leading up to the Tripolitan War. Sea narratives thereafter were a representation of a national spirit, and contributed to the popularity in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s of the mariner memoir, a popularity that respected writers of sea adventures, like Cooper and Melville, took advantage of in such work as *Ned Myers* (1843) and *Moby Dick* (1851).

In the second half of the book, Blum shows how some narratives, such as Melville’s “The Encantadas” (1854) exhibit a sea eye which reads and interprets both text and landscape differently than other writers of the nineteenth century. Blum’s insightful comparison of Melville’s reading of the Galapagos and Charles Darwin’s *Journal of Researches* (1839) of the Galapagos reveals how Melville and other sailor writers utilize an epistemology, learned from the sea eye, which relies on labor and the imagination for knowledge gathering. In fact, Blum’s analysis deftly shows how the materiality of the subject matter requires what she calls “imaginative labor” (p. 145). The last chapter of the book turns toward the quintessential conjoining of the real and the imagined in a sailor’s life: his own death. Culling examples from narratives of the South Sea expedition, Richard Henry Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast* (1840), doggerel verses composed by common seamen, and other narratives, Blum shows how mariners daily lived with a death that held the potential for the kind of obliteration of identity that only burial at sea could effect. The effect of that reality tuned their sea eye in such a way that they experienced a challenge to their epistemology in non-fiction writing; with no physical ev-

idence of the dead material self, sailor writers experienced a kind of crisis of understanding, a crisis that remains unresolved in their writing. Aside from the chapter being a wonderful contribution to the burgeoning body of cultural history that addresses the culture of mourning in nineteenth-century America, the chapter is emblematic of the kind of analysis Blum exhibits throughout the book; her overarching conceptual framework never limits the textual complexities of her primary sources, and in fact, opens them up in remarkable ways to the workings of theory, imagination, and historical reality, much as she attributes this talent to the sailor writers who populate her informative study.

ROBIN MISKOLCZE

Loyola Marymount University

EDWARD G. GRAY. *The Making of John Ledyard: Empire and Ambition in the Life of an Early American Traveler*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 224. \$35.00.

John Ledyard—canoeist, short-time Dartmouth student, traveler among the Iroquois of Quebec, Royal Marine, and deserter from the service of King George III—was a solitary voyageur in search of wealth and fame. Although considered by many to be cocky, he put in place the visionary tendency and commercial zeal that later dominated American activities in the Pacific Northwest. Thomas Jefferson, who when minister to France met the young adventurer, liked what he saw in him. Indeed, he thought him a man of genius who had some scientific knowledge and was certainly of fearless courage and enterprise. Jefferson also thought Ledyard had too much imagination.

What gave Ledyard fame and visibility were largely British imperial pursuits. Ledyard had sailed with James Cook on the third voyage to the Pacific, one that opened the secrets of the sea otter trade to China, and Ledyard, at the captain's request had led a small boat party in successful search to encounter Russian traders on the Alaska shore. Ledyard wrote a history of the voyage, and in it he included details of Cook's death in Kealahakua Bay, Hawaii.

Ledyard was keen to lead an expedition in the Northwest sea otter venture but could not find the necessary backers. So he set off on a solitary walk across Russia, destination Kamchatka, where he hoped to find a ship to sail the Pacific to Nootka Sound; his intent was to walk eastward across America to Virginia. Like almost every venture he attempted, it failed. Catherine II of Russia had him arrested within her realms and evicted. Somehow, a newly established British association seeking to find sources of rivers in Africa employed Ledyard's talents. He set off from London for Cairo, then fell ill, and died there—another dream unfulfilled. Thus ended an astonishing life, one that leaves the reader of Ledyard's narratives and various letters quite breathless at the scope and imagination of their author.

Edward G. Gray, in the best biography of this Connecticut rolling stone to date, has tracked down all ex-

tant sources, in manuscript form and in print. Ledyard was first the subject of a biography by Jared Sparks (1828) and since has never ceased to be an attractive figure for writers. James Zuk wrote about this American Marco Polo (2005), and Gray has been clear in his statement that while Zuk sought to explain the points of interest that make Ledyard distinct, Gray seeks to explain that of interest that makes Ledyard emblematic. Ledyard may be emblematic of his age, of his times, and of American travelers of that day, but the fact of the matter is that he influenced very few: he put no trading companies in place, inspired no geographical expeditions other than his own, and could not convince Jefferson to give him anything more than paper support. I cannot agree with the author's claim that Ledyard was a colonizer and empire builder. Ledyard may have had aspirations for these roles; he fulfilled neither. But Gray's is the best biography to date. Carefully researched and handsomely written, it takes its place as a reliable and judicious treatment of its subject. Ledyard's flights of fancy have been carefully examined here, and at the end of the day we have a well-rounded and sensible appreciation.

BARRY M. GOUGH

Victoria, British Columbia

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR. *Originalism, Federalism, and the American Constitutional Enterprise: A Historical Inquiry*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 301. \$45.00.

This is a brilliant and novel constitutional commentary in answer to the Rehnquist Court's majority view on "new federalism." The new federalism struck down congressional regulatory acts that violated the framers' supposedly clear and compelling view of limits of enumerated powers. But Edward A. Purcell, Jr., demonstrates that the framers did not have a clear idea of the boundaries of federal and state power. They were "blurred, fractionalized, instrumental, and contingent" (p. 6), in other words, the work of real people in a time of political unrest struggling to fashion an experimental form of government. What is more, the boundaries shifted throughout our constitutional history.

Efforts to create a definition by sheer intellect have led to a compact theory of the Constitution, dual federalism, cooperative federalism, and competitive federalism, to name a few of the most popular conceptions. At the outset and then in the concluding chapter, Purcell applies this insight to the case law of the Rehnquist Court. "Federalism was by its very nature incapable of reaching permanent equilibrium or serving as a determinative constitutional norm."

This book is also a tightly argued essay on political philosophy. Ranging widely and succinctly over the different branches and levels of government, it marshals historical examples and scholarly writings to show that our constitutionalism works precisely because federalism is not a unified definition of national and state powers. Indeed, one of the signal ambiguities of the federal

Constitution is “its failure to specify a mechanism for enforcing divisions between national and state power” (p. 13). Instead, the larger system of checks and balances meant that uncertainty, negotiation, compromise, and “unending disputes” (p. 20) would mark the boundaries of federalism over time. Constitutionalism at its best accommodated dynamic and shifting political adjustments. It permitted states to cooperate with one another within the federal system. It allowed new states to enter the Union. It afforded states federal assistance with internal improvements. It bowed to the increasingly complex structure of local political entities. Without a flexible and instrumental federalism, none of these accomplishments would have been as easy as they were.

Finally, this book is a free-ranging and delightfully learned tour of the historical landscape of federalism, stopping to show how different groups and individuals manipulated the idea to further their own and their fellow political players’ “particular values and interests” (p. 9). At the Constitutional Convention and in the ratification process, both Federalists and Antifederalists placed their own interpretations on the limits of the central government. When they were not contesting these limits, the framers admitted to one another that the document was vague on this point. The Tenth Amendment and the Eleventh Amendment, respectively reserving to the states and the people of the states undefined powers, and barring a citizen of one state from suing another state, testified to the incompleteness of the original document. The first national two-party system grew up around this debate but did not settle it.

Throughout the antebellum period, individual states simply defied federal court rulings. A potent “states rights” constitutionalism with its theoretical appendages of interposition and nullification was widely adopted, particularly in the slave South. At the same time, southern members of Congress insisted that the federal government had the power and the obligation to protect slave owners’ property rights throughout the nation. Hauntingly similar arguments about federal and state power appeared in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, as the defiant South opposed desegregation. But no one was able to define federalism in a way that commanded everyone else’s adherence. Nor did any of the amendments to the Constitution resolve the debate: “the [amended] Constitution still furnished inadequate direction in deciding most specific issues about the structure’s proper limits and operations” (p. 153).

Purcell demolishes originalism, the conceit of some modern jurists and judges that they can find out what the framers were thinking, and that the framers’ thinking must determine how we think about our laws. There was no “carefully crafted balance” (p. 6) between federal and state powers, to paraphrase Chief Justice Rehnquist. That historical error laid to rest, our courts must confront the fact that the federal Constitution is “an instrument” (p. 53) and our law must be “for us, and for our posterity” (p. 10). The Constitution is first and

foremost “a commanding symbol of national unity” (p. 198) whose parameters each generation must define. This is intellectual history at its best, demanding that we read carefully and think critically.

PETER CHARLES HOFFER
University of Georgia

CHRISTIAN G. FRITZ. *American Sovereigns: The People and America’s Constitutional Tradition before the Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 427. \$80.00.

Popular sovereignty is one of the most powerful concepts in the American political vocabulary, and one of the most problematic. In the ratification debates of 1787–1788, Federalists used it to deflect their opponents’ charge that the proposed Constitution would either vitiate the inherent sovereignty of the states or impossibly divide that which could not be divided. That was the conventional wisdom, which said that “imperium in imperio is a solecism in politics.” Chortling Federalists like James Wilson replied that in America sovereignty lodged in the people, who were free to divide sovereign powers between the Union and states as they wished.

Starting at least with Gordon Wood, historians have treated this argument as an example of the Federalists’ polemical slickness. The doctrine preserved the unitary character of sovereignty, as traditionally conceived since Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. But what became of its other attributes? Sovereignty had always been regarded as an attribute of government, an absolute, ultimate, and concentrated power of command. Once governments were established, how could a dispersed people ever exercise sovereignty again, except in extremis?

Christian G. Fritz goes to some length to argue that from the American Revolution to the Civil War, popular sovereignty was more than a vacuous oxymoron, nice to invoke but impossible to exercise. His point of departure is not the constitutional debate of the late 1780s but the revolutionary upheaval of the mid 1770s. When Americans wrote articles affirming a people’s right to “alter or abolish” government into some of the early declarations of rights, Fritz suggests, they meant something more than a right to overthrow tyrannical government. They also sought to carve out a continuing role for the people as an active sovereign.

The most obvious way to pursue this claim would be to trace how ideas of popular sovereignty were translated into practices of political representation, in effect picking up the story where Edmund S. Morgan left off in his much-admired *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (1988). But where Morgan saw representation as a political fiction generally manipulated by elites, Fritz steers a populist tack, emphasizing three rebellions—Daniel Shays’ of 1786–1787, the Whiskey Rebellion of 1793, and Rhode Island’s obscure Dorr War of the early 1840s—when the people’s right to act as sovereign rulers and inde-

pendent judges of constitutional values clashed with some exercise of power by their elected representatives. Fritz also examines the opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, New England's sniping against Thomas Jefferson's embargo and James Madison's War of 1812, and the Nullification crisis of the early 1830s.

The prize to be gained is an alternative vision of American constitutionalism in which the people act as "collective sovereign" and "ruler," two terms Fritz repeatedly invokes without fully explaining. Although he has little new to say about the politics of the well-studied episodes he retraces, he persuasively demonstrates that the rhetoric of popular sovereignty retained a striking vitality long after the Federalists exploited it to get the Constitution ratified. When Fritz turns to the 1790s, he is particularly effective at documenting the gap between Federalist notions of the people's desired quiescence between elections, on the one hand, and both the Whiskey rebels' and the opposition Republicans' ideas of popular modes of how the people might express and mobilize their independent constitutional judgment, on the other. His explanation of the array of meanings ascribed to the nebulous idea of "interposition" is also superb.

Yet in the end, his account of how the people could exercise their collective sovereignty and rule, beyond the channels of constitutional procedure and periodic elections, remains intellectually unsatisfying. However hard he labors to establish that a strong if confused and contested concept of popular sovereignty survived the Revolution to operate as a lost tradition of American constitutionalism, the idea of how it could ever operate as anything more than a set of rhetorical appeals remains maddeningly elusive. In the epilogue, Fritz takes care to distinguish his position from the "popular constitutionalism" of Larry Kramer, which essentially holds that party competition and the "departmentalist" idea that every branch of government could independently judge its authority provided the dominant framework within which electoral coalitions were mobilized by appealing to constitutional values. Fritz treats this notion of "popular constitutionalism" as a derivative of his own broader theory. It would make more sense to argue that Kramer's emphasis on parties and elections identifies the dominant mode of actualizing popular sovereignty that mattered most, while Fritz only canvasses a few outlying precincts of frenzied activity.

One copy-editing quibble must be noted: who decided to capitalize Constitution when preceded by the adjective "federal" but leave it in lower case when not? It is the same document either way.

JACK N. RAKOVE
Stanford University

RICHARD S. NEWMAN. *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 359. \$34.95.

This book is a contextual biography of Richard Allen (1760–1831), minister (ordained in 1799 by Francis Asbury), first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (founded in 1816), and defender of black rights in religion and society. Several substantial documents survive to help us understand Allen's life: a narrative, co-authored with Absalom Jones, of the yellow fever that plagued Philadelphia in 1793; an autobiography dictated shortly before Allen died; and a few addresses and execution-day sermons. There are also personal documents and brief comments on religion and on slavery. As Richard S. Newman notes, the gaps in the record are wide. About two-thirds of this work is a companion to the autobiography and the yellow fever narrative. Newman's strategy here is like Vincent Carretta's in *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (2005). Both write as detectives (not as skeptics), augmenting the writings of their subjects with further documentation. On the positive side, Newman's book is a model of contextual research that should be read by students, scholars, and lay people interested in Allen. On the negative side, the book, insofar as its intent is usually the confirmation of Allen's texts, rarely shows distance from its subject. Lay people reading this book will probably infer that the purpose of scholarship on early black abolitionists and early black Christians is celebration of their achievements. From a twenty-first-century perspective, some praise seems appropriate, but we should also pass beyond the individuals and assess the positive and negative implications of their ideas and values. Scholars have made such assessments of nineteenth-century abolitionists. We should measure eighteenth-century abolitionists, white as well as black, in the same way.

A substantial part of the rest of the book is devoted to Allen and colonization (the expatriation of free African Americans). This is a model of skilled research, but in a different way from Newman's expansion of Allen's own narratives. One of the gaps in Allen's account is his record as a colonizationist, which he seems to have planned to hide by the late 1820s, when he wrote an anti-colonizationist letter that David Walker transcribed in his 1829 *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*. Colonization is mostly forgotten because it appears to have been utterly impractical. Yet it was as important for African Americans as had been the War of Independence and as would be antebellum abolitionism. Allen at various points in his life supported black emigration to West Africa, Canada, and Haiti. His late denunciation of colonization stated that blacks had a right to live in the country they had helped create, but Allen almost certainly knew that emigrants to Haiti had become disenchanted and that emigrants to Liberia were suffering extremely high mortality from "fever" (malaria). Beyond such pressing practical matters, colonization touched a nerve in both blacks and whites not only because of the expatriation of African Americans but also because the most fundamental question facing a post-slavery United States was whether blacks and whites could live equally and peaceably together. Bring-

ing Allen back into the debate on colonization is an important achievement.

Another gap in Allen's narratives is his theological views. Allen joined the Methodists at a time of hot theological debate, which was also a time when a number of other black Christians were intensely interested in theology. Yet in 1830 Allen said merely that black people were attracted to simple, experiential Methodism. The explicit evidence on Allen's faith is slight, but his 1830 account seems improbable. Here Newman misses the standard of most of his book, saying only that Allen believed in liberation theology. However, the quotations from Allen suggest a more fruitful approach, which has already been taken in Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (2003). The vocabulary of the yellow fever narrative, such as "charity" and "covenant," suggests familiarity with late eighteenth-century theology, particularly the Calvinism that survived among some Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Methodists. Allen used a vocabulary that suggested a commitment to Calvinism, but unfortunately no statements of his views survive. One plausible explanation for this is that by 1830, the end of the Second Great Awakening, Allen saw that free-will evangelicalism was the most powerful religious force in African American life, and he decided to cast his entire religious autobiography with that in mind. We still await the definitive statement on Allen's religion.

In summation, this is an exuberantly written book that shows how much more we can learn about some eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century black figures but that passes over religion, partly because the record is slight and partly because the author has not related what little evidence there is to a larger religious world with which his subject was almost certainly familiar.

JOHN SAILLANT
Western Michigan University

LAURA CROGHAN KAMOIE. *Irons in the Fire: The Business History of the Tayloe Family and Virginia's Gentry, 1700–1860*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2007. Pp. x, 222. \$35.00.

Laura Croghan Kamoie chronicles the multiple agricultural and industrial enterprises of one of Virginia's wealthiest gentry families. Three generations of Tayloes, she argues, "made rational economic choices based on the availability of local resources, the demands of the Atlantic market, and, increasingly the demands of the new regional economies they were building in Virginia" (p. 1). All were "committed early to a spirit of entrepreneurship" in an "integrated effort to achieve long-term wealth and social status for their families" (p. 2). Other Chesapeake planters of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries embraced similar innovative, risk-taking strategies, thus challenging the idea that there were pronounced differences in

the early national period between entrepreneurial initiatives in north and south.

John Tayloe I (1687–1747) came of age in an economic recession and embraced diversified activities in order to lessen dependence on tobacco. He eventually parlayed the few thousand acres, twenty-some slaves, and strategic connections with Bristol merchants with which he began into 20,000 acres and 327 slaves at death. In addition to tobacco growing, Tayloe built his empire through land speculation, mercantile dealings, slave trading, shipbuilding, and operating grist and saw mills. The addition of iron manufacturing in the 1730s propelled the family towards the pinnacle of economic success.

John Tayloe II (1721–1779) in turn doubled the size of family land and slave holdings. He exploited new opportunities emerging at mid-century by adding wheat to his crop mix, pursuing additional plantation crafts, investing in town lots and ships, and expanding operations at the Neabaco and Occoquan iron works, which eventually provided greater returns than did tobacco. Tayloe integrated agricultural and craft activities on his multiple plantations and industrial sites and turned the home farm and the ironworks into community service centers. Diversification and entrepreneurship were clearly well established before the American Revolution.

John Tayloe III (1771–1828) adapted to the emerging national economy by establishing new ironworks in western Virginia and by selling off unproductive tide-water land. Although he continued to grow some tobacco, wheat and other grains became the primary sources of agricultural income. Wheat required less labor than tobacco, and Tayloe (who held 700 slaves in the 1820s) began to divest himself of surplus women and children. With the region's urban population growing, he further diversified in city real estate, hotels, taverns, and stage lines, the latter integrated with his horse-breeding business. After building a second lavish home in Washington, D.C. in 1801, the Tayloe family thereafter lived at least half of each year in the city. Like many of his contemporaries, Tayloe also began investing in internal improvement companies, steam boats, and banks, and his total wealth surpassed all but a handful of his peers.

While providing an efficient summary of the estate-building strategies of the Tayloe family, this book is not the final word on either the entrepreneurial activities of this particular family nor the early national period Chesapeake elite. Kamoie argues for the increasing importance of craft enterprises that contributed to local economic development, for example, but offers no measure of the proportion of income derived from local as opposed to export earnings, nor estimates of how this may have changed over time. The postrevolutionary strategies of John Tayloe III and his sons are less well situated in a regional economic context than those of Tayloe I and II. Among causes advanced for the decline of the Tayloes' wealth and status are the need in 1828 for the first time ever to divide family assets among

more than one male heir, diminished resources in tide-water for both farming and iron manufacture, and increasing occupational specialization which led planters to eschew non-agricultural enterprises. But missing is any discussion of how the drain of providing dowries for daughters (John II had eight) affected the estate, as well as of how typical was the astounding number of children (thirteen) John III had to endow. Also missing is discussion of the state of unusual prosperity in the 1790s that encouraged expansion and investment in the Chesapeake, the devastating impact of the Panic of 1819, the depressing effects of continued westward migration, and, by 1830, the stultifying results of an increasingly rigid and reflexive defense of slavery. This book should be read in conjunction with Phillip Hamilton, *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830* (2003) which offers further insight into the economic, social, and political causes of the Virginia gentry's decline.

The overwhelming amount of information contained in the Tayloe Family Papers on large Chesapeake agricultural enterprises of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and on the enslaved laborers who staffed them, is surpassed in volume only by that surviving for George Washington's Mount Vernon. In the future, a more systematic analysis of both of these rich sources promises new insights into the profitability of post-tobacco plantation operations, into changing agricultural practices, and into the life histories of enslaved agricultural, craft, and industrial workers. Richard S. Dunn, "A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life at Mesopotamia in Jamaica and Mount Airy in Virginia, 1799 to 1828" (*William and Mary Quarterly* 34 [1977]: 32–65) provides but a glimpse of the Tayloe Papers' barely tapped potential for recovering the stories of enslaved Africans whose coerced labor made the Tayloes' remarkable entrepreneurial feats possible.

LORENA S. WALSH

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

STEPHEN MIHM. *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 457. \$29.95.

For most of the nineteenth century, the United States was an intensely entrepreneurial society that was perpetually short of paper money. The national government, whose authority over banks and the currency was weak and contested, could do little to provide a permanent solution. This economic conundrum gave an army of counterfeiters bountiful opportunities to ply their trade. In Stephen Mihm's engagingly written book, their shadowy identities and activities have for the first time been subjected to scholarly treatment.

Mihm's note on sources makes clear how difficult it was to piece this story together. Antebellum documents such as the files of the Second Bank of the United States and the police records of many municipalities no longer exist. Mihm turned to other diverse sources scattered in

U.S. and Canadian archives, including some 1,000 counterfeiting indictments made by New York City's district attorney for the Court of General Sessions. Imaginative and thorough use of such sources allowed Mihm to recover the secret activities, networks, and even gender dynamics within counterfeiting circles. He reveals that counterfeiters operated predominantly in border areas such as the Quebec town of Dunham, whose notorious Cogniac Street gave rise to "koniacker," a popular slang term for counterfeiter. Makers of fake notes later flourished in the newly established regions of the West and in large cities. The criminal families often intermarried, making counterfeiting a quintessentially family business and an excellent example of the economic advantages such networks can provide. Women played a large role in passing fake notes because they could exploit gendered ideas about who and what was considered respectable.

Other consequences followed from the absence of national government supervision. With so much of the country's currency produced by private sources, the safeguards against counterfeiting also were private. Entrepreneurs responded to the explosion of bank notes with a new publication, the counterfeit note detector. (Ironically, the detailed descriptions in these publications sometimes enabled the very fraudsters they were trying to deter.) Because the notes were issued by local institutions, the job of catching and prosecuting counterfeiters fell to local and state law enforcement officials, who had little incentive to cooperate with one another when the criminals fled their jurisdictions. The mechanization of printing allowed for finer detailed notes. But because notes were privately produced, the equipment was poorly monitored, and con men could sometimes buy them at auction and liquidation sales. These problems began to wane once a national currency became law, and counterfeiting was transformed into a crime against the state. Yet the federal government had somehow to construct the mechanisms for enforcement. Mihm details the contributions of William Wood, whose dubious methods for apprehending criminals were instrumental in building the U.S. Secret Service.

Mihm argues that the freewheeling environment of the first half of the nineteenth century blurred the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate businesses. Observers of the time even suggested that counterfeiters provided a useful service: notes accepted as genuine increased the amount of commerce that could be done. Others argued that irresponsible bankers were no better than counterfeiters, and that a generally accepted fake note was preferable to one issued by a bank that had suspended payments. At times Mihm identifies so closely with his historical actors that he endorses their characterization of all capitalist activity as nothing but a "confidence game," an assertion that becomes one of the book's dominant themes. A full-length monograph on the antebellum debates about the currency (as opposed to the closely allied topic of banks) has yet to be written. But presumably such a work would pay close attention not just to hard-money advocates such as Wil-

liam Gouge, but also to supporters of a liberal policy on paper money—men like political economist Henry Carey and clergyman Calvin Colton, who maintained that Americans' willingness to use these instruments was proof of the new republic's capacity to induce trust among its citizens.

This book may too readily embrace the close identification of capitalism with con men. But it succeeds very well in recovering the strange and mostly forgotten "business" of counterfeiting that thrived prior to the Civil War. Mihm's book shows that a functioning currency both depends on and helps to legitimate the government that produces it. The dramatic decline in counterfeiting beginning in the late nineteenth century testifies to the growing effectiveness of the U.S. Secret Service. But it was equally true that this arm of the federal government could only exist in a nation whose citizens had come to value their national currency: a nation, in short, where no counterfeiter could ever again achieve the status of entrepreneur, much less of folk hero.

ROWENA OLEGARIO
Vanderbilt University

DAVID VAUGHT. *After the Gold Rush: Tarnished Dreams in the Sacramento Valley*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 310. \$55.00.

David Vaught's book takes as its subject the wheat farmers of the Putah Creek region just west of Sacramento in California's Central Valley. Although this region eventually included the city of Davis, Vaught is little interested in urban growth. Rather, this book is an agricultural history. Vaught's objective (which he articulates in his short "Essay on Sources" at the end of the book) is to counter the depictions of California farmers as merely exploiters of the land. He envisions the book as "a 'new' rural history—that is, a book that examines wheat farmers in their social and cultural contexts" (p. 298). To embed his subjects in their social and cultural environment, Vaught sticks closely to his manuscript sources, drawn primarily from county archives and the collections of the University of California at Davis and the California State Library in Sacramento. From those sources, we learn much of Putah Creek's social and cultural history. The region's residents, many of whom were failed gold prospectors, gambled on horse races, heard sermons from itinerant circuit riders, and engaged with each other as well as with railroads, grain dealers, and the state in a seemingly endless round of litigation over land and agricultural commodities.

A dense, county-level study, this book takes as its models studies of the nineteenth-century rural Midwest such as John Mack Faragher's *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (1986). Vaught sees many parallels between Putah Creek and the rural Midwest—not surprisingly, as no less than eighty percent of Putah Creek's residents in 1860 had migrated there from the Midwest. Wisely, however, Vaught does not claim that Putah

Creek was representative of all of mid-nineteenth-century California. Putah Creek appears as a decidedly Anglo place. Unlike the rest of the state, in Vaught's account there appears to have been little Mexican or Indian presence after 1848. While wheat producers hired farmhands, Putah Creek in Vaught's telling does not seem to have been characterized by wage labor as in urban California or the mining and logging regions.

Yet in other respects Putah Creek was less like the rural Midwest and more like the rest of California. Vaught shies away from engaging the work of other recent historians of rural California. Those historians—David Igler (*Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West* [2005]), Douglas Cazaux Sackman (*Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* [2005]), and Steven Stoll (*The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* [1998]) among them—have argued that California's nineteenth-century agricultural sector was effectively industrial in its reliance on railroads, steam-powered farm machinery, irrigation, and chemicals. Vaught addresses this interpretation only at the very end of the book, and then only briefly and dismissively. He brushes off those agricultural and environmental historians who have seen California farmers as mechanized and profit-oriented: "One might be tempted to conclude that the region's farmers were greedy capitalists who, upon failing as greedy miners, took up the most easily and profitably produced frontier crop. That same unquenchable thirst led them to oppress their workers, rape the land, and in general help launch California agriculture in the wrong direction. Such a conclusion is too simplistic, although Putah Creek farmers were hardly symbols of Jeffersonian virtue" (p. 227). Yet much of Vaught's own evidence confirms the industrial interpretation of California agriculture. In a chapter entitled "As Good As Wheat," for instance, Vaught explains how the advent of railroads and steam-powered threshers allowed wheat cultivation to increase markedly.

Yet Vaught's purpose is not to rebut the prevailing interpretation of California agriculture as heavily commercialized and mechanized. His book is rather an effort to complement that economic and environmental analysis with attention to farmers' daily lives. The result is a detailed and focused study that advances our understanding of nineteenth-century California rural history.

ANDREW C. ISENBERG
Temple University

DAINA RAMEY BERRY. *"Swing the Sickle for the Harvest is Ripe": Gender and Slavery in Antebellum Georgia*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 224. \$40.00.

A particular definition of skilled labor lies at the heart of Daina Ramey Berry's analysis of gendered work patterns among slaves in two antebellum Georgia counties, one in the lowcountry or tidewater region (Glynn) and the other in the upcountry or piedmont region

(Wilkes). For too long, Berry believes, historians writing about slave labor have defined skilled work as trade or craft labor—work largely done by men. By altering the definition to mean “the ability to do any form of work well” (p. 9), women become more visible and everyone gains a better understanding of the gendered work patterns that prevailed on Georgia’s plantations and farms. Slaveholders valued skilled workers and put their talents to use in ways that often (especially outside of domestic settings) discounted cultural expectations about gender. As a result, women as well as men obtained the rewards that accrued to skilled laborers, including opportunities to travel off the plantation and to better their material condition of living.

Not everyone will be satisfied with Berry’s definition of skilled labor. Although she succeeds in demonstrating that those slaves of both sexes who worked well at owner-assigned tasks achieved greater mobility, increased protection, and more material goods, it is less clear that slaves with extensive and expensive training in trades (largely men) were not a class apart from other slaves. In addition, some readers will be left to wonder how enslaved women and men who failed to perform their jobs satisfactorily fared in Glynn and Wilkes county communities. Also unanswered is why and how certain slaves gained the ability and desire to perform work better than others.

The author mines a wealth of plantation records, certain slave narratives, and the accounts of the Freedmen’s Saving and Trust Company (which make reference to slave family networks) to distinguish work patterns on large, self-contained slaveholdings in Glynn County from those on small, more open, slaveholdings in Wilkes County. Herein lies Berry’s most valuable contribution to the literature on work and slavery because work and economic trends spilled over to shape many aspects of a slave’s life. Large economic forces loomed large in decisions about who was hired out to work for others and who stayed home, and who could participate in informal market activities and who could not. The lowcountry’s larger work forces ensured greater stability in family life. In both the lowcountry and the upcountry, enslaved men and women “became victims of reproductive abuse” (p. 79) as owners sought to increase the labor force. The “working social,” which Berry defines as certain types of work performed in groups such as quilting, corn shucking, and fence repair (p. 3) brought men and women together where they could meet, court, and enjoy each other’s company. In short, Berry’s book contributes to our understanding about how slaveholders attempted to control slave labor and what men and women did to shape family lives within the confines of enslavement.

MARIE JENKINS SCHWARTZ
University of Rhode Island

ROBERT PIERCE FORBES. *The Missouri Compromise and Its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. 369. \$45.00.

Robert Pierce Forbes has written an important book offering the first systematic reinterpretation of the Missouri Compromise and its aftermath in more than a generation. Forbes’s work is revisionist history in the best sense of the term, challenging hoary historiographical maxims with new evidence, new points of view, and new interpretive sophistication. Forbes sweeping re-examination of the Missouri controversy and its larger meaning for the future of the republic holds that the issue of slavery controlled and directed early national and Jacksonian politics even when such control and direction were not immediately visible. The “black hole of slavery,” Forbes argues, “drew everything near within its gravitational field.” For example, the “massive southern resistance to slavery restriction” that surfaced during the Missouri controversy, Forbes contends, illustrated “how narrow the parameters of national politics had become as a result of the influence of slavery” (p. 9).

In Forbes’s account, James Monroe emerges as an imaginative and skillful president whose archaic eighteenth-century appearance and manners disguised both a political cleverness and a strong nationalism that have long eluded historians. Monroe’s political skills and his desire for a strong Union were masked by an unprepossessing style and a penchant for couching bold and innovative policies within plain, traditional rhetoric, positioning the Virginia planter as formidable chief executive consistently underestimated by friend and foe alike. Moreover, Monroe actually sought “a sweeping expansion of federal power in the service of programs designed to promote national unity and prosperity, including a radical campaign to eliminate slavery and the African presence” (p. 15) from American life.

The Missouri crisis emerged, Forbes argues, not, as Thomas Jefferson and many other southern Republicans believed, as a latter-day Federalist gambit to revive the first American party system along new sectional lines, but from a genuine northern disdain for slavery and a growing northern frustration with the disproportionate political influence enjoyed by the slaveholding states through the Constitution’s three-fifths clause. Hence, most northern politicians, regardless of prior party affiliation, expressed a reluctance to create additional slaveholding states. The Missouri crisis brought northern opposition to slavery and the political clout of slaveholders suddenly into plain view. The unpremeditated southern response to the surprise proposal by New York’s James Tallmadge to deny Missouri admission to the Union as a slave state revealed the extent to which the South was committed to slavery, though not yet as a perpetual institution or a positive good. Above all, the South in 1820 asserted that it should not be stigmatized for sustaining slavery and that no quick solution to the problem of slavery lay at hand. It took all of Monroe’s considerable skill, misdirection and patronage to convince just barely enough northern Republicans to support the compromise. The President succeeded by making the Missouri issue one

of party loyalty rather than one concerning the future of slavery in the American republic.

Following the Missouri controversy, New York Republican Martin Van Buren continued to nurture Republican strength (as well as his own personal influence) through a similar coalition of "plain republicans" of the North and the slaveholding planters of the South. Van Buren had internalized the lessons of New York politics and the Missouri crisis well. He believed that partisan loyalty remained strong only when perpetually threatened. Unlike Monroe, Van Buren yearned for no "Era of Good Feelings," no unity or consensus in the body politic; instead, the sly New Yorker wanted just enough competition to suppress differences over slavery among Republicans and just enough of a majority to keep his party in power. Yet Forbes points out (while also chastising other historians for failing to note) that during the first two years of his presidency, John Quincy Adams's nationalist agenda remained quite popular, both with Congress and voters. Had it not been for the extraordinary personage and career of Andrew Jackson, it is unclear that the Republican coalition Van Buren desired would have cohered. In his discussion of Jackson and other post-Compromise developments, Forbes winds his way intelligently and with originality toward a nonetheless familiar conclusion: that the politicians of the second American party system succeeded in preventing a sectional polarization over the issue of slavery as long as the role of the government in promoting economic growth and development remained the central issues in America political life, but could no longer contain polarizing forces once the expansion of slavery into western territories became a central public concern.

In the end, Forbes comes down emphatically in opposition to the idea of southern, or, for that matter, northern, exceptionalism. Slavery was "an American contradiction not a Southern peculiarity." Northerners and southerners "shared the same moral and intellectual worlds just as they shared the same nation" (p. 272) but they had differences, chiefly differences of interests concerning the issue of slavery. Abraham Lincoln was right, Forbes contends, to see the North as implicated in the moral tragedy of slavery and right to think such a tragedy required a national reckoning. But emancipation in 1863 was accomplished by military force and justified primarily as a military necessity with moral arguments filtering in only "around the edges" (p. 273). As a result, Forbes reasons, slavery in the United States was never so much discredited as "rendered obsolete by force," thus leaving the "pernicious theories of race" (p. 273) that had underpinned slavery free to flourish once again without the burden of slavery to weigh them down.

Ultimately, Forbes's book is a brilliant and an essential reconsideration of an important episode in American history. It is a work of thorough scholarship and penetrating insights. If the book disappoints in any way, it is only because Forbes's sometimes hurried and familiar exposition of the post-nullification events de-

tracts from the tight focus and impressive specificity of earlier portions of the volume.

LACY FORD

University of South Carolina

JEREMY NEELY. *The Border between Them: Violence and Reconciliation on the Kansas-Missouri Line*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 305. \$39.95.

This book offers a narrative history of six counties that straddle the Kansas-Missouri border below Kansas City; the Osage River runs through the middle of the area. The area was the site of some of the bitterest violence and most drastic policies of the Civil War era. "Jayhawkers," "redlegs," and "border ruffians" became storied actors on a blood-stained stage. The notorious General Orders No. 11, which substantially depopulated the Missouri part of the region in 1863, remains unique in the Civil War for the thorough sweep of its application to civilians. Yet the counties—three in Kansas (Miami, Linn, and Bourbon) and three in Missouri (Cass, Bates, and Vernon)—did not witness traditional blue-gray conflict. There were slaveholders in the Missouri counties, all right, but, as Jeremy Neely puts it, "Most slave-owning households in the Osage valley bore little resemblance to the large plantations of the Deep South, where the intensive production of cash crops like cotton and tobacco relied on large numbers of slave laborers" (p. 31). And the Kansans likewise were not stereotypical northerners but might as easily be described as westerners.

Although the author has written a skilled and seamless narrative, the study is also a social history of the area from Zebulon Pike's exploration to the Populist era, based on painstaking research in census data. The argument in the book is that the dramatic differences that antagonists felt on opposite sides of the border in the "Bleeding Kansas" era of the 1850s (and in the Civil War guerrilla warfare that was a continuation of it) were socially obliterated soon after the war, for the most part by immigration of new settlers. In the end, the area became one borderless corn belt in economy and culture—but not in political culture. Kansas was markedly Republican and Missouri markedly Democratic. Only the Populists had the ability briefly to override some of those party loyalties based on "memory."

The material in this book will interest many kinds of historians. Neely describes the economy, the military history of the Civil War, the roles of women (particularly in the "corn belt" culture of the postwar era), and the lives of African Americans. He also deals with religion, but religion does not lend itself to history based substantially on census records and is not as well treated as secular parts of the society in the six counties. Of course, political history cannot be ignored, but the political history is somewhat unevenly covered. I could not find treatment of the election of 1864, for example, although Neely highlights the contested elections of the 1850s in Kansas and the presidential election of 1860. The party developments in the Reconstruction era, es-

pecially the most interesting ones involving the enfranchisement of African Americans, the disfranchisement of former Confederates, and the attempts to enfranchise women, receive extended treatment. On the whole, however, the political history seems less well-informed by the interpretive developments of recent historiography.

The postwar history of the area was marked by vigilante violence: against railroad men by squatters along their proposed routes, against "public officials" by citizens whom they had swindled (p. 196), and against saloons by axe-wielding women of the vigorous Kansas temperance movement. The equivalent of that violent style in the Civil War era was guerrilla warfare motivated by revenge. In the end, Neely appears to fall back on an explanation based on "the culture of violence that had long prevailed across much of the American frontier" (p. 197).

I must say that Jeremy Neely is, as far as I know, no kin of mine, but that is too bad, for any family should be proud to claim the author of a well-written, deeply researched, informed, and sensibly argued book.

MARK E. NEELY, JR.
Pennsylvania State University

JAMES OAKES. *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Anti-slavery Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2007. Pp. xxii, 328. \$26.95.

Leaders have often been constructed within a binary discourse that privileges ideological and irreconcilable differences. On closer examination, however, these seemingly different leaders can be seen to share much more in common. In the last two decades, revisionist historiography has moved leadership studies beyond the binary perspective to the illumination of complexities and convergences. Re-examined and analyzed within the dual biographical genre, hitherto adversarial figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, or Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, are now better understood and appreciated for their complex and dynamic ideas and strategies. James Oakes's book advances this genre even further by juxtaposing two leaders from radically different backgrounds: Frederick Douglass, a radical black abolitionist, and Abraham Lincoln, a conservative white reformer and politician.

Oakes's objective is to help us understand why two prominent American leaders who shared a passionate hatred of slavery remained apart and alienated for so long. What kept them apart? What eventually brought them together? Although both hated slavery, Lincoln and Douglass were kept apart by the constraints of their respective positions. Lincoln started out disdainful of the abolitionist movement of which Douglass was a member. He functioned within a context of constitutional and legal restraints that accented compromises and concessions. His office dictated a strategy of delicately balancing and navigating diverse and competing interests and constituencies. While seemingly conser-

vative, compromising and even appeasing to the causal observer, this strategy was actually driven by radical intents and consequences: the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Unfortunately, the deliberate steps Lincoln took to underscore his conservatism prevented Douglass from discerning the radical implications. Douglass, the ex-slave, was impatient with the moderate and compromising approaches of anti-slavery politicians and reformers such as Lincoln. He was appalled by Lincoln's slow pace, especially his refusal to embrace abolition, and his seeming contradictory posture of condemning slavery while catering to interests and groups that are opposed to change. Douglass could not understand how someone professing anti-slavery would at the same time be that compromising and conservative. Thus, both were kept apart by seemingly irreconcilable differences until their paths converged in the late 1850s. For this to occur, however, both had to change. By the late 1850s, Lincoln had embraced abolition. His deliberate, conservative, and compromising strategy had set the stage for him to invoke the war powers of the presidency to initiate a radical policy that emancipated slaves without compensation and without colonization. Furthermore, toward the end of his term, Lincoln abandoned his earlier insensitivity to racial discrimination and began to advocate equality for blacks. Although Lincoln had disclaimed abolition, the Union that he defended and sought to restore was, in his judgment, inconceivable with slavery. His compromise policies were meant to set the stage eventually for abolition. The policies were also essential to reassuring, and retaining the loyalty of, northern and border states until it was propitious to move more radically against slavery. Douglass was dumbfounded. But he too had changed. He had shifted from radical abolitionism to anti-slavery politics, a position that enabled him to acknowledge and appreciate the importance of political concessions and compromises. He had come to understand the limitations of uncompromisingly radical strategies.

When Lincoln invoked the war powers of the presidency to justify emancipation, Douglass finally saw the radical implications of Lincoln's strategies. He suddenly realized that he had been misled and blinded by his uncompromisingly radical abolitionist stance. He now moved toward the center and embraced the Civil War and began to oppose radical elements within the black abolitionist movement. He also became very optimistic about the future. Thus, both Lincoln and Douglass changed and gravitated toward each other. Lincoln embraced abolition, and Douglass embraced anti-slavery politics. This coming together enabled Douglass to better appreciate the radical and revolutionary contents and implications of Lincoln's policies. Suddenly, to Douglass, Lincoln became the exemplar of radicalism in comparison to Democrats who seemed intent on subverting change. In the aftermath of Lincoln's assassination, Douglass campaigned fervently for the continuation and preservation of his policies and legacy.

The late August Meier once described nineteenth-century black political leaders as moderates, as prac-

tical men who saw the necessity for compromise and white support in order to advance both themselves and the interests of their constituencies. In the case of Douglass, Oakes tells us, the path to compromise was long and torturous. But Oakes's study is also a compelling illustration of how compromises can bring hitherto and seemingly irreconcilable leaders together. The effectiveness of leadership is defined often not by rigid ideological posturing, but the ability to know when to compromise, when concessions are necessary, and how to navigate delicately between competing interests and groups.

TUNDE ADELEKE
Iowa State University

MILTON C. SERNETT. *Harriet Tubman: Myth, Memory, and History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 409. \$24.95.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the subject of Harriet Tubman surged in popularity among scholars and biographers after decades of leaving her story to the realms of juvenile literature, secondary education textbooks, and popular culture. The year 2003 saw the publication of not one, but three critical biographies of Tubman, the first since 1943. Milton C. Sernett's book stands, among other things, as a refreshing example of scholarly generosity and collaborative spirit. Jean H. Humez, author of *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (2003), joins Kate Clifford Larson, author of *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (2003), in Sernett's acknowledgements as key intellectual influences who also shared with him sources and ideas.

Born into slavery sometime in the 1820s in Maryland, Tubman freed herself in 1849 and became a leading figure of the abolitionist movement and enduring symbol of the Underground Railroad. She risked everything to return several times to the South to help free others and served as a nurse and Union scout during the Civil War. After the war, and for the rest of her long life, she struggled financially while continuing to work for racial and gender justice from her home in upstate New York until her death in 1913. Unlike Harriet Jacobs, Frederick Douglass, and Booker T. Washington (who spoke at the dedication of a memorial tablet for Tubman in her adopted community of Auburn, New York, in 1914), Tubman was illiterate and so could not write a slave narrative or any subsequent autobiography. Similar to Sojourner Truth, she did tell her story often—to a biographer, as a speaker for abolition and woman suffrage, and in more intimate settings. Historians have accounts of these stories but nothing in Tubman's own hand. This has made her both harder to grasp as a historical figure and far easier to mythologize, which is where Sernett steps in.

Sernett's richly textured study is not foremost a biography but an analysis of the interplay of individual and collective history-making, myth-making, and the cultural memories surrounding Tubman. His goal is

two-fold: to "recover" the historical Tubman from the dense thicket of legend that engulfs her, and to historicize the very processes of creating a legend. He describes his study as "primarily about the remembered Tubman—that is about the myth that draws on the factual core but is often in tension with it" (p. 3). Tracing the remembered woman through various incarnations, from "Minty" and "Black Moses" to "The General" and "Aunt Harriet," Sernett asks why Tubman's life and actions have been narrated in particular ways over time by different people searching for a "usable past." In analyzing the uses to which her history and mythologies have been aimed, from black liberation and economic justice to women's rights and multiculturalism, Sernett reserves his strongest criticisms for feminist activists and scholars who sought first to link the living Tubman and then her memory, heroism, and stature to quests for women's liberation. His very timely book ends with the most recent chapter in the crafting of Tubman's story and the riches of 2003, examining, along with the works by Humez and Larson, Catherine Clinton's *Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom* (2003).

This is an impressively researched and fascinating book. Sernett considers a vast range of sources to peel back the many layers of "myth, memory, and history" around Tubman, including literature, history, biography, fine art, music, theater, film and television, material culture, and heritage tourism. He is clearly most at home analyzing and historicizing written texts, and at times leaves discussions of visual culture and popular materials less well developed. While those working in the areas of cultural memory and slavery, abolition, the Civil War, and Reconstruction will find it particularly valuable, Sernett's study of the many stories of Tubman makes significant contributions to deeper understandings of the place of memory in American history and political culture widely.

MICKI McELYA
University of Connecticut

AARON SHEEHAN-DEAN, editor. *The View From the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers*. Afterword by JOSEPH T. GLATTHAAR. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. vi, 266. \$40.00.

This book is among the latest entries in the substantial, still growing literature on the common soldier of the American Civil War. The literature began with two copiously researched works by Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (1952). Together they offered not just the first but seemingly the last word on the subject. Historians did not really extend Wiley's explorations until the 1980s, when numerous important works emerged in quick succession, among them Michael Barton's *Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (1981); Gerald F. Linderman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (1987); and Reid

Mitchell's *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences* (1988). The trend continued with the publication of *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* by Earl J. Hess (1997); *Lee's Miserables* by J. Tracy Power (1998); and two studies by James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861–1865* (1994) and *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought the Civil War* (1997); and Joseph T. Glatthaar's *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (2000).

Editor Aaron Sheehan-Dean explains this flurry of interest as an overdue embrace of the new social history that emerged in the historical profession during the 1960s (p. 23). An additional factor is the sheer volume of surviving soldier letters and diaries. However, the soldier who has come most readily into focus is the white, native-born volunteer, for the sources are most abundantly available for this group. And it is to such men that the contributors to this collection devote most of their attention.

Chandra Manning explores the shifting views of white Union soldiers toward emancipation and finds that they reached, more rapidly than did their commanders, the conclusion that slavery must be destroyed. They “served as effective advocates, pushing civilians and political leaders to embrace emancipation” (p. 50). Rejecting the still common myth of the Blue and Gray as mutually respectful antagonists, Jason Phillips plumbs the depths of the hostility of Confederate soldiers toward their northern adversaries. Lisa Laskin discovers that soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia often viewed the civilians they defended with distaste, and as the conflict wore on, saw them increasingly as ingrates and defeatists.

David W. Rolfs offers a sensitive reading of the ways in which committed Christians struggled—and often failed—to reconcile their faith with the brutal demands of war. Ken T. Dollar explores a parallel struggle by Christians simply to keep their faith in the often profane environment of camp life, and concludes that their success in the early months of the war laid the groundwork for the mass revivals that came later. Through an examination of Pennsylvania soldiers, Timothy J. Orr deepens our understanding of the intense distaste of Union troops toward antiwar Peace Democrats, and their efforts through unit resolutions and letters to newspapers to discredit these “Copperheads” as little more than traitors.

Charles E. Brooks examines the ways in which members of the Fourth Texas undercut their elitist regimental commander and insisted on their right to elect officers and control the terms of their service. Brooks sees this as an important mechanism by which the largely non-slaveholding soldiers reconciled themselves to the pro-secession, usually slaveholding officers who led them. Brooks sees this martial manifestation of “popular sovereignty” as, on balance, a source of strength to the Confederate Army.

The essays largely avoid the cauldron of combat. The closest approach is Kevin M. Levin's fine essay on the

Battle of the Crater. However, he deals with the contested memory of that battle, not the battle itself. Virginia units and those of other states fought for pride of place in the counterattack that repelled the Union assault on July 30, 1864. In so doing, he reminds us that “the earliest interpretations of the war were written by the veterans themselves and rooted in unit and state pride, and not necessarily the pursuit of historical accuracy” (p. 245).

In the concluding essay, Joseph T. Glatthaar compliments the quality of the volume but emphasizes new directions for future research on the common soldier, especially the continued connections between soldiers and their home communities and a longitudinal perspective that would incorporate the prewar and postwar lives of the soldiers. And, noting the impressionistic use of evidence that dominates the literature on the common soldier, he urges a greater embrace of quantitative methodologies.

These are sound suggestions for further work on the white volunteer soldier. However, the literature on this group is now so massive that the most urgently needed investigations lie elsewhere. These include soldiers who were African American, recent immigrants, and conscripts, as well as northern troops who deserted (there is as yet no Union counterpart to the rich literature on Confederate desertion). Nonetheless, the backbone of Civil War armies was indeed the white volunteer soldier, and this collection of essays improves our understanding of him.

Mark Grimsley
Ohio State University

MARGARET HUMPHREYS. *Intensely Human: The Health of the Black Soldier in the American Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 197. \$40.00.

When in 1862 President Abraham Lincoln authorized the use of black troops in the Civil War, their official inclusion in the military was both a practical advantage in the fight against the Confederacy and a powerful symbol of African American liberation from slavery. By the end of the war, some 180,000 African American soldiers (most of them former slaves) would serve in the military and, as Margaret Humphreys shows in this trim, informative book, would die at a notably higher rate than their white counterparts. It is well known that disease, not bullets, killed most men during the war. But Humphreys brings forward the startling statistic that while 2.7 white soldiers succumbed to disease for every battlefield death, for African Americans the ratio was close to 10 to 1. Overall, 18.5 percent of black soldiers died of all causes during the war, compared to 13.5 percent of white soldiers.

Explaining this disparity drives much of this study, which is based mainly on official documents, especially those from military sources and from the U.S. Sanitary Commission. Humphreys's findings cluster into two

major areas of interest. The first is a discussion of the overall threat from disease faced by black soldiers. Humphreys observes that one reason African Americans died more frequently from disease than bullets is that a smaller proportion of them saw combat compared to whites. In terms of particular diseases, she acknowledges the analytic challenges of historically retrospective diagnosis—what doctors recorded as “pneumonia,” for example, may or may not have been what we would call pneumonia—but she forges ahead nonetheless to some intriguing findings. For one, African American soldiers appear to have been more susceptible to malaria than we might expect, given that many of them had prior exposure to the disease and such exposure can confer some resistance. Pulmonary tuberculosis, however, to which African Americans have historically been thought vulnerable, seems to have felled not many soldiers at all, black or white.

While there is some interest in this toting up and comparing of afflictions, it is Humphreys’s second focus that accounts for the book’s greater achievement: a concise, balanced discussion of how racial attitudes among white physicians shaped their standards and expectations of “the Negro’s” abilities as a fighter and thus his capability for postwar citizenship. Abolitionists of both races argued that citizenship was the only just reward for African American war sacrifices. Even so, most white doctors—even sympathetic ones—shared in the racist ideology that black bodies were in general weaker than white bodies, being more “primitive” and trained to dependence, and that this weakness showed the risks of including African Americans in the postwar polity.

Assessing the significance of such views in understanding black health is not a simple task, however, because even though we now view “race” as a cultural rather than a biological marker, there appear to be variations in disease susceptibility among the world’s populations which cannot be explained by culture alone. Thus, as Humphreys nicely shows, the difficult historical work lies in understanding that historians’ view of African American soldiers’ health must take into account both the racist perceptions of their white caregivers and the possibility that these same caregivers were seeing patterns explainable by the actual complexities of environment and genome.

On top of these difficulties are the obvious instances of poor or negligent treatment of sick black soldiers at the hands of white doctors. In episodes in Louisiana and Texas, especially, Humphreys shows that negligence descended to the criminal, as doctors not only read disease through racist lenses but also did not pursue care that even racist views supported. This brief study does not trace change during the course of the war, and it does not systematically compare African American soldiers with white ones. Nor does it do more than mention how such wartime medicine no doubt bolstered the rigid biological racism that arose later in the century. Even so, its lucid, balanced interpretation

makes it an excellent primer on tough issues of race, medical thought, and medical practice.

STEVEN M. STOWE
Indiana University,
Bloomington

SCOTT REYNOLDS NELSON and CAROL SHERIFF. *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America’s Civil War, 1854–1877*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 372. \$24.95.

In this book, Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff promise a “story [that] focuses on returning to visibility as many people as possible” (p. xi). In some respects they succeed. Americans of every stripe—immigrants, slaves, Jayhawkers, planters, abolitionists, soldiers, Native Americans, factory women, and many more—invigorate this social history of the Civil War era. Nelson and Sheriff deliver a concise text well suited for undergraduate courses. They do not, however, tell a story. Instead of building a narrative, the authors divide their book into five thematic sections. Part one’s coverage of the war’s origins and part five’s discussion of its outcomes offer few fresh insights. Throughout, the authors’ specialty—transportation history—offers a prevailing theme, and they stress the importance of railroads and the superior efficiency and organization of the North.

Part two examines why belligerents intensified the war in 1862 instead of recoiling with horror. Nelson and Sheriff show how two Confederate laws, the Conscription Act and the Partisan Ranger Act, stoked guerrilla warfare across the South. Donning blue or gray, partisans and draft dodgers tested civilians’ loyalties with trickery and terror. Families could never tell whether armed men at the door fought for the Union, the Confederacy, or themselves. According to the authors, Union soldiers who hunted guerrillas “became crueler, brutalized by the constant watchfulness and fear that accompanied their attempts to capture men who ignored the rules of warfare” (p. 100). If Confederate guerrillas ignored the rules, Union troops rewrote them. Their stern handling of southern civilians and property preceded Francis Lieber’s Code and William Tecumseh Sherman’s March to the Sea. This aggressive warfare, begun in the ranks, foreshadowed emancipating and enlisting the enemy’s slaves. The theme of northern efficiency propels an intriguing chapter that studies how each side combated death. The authors try to explain why Johnny Reb had a one-in-four chance of dying while Billy Yank faced odds of one in six. Nelson and Sheriff contend that the Union provided better care for the sick and wounded “by drawing on its prewar resources, both material and ideological” (p. 106). Northern reformism spawned aid societies like the United States Sanitary Commission; however, “no similar national organizations existed in the Confederacy,” because of southern localism and aversion to reform (p. 114).

While the efficiency theme works in part two, it fal-

ters in part three, because Nelson and Sheriff uniformly praise Union legislation and criticize "informal" Confederate policies without weighing the disparate contexts that shaped each government (p. 131). Even Confederate state socialism, which enabled a rural country to sprout cities and equip modern armies, fails to impress the authors. "While the Confederacy's forced industrialization turned Charlotte and Atlanta into industrial cities," they claim, "it was clear that if the Republicans won the war they would transform the federal government itself" (p. 143). This is flawed reasoning; the war's outcome does not retroactively diminish the radicalism of Confederate programs. Besides, if the secessionists had won they would have transformed the nation even more. In passages like this one, when the authors seem intent on casting clever Yankees and shambling Rebels, the book lacks a nuanced analysis of the belligerents' political and economic worlds.

Given its title, "The War Hits Home," part four seems poised to deliver the climax of the book, the moment when the Union war effort ruined the Confederate home front. Though Nelson and Sheriff admit that "the war hit home harder in the South," they inexplicably focus on northern life (p. 264). The most decisive examples of the war hitting home, Sherman's campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas and Philip Sheridan's raids through the Shenandoah, are mentioned but not studied. It is a shame that this book neglects these collisions between military and civilian worlds. Social history can explain how the Union harnessed the might of millions to destroy the South. Beyond discussing local examples of guerrilla activity, the authors fail to link the war's massive campaigning armies to national socioeconomic and political forces. Major battles and turning points matter little in this book, which presents structures beyond the battlefield, like financial systems and aid societies, as decisive factors. The Union's ability to fund the war and treat its wounded did not make battles irrelevant; rather an edge in economics or medicine contributed to decisive victories. Set-piece battles and campaigns may seem a preserve of military history, but a comprehensive social history of the war must explain how societies shaped those events. These problems could have been solved in a story. With more ease than thematic textbooks, narratives can counter conventional military epics without losing the war's scope and contingencies. An engaging tale might also reach the war's reading public who seldom appreciate the social forces of the Civil War.

JASON PHILLIPS
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JAMES O. LEHMAN and STEVEN M. NOLT. *Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War*. (Young Center Books in Anabaptist & Pietist Studies.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 353. \$39.95.

It is said that there are more publications about the Civil War than any other topic in U.S. history. In all the

shelves of books, relatively few studies focus on religious groups who sought to avoid participation in the war. This situation is surprising since both Union and Confederate governments struggled with the task of finding sufficient personnel and materiel to support their war efforts, and conscription generated a great deal of public debate on both sides of the battle lines.

This book furthers the task of telling these minority wartime stories, but not as a simple tale. There were differences within and among these groups in their responses to conscription, in their sense of relationship to the Union and Confederate governments, and in their political participation in voting and lobbying for alternatives to military service. While the main attention of James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt is directed to the Mennonite and Amish wartime experience, there is sufficient information about Quaker and Brethren sagas in the book to begin mapping the variety of historic Peace Church positions before, during, and after the war.

The book is structured by region. It turns out that Amish and Mennonite groups experienced their own version of North, South, and West sectionalism. In Pennsylvania, the Amish and Mennonites, along with their Pennsylvania Dutch cousins, were well established and politically influential. They were able to work with politicians to secure alternatives to military service and conscription, initially through paying for expensive and morally knotty substitutes. Almost two years into the war, Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens shepherded the Enrollment Act of 1863 through Congress and President Abraham Lincoln signed the bill into law in March and created the first federal military conscription. Stevens insisted on a provision allowing the payment of an exemption fee, set at \$300. "There are in all countries exemptions for conscience sake, and it is right that there should be," said Stevens during House debate (p. 146). Later that year, Pennsylvania militia saved Lancaster County from Confederate invasion by burning the Columbia-Wrightsville bridge over the Susquehanna River on June 28, 1863, forcing General Robert E. Lee's Army of Virginia to settle for battle at Gettysburg a few days later. Thus no warfare engulfed Pennsylvania Amish and Mennonite communities, and few of their young men fought for the Union.

By way of contrast, Mennonites in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley (there were no Amish settlements) suffered through General Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign of 1862, and General Philip Sheridan's strategic destruction of the Confederate breadbasket in 1864. When the Confederate States of America instituted conscription in April 1862, Mennonites, Quakers, and Dunkards (Church of the Brethren) managed by October to arrange exemption by substitution or by paying a \$500 commutation fee. Mennonites in August and Rockingham counties found it difficult to avoid military service completely, however, and some wore the uniform while refusing to fire their guns or aiming above enemy forces. Others hid during the war or sought escape to the North. A few actively supported the Confederacy. Military operations in the valley re-

sulted in extensive appropriation and destruction of property, including Mennonite farms, livestock, and foodstuffs. It proved impossible to avoid the war in northern Virginia, the main theater of military conflict between blue and gray. Some Mennonites submitted petitions to the postwar Claims Commission regarding physical damages to their property in Virginia. Based on these records, Lehman and Nolt make the expansive claim that Mennonite resistance to the Confederacy in Virginia amounted to "coordinated civil disobedience" and thus represents "the largest collective act of defiance ever carried out by American Mennonites." This may be overstated, one of the few instances in which the authors' conclusions outrun their evidence.

Amish communities in the Midwest (there were few Mennonites west of Pennsylvania) lived at a physical distance from the fighting. Some Amish young men served in Union military units; a few lost their lives in battle. Lacking the political influence of their co-religionists in Pennsylvania, and fortunate to live far from battles and guerrilla war, the Amish in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa tended to lie low, pay commutation fees, and let the war take its course. Mennonite John F. Funk in Chicago initially supported the Union with considerable enthusiasm but gradually moved toward embracing a theology of peace that precluded such overt political involvements. He later moved to Elkhart, Indiana, and became a key nineteenth-century Mennonite leader. For the most part, Amish and Mennonites in the Midwest were distant observers and partial participants in the great conflict.

The war did, indeed, raise questions of citizenship and political participation. In Pennsylvania, Amish and Mennonites voted for Stevens, the avowed war candidate, for Congress and for Andrew Curtin for governor. Then they claimed conscientious objector status. The contradiction was not lost on Democratic newspaper editors, and Reformed Mennonite Daniel Musser called Amish and Mennonites to task in a way that later influenced the nonresistance understanding of Leo Tolstoy. The quandary of entering the political arena in order to secure separation from that arena became painfully clear. It was like playing both sides of a complicated chess match. As a result, as the nineteenth century continued, some chose a more complete separation, such as the Old Order Amish; others chose a path of greater assimilation to mainstream American society in both the former North and South.

The long shelf of books on the American Civil War is enriched by the inclusion of historic Peace Church histories. This book enhances the picture of regional differences, local responses to conscription, the conduct of the military conflict by both sides, and the relationship of minority religions to both Union and Confederacy.

STEVEN D. RESCHLY
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MITCHELL SNAY. *Fenians, Freedmen, and Southern Whites: Race and Nationality in the Era of Reconstruc-*

tion. (Conflicting Worlds.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 218. \$40.00.

Nationalism has been a hot topic in the social sciences and humanities in recent years, yet the case of the United States is absent from much of the new scholarship. Among the relatively few exceptions, research has often been limited by a set of divisions imposed by authors' choices about periods, cases and themes. Such studies mostly focus on either the early republic or the Progressive era and tend to be fixed on either the "native" response to immigrants or the black/white racial divide. Partly as a result of the latter division, scholars tend to understand nationalist discourse as either based in racial or civic claims to belonging, a fact that obscures the often complex relationship between the two.

Mitchell Snay opens these assumptions up to deeper examination on several fronts. He does so first by contrasting strikingly different cases of ethno-racial claims to national belonging and by shifting the temporal context to the era of Reconstruction. In particular, Snay examines the cases of African Americans, southern whites, and Irish Americans, and the movements that channeled their demands for "ethnic autonomy and political self-governance": the Union League, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Fenians, respectively. Equally important is the fact that Snay takes it as an open question whether these groups and movements, while defined on ethno-racial grounds, made their claims about national belonging primarily on the basis of ethnic or civic self-definitions.

Snay begins the book with a series of striking images: an organized Fenian army crossing from New York into Ontario in order to strike a literal and symbolic blow against the British; Union Leagues organizing what amounted to a shadow government in Bullock County, Alabama; and the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, asserting its own right to determine and control state institutions along racial lines. The three cases fit together somewhat unevenly. The nationalist claims of southern blacks and whites were largely aimed at each other, and while the Irish American Fenians were at times engaged with the racial politics of Reconstruction America, the movement was not primarily concerned with defining the boundaries of American nationality. Still, questions of nationality and race came together in these organizations in different but fascinating ways.

The first two substantive chapters place the movements in the context of the Reconstruction era. As inheritors of the republican tradition of secret fraternal organizations, the groups modeled and fostered organizational skills that could eventually support civic self-governance, Snay argues. Yet they were also enmeshed in the bitterly partisan political battles of the time. The movements were part political machines and part paramilitary forces, motivated by what Snay terms a "political culture of countersubversion" that saw enemies as undermining the social and political order.

The remaining chapters shift into a more analytic

mode, examining the degree to which each movement's nationalist claims were driven by class, race, and civic identities. Snay rejects the simplistic notion that the movements were direct responses to class interests. He instead engages with the more interesting ways that the movements' demands for control of land were tied to questions of identity and self-determination. However, Snay ultimately decides that "[w]hatever the basis of a potential nationalism would be during Reconstruction, it would not rest on land" (p. 113).

It would and did rest more firmly on some combination of ethnic and civic claims to belonging. While the three groups differed (with southern whites most invested in ethnic nationalism, and freedmen in civic), Snay's surprising claim is that the nationalism of all the movements was motivated more by civic than by racial identification. "[W]hat is striking in all three groups is the relative weakness of ethnic nationalism," Snay writes, even though "the language of race and ethnicity provided a basis for a collective identity that could mask divisions among their ranks and hence serve as a unifying force" (p. 116).

While the book addresses some limitations in earlier scholarship, it has limitations of its own. Snay misses an opportunity to engage with other prominent work on race and American nationalism. While a broad and synthetic theoretical discussion is clearly beyond the scope of this book, it would be interesting to know how Snay would respond to the broader tendency to emphasize racial over civic nationalism in recent scholarship. Snay's fine-grained case analysis adds color to the discussion, but his treatment also makes a case for the power of civic claims within movements defined on ethno-racial boundaries. Similarly, the fact that the movements are not equivalent is not addressed directly, but to my mind it should be emphasized. As a result, the book is not just about the overlapping borders of racial and national identification. It is about the ethnic and racial basis for national inclusion, exclusion, and recognition.

JOSEPH GERTEIS
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CYNTHIA SKOVE NEVELS. *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness through Racial Violence*. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 106.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 189. \$24.85.

Cynthia Skove Nevels focuses on five of the sixteen African American men lynched in Brazos County, Texas, during 1870–1930: three in 1896, one in 1897, and one in 1901—the latter possibly a “legal” lynching as a judge might have forced the jury to change its initial decision from a life sentence to one of death. All the lynchings seemed to indirectly benefit the county's Irish, Italian, Bohemian, and to lesser extent Jewish settlers seeking to overcome discrimination from the more established so-called “white” society.

Collectively, the five lynchings involved an alleged rape of an Italian woman, the dubious testimony of an Irish man, and actual shootings and murder of two local Bohemian leaders. None of the lynch mobs included the Italian, Irish, Bohemian, or Jewish settlers of the county. Even so, Nevels argues that leaders of the lynchings used suspected or actual atrocities against members of those ethnic groups to act on their racial hatred of African Americans who had achieved some degree of local political influence, especially during Reconstruction and immediately afterward.

The period 1870–1900 witnessed the arrival of over 18,000 Irish immigrants, over 13,000 Bohemians, over 6,000 Italians, and a much lesser number of European Jews to Texas. Today over 600,000 Texans claim at least partial Irish descent, over 200,000 some Czech descent, and over 200,000 claim to be at least part Italian. Additionally, today the state has well over 100,000 Jews. They are all now part of an assimilated Texan population.

This was not so for those particular ethnic groups in Texas during the nineteenth century. At the time, a vast majority of those new arrivals or their immediate descendants experienced prejudice from the more established “white” settlers. How some of those new European arrivals or their offspring managed to overcome such discrimination is the subject of Nevels's extensive case study of one central Texas county. It is a comprehensive study of the economic, social, and political history of Brazos County during the days of the republic, through early statehood, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, followed by the introduction of Jim Crow, with the Irish, Italian, Bohemian, and Jewish populations of the county striving to attain greater acceptance within the more established governing and financial circles. All the while, their progress left behind a large population of African Americans.

Even though Nevels argues that the lynchings provided indirect assistance to the Brazos County Italians, Irish, Bohemians, and Jews struggling to achieve acceptance into the “white” mainstream society of Brazos County, she also stresses that with the hard work and political determination they put forth, as did other European groups in Texas, they would have achieved that assimilation without having to be the beneficiaries of such overt violence against African Americans.

Nevertheless, her study of those Brazos County lynchings and how they helped to benefit those ethnic groups striving to become more acceptable to the dominant social, economic, and political aspects of the county's society provides the reader with an excellent case study within the history of lynching in the United States and should be read in conjunction with other studies broader in context such as William D. Carrigan's *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836–1916* (2004), Paula J. Giddings, *Ida: A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign against Lynching* (2008), and Christopher

Waldrep, ed., *Lynching in America: A History in Documents* (2006).

ALLAN O. KOWNSLAR
Trinity University

WENDY GAMBER. *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 213. \$45.00.

The boardinghouse, Wendy Gamber argues, played an essential role in creating the ideal of the nineteenth-century home. The nineteenth century was the "golden age of the home," yet the relentless propagandizing on behalf of the home so characteristic of the period betrayed anxieties about its true nature (p. 2). To contemporary commentators, and sometimes to boardinghouse residents themselves, the home came to be defined in opposition to the boardinghouse. While the landlady was driven by a desire for pecuniary gain, the wife was motivated by love and her family's best interest. While the boardinghouse parlor was a place of moral danger, the home parlor was a quiet haven. Many criticisms of the boardinghouse, however, could also be applied to the home. Women interested in improving their family's economic situation made the same economic choices that landladies were condemned for: serving cheap cuts of meat, artfully disguised leftovers, and humble side dishes. With limited time, energy, skill, and enthusiasm, many women failed to keep their private homes clean and orderly. Criticizing boardinghouses, and continually reaffirming their difference from private homes, worked to articulate and, ultimately, to overcome obstacles to the idealization of the home.

Gamber's book is largely grounded in the private papers of landladies and boarders, but she supplements these with contemporary newspaper articles, advice books, fiction, and comic sketches featuring boardinghouse keepers and residents. One of the very best aspects of the book is Gamber's detailed attention to landladies' labor. Landladies, frequently but not always assisted by servants or family members, kept the books, negotiating with merchants and delinquent tenants alike; marketed; prepared meals; cleaned dishes; cleaned common and individual rooms; washed linens; emptied wash basins and chamber pots; advertised for and interviewed new tenants; and patrolled the moral character of tenants, evicting those who endangered their establishment's reputation. Additionally, they could be expected to do boarders' personal washing, tend to the sick, watch boarders' children and pets, lend money or extend credit, and be cheerful and attentive hostesses. Yet boarders noticed landladies' work only when they found it insufficient. The very fact that the work was done for profit rendered it suspect in the eyes of many.

Gamber playfully analogizes herself to a boardinghouse keeper (p. ix). And indeed, her book gives evidence of the same combination of workmanlike attention to detail and generosity to the book's inhabitants

that borders looked for in a landlady. Readers, like boardinghouse residents, too often fail to consider the work behind the polished surface, which is why it is important to highlight the amount of archival labor that it must have taken to hunt down the personal papers (some of which were in private hands) of and biographical information about boardinghouse residents. Carefully selecting a representative sampling of residents and keepers of different genders, ethnicities, ages, and social class, Gamber allows each to have his or her say, herself maintaining a congenial attitude toward even the crankiest among them.

Gamber regrets in her text that the paucity of sources on the economic side of boardinghouse keeping, together with the real ambiguity in defining the boardinghouse and the extreme diversity within the category, made it impossible to do a more thorough analysis of the economics of boardinghouse keeping (p. 53). Where her sources permit it, she does focus in on the issues that loomed so large for her subjects: food prices, interest rates charged by lenders, delinquent tenants. Gamber is not, however, able to provide much of a sense of how lucrative boardinghouse keeping was, what percentage of boardinghouse keepers succumbed to bankruptcy, how the initial capital required for boardinghouse-keeping compared to that required for other opportunities available to female business owners, and how these factors may have changed over the lengthy period that she discussed.

I also found myself wanting more context; how did this "peculiarly American institution," which flourished only during the nineteenth century (p. 117), compare to housing arrangements in other times and places? Young urban workers, in particular, have in many times and places paid to live with "private families." Briefly considering how the structure and representations of such arrangements in London or Berlin differed from the boardinghouses in Boston and New York might reveal how and to what extent the boardinghouse was a product of specifically American cultural ideals rather than a fairly generic western response to urbanization.

It is remarkable that this is the first general social and cultural history of the boardinghouse. Given that possibly as many as a half of all nineteenth-century urbanites lived in boardinghouses, a monograph on the subject is shockingly overdue (p. 3). Gamber more than does the subject justice with her well-sourced exploration of the experiences of boarders and boardinghouse keepers, and of their often unflattering popular representations. It is crucial reading for scholars interested in the nineteenth-century city, women's work and entrepreneurship, and the development of domestic ideology.

ELAINE FRANTZ PARSONS

Duquesne University [All reviewers of books by
Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice
of the Board of Editors]

ALLISON L. SNEIDER. *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929*. New

York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 209. \$19.95.

This compact book contributes to recent efforts to consider the implications of imperial politics on women's rights campaigns. Whereas cultural historians have argued that empire offered some women's rights activists the opportunity to carve out a public role by participating in the civilizing mission, Allison L. Sneider finds that national expansion after the Civil War helped U.S. suffragists on a more tactical, political level. The post-Reconstruction period is known as a time when the Supreme Court and Congress accepted the idea of voting as a state right. This point of view undergirded the *Minor v. Happersett* decision (1875), which found that women were not enfranchised under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Instead, the Supreme Court determined that state legislatures should determine voter eligibility. However, as Sneider persuasively argues, expansion kept issues of self-government, sovereignty, and voting rights on the federal agenda. Woman suffragists maintained that legislation such as the 1887 Dawes Act (which conferred citizenship on Native Americans) and the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act (which disenfranchised Utah women in a jab against polygamy) invited a reconsideration of *Minor*. Whether they agreed with expansionist policies or not, suffragists cited precedents from U.S. territories and insular acquisitions to demand a national hearing for their cause.

Rather than attempting to provide an exhaustive account of the links between U.S. expansion and suffrage, Sneider focuses on a series of "expansive moments in U.S. history," that is, on a selection of times "when national boundaries and borders were redrawn by annexation, treaty, or territorial incorporation" (p. 9). These moments reach back to the 1870 debates over the annexation of Santo Domingo and forward to 1929, when literate Puerto Rican women attained suffrage, nine years after the Nineteenth Amendment. This long sweep helps place the 1898 imperial moment into a much larger historical framework, one that is notably richer for encompassing both continental and insular expansion.

Beyond her significant contributions to the history of the U.S. women's suffrage campaign, Sneider contributes to the history of U.S. expansionism by tracking how women's rights leaders and their foes linked domestic struggles over political rights to imperial debates. The relevance of U.S. suffrage campaigns to imperial history can be seen, for example, in *Downes v. Bidwell* (1901), one of the earliest Supreme Court cases to spell out the legal relationship between the United States and its newly acquired colonies. In support of its assertion that national belonging did not necessarily entail political rights, *Downes* cited *Minor* as a precedent.

No less than their colleagues in women's history, historians of expansion can learn much from the complicated and conflicted trains of thought that Sneider untangles. Frederick Douglass opposed territorial status for Washington, D.C., thinking it would mean a retreat

from empowering black male voters, yet he supported territorial status for Santo Domingo, thinking it would enhance democracy on the island and ultimately in the United States. Henry Brown Blackwell also supported the annexation of Santo Domingo, yet he later critiqued the U.S. presence in the Philippines, regarding it as a violation of democratic principles. Context may not be everything in this account, but it is certainly important.

Recognizing the significance of context, Sneider organizes her book around clusters of debates, which she reads against each other for evidence of inconsistencies, continuities, and new lines of thought. These debates divided not only suffragists from anti-suffragists, but also suffragists from each other. Some of the most notable divisions followed racial fault lines, deepening them as they extended them into new terrain. The 1899 Hawaiian Appeal, for example, outraged African American suffragists by endorsing educational and property restrictions even as it demanded that all women in the Hawai'i Territory be able to vote on the same terms as men.

Although the women suffragists of this account differed on expansion, they rallied behind centralized state power, seeing it as a source of liberty for themselves, if not always for others. Sneider recognizes the tactical value of this affiliation, but the geographic scope of her project also illuminates the federal government's shortcomings as a guarantor of rights. When it finally stopped dragging its feet on women's suffrage and embraced it as a hallmark of democratic governance, it did so as an imperial power. Among those who fully appreciated the paradox of imperial suffragism were the women who conclude this excellent book: the Puerto Rican and Filipina suffragists faced with the dilemma of whether it was preferable to vote as subjects of U.S. colonial rule or to enjoy national independence as subjects of male rule.

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JACQUELINE FEAR-SEGAL. *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*. (Indigenous Education.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 395. \$55.00.

This book covers much familiar ground on the subject of American Indian boarding schools at the turn into the twentieth century. Like many recent scholars of American Indian education, Jacqueline Fear-Segal uncovers the hidden agenda of cultural annihilation underlying the inclusionary rhetoric of policy makers and educators associated with several schools. She also documents the complex responses of students and their families or communities—including resistance—to enforced English-only education. The author adds significantly to this body of knowledge, however, by emphasizing the racial context of schooling and by elucidating the relationship between race, architecture, and power.

At the center of Fear-Segal's study is Richard Henry

Pratt, founder and superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, the first eastern boarding school devoted exclusively to American Indian education under the aegis of the United States government. Through analysis of multiple archival documents, Fear-Segal provides a complicated picture of Pratt's behavior and exposes his racial hypocrisy. Pratt "openly scorned . . . white fascination with Indian exoticism," yet "he was not immune to it himself" (p. 3). To publicize his school in its early years, for example, he arranged performances of tribal dances and songs by Carlisle children for the local community. He maintained a "long-standing fascination with measurable differences in Indian bodies" (p. 183). Although Pratt espoused anti-racist views, he created a racially segregated school. Pratt's stated goal was for Indians to become equal members of European American society, but Fear-Segal's analysis of Carlisle's physical layout reveals that Indian students ate, slept, and were buried in different quarters from white people.

It is precisely this focus on physical structures that makes Fear-Segal's book unique. She achieves a remarkable architectural analysis by "[i]nterweaving traditional archival research with interrogation of [the] spatial record," using the tools and concepts of landscape historians and human geographers to reveal "subtle day-to-day forms of racial segregation" (pp. 184–185). Her most compelling example is the school Pratt established on the site of the deserted Carlisle Barracks. Pratt immediately altered the gateway to replicate the entrance to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, where in 1875, while still an army officer, he had organized an education program for Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapahoe, and Caddo prisoners of war. Like the captives at Fort Marion, students at Carlisle were held hostage, with sentries at the gate. As Pratt added buildings to the campus, he positioned them to block off views of the road until "the space where the children lived was . . . entirely enclosed" (p. 201), thus allowing for more concentrated surveillance. Even the innocuous gazebo in the middle of the parade ground, previously used by the army for social and musical programs, was transformed into an "inspection tower"—metaphorically if not physically—for a Carlisle newspaper regularly alerted students to behave themselves under the watchful eye of the invisible "Man-on-the-Bandstand" (p. 216). The newspaper reported every known infraction of the rules, and guilty students could be locked in stone cells as punishment.

Students were disempowered and displaced even in death. Fear-Segal devotes an entire chapter to identifying the spatial and racial politics that led to the segregation of dead bodies. The first student to die at the school was buried in a government plot at a local cemetery, a decision that was challenged by the judge advocate general of the War Department, who determined that "the premises shall be used for the burial of White persons only" (p. 236). The child's body was disinterred and reburied, alongside another Carlisle student, and thus was the Indian cemetery at the Carlisle

school created. In 1927, nine years after the school closed, the entire cemetery was moved so that the army could develop its medical service on the property.

Fear-Segal puts a human face on this story of death and disinterment by tracing the history of one of the buried children: Jack Mather, a Lipan Apache, who died in 1888. Through a painstaking examination of the archival record and through oral history and family stories, Fear-Segal pieced together Jack's life and the life of his sister, Kesetta, also a Carlisle student. The siblings had become prisoners of war after their family was massacred in 1877 by the U.S. Cavalry. Although none of the surviving members of the band knew what had happened to the children, they retold the story of the children's kidnapping at secret annual remembrances for 125 years. It was not until Fear-Segal sent an email to a living descendant, by chance, that the Lipan Apache learned the fate of the "lost ones," as they had always called the children (p. 257). By including Native voices, Fear-Segal's study reminds us that the Native experience in America is not an academic exercise but involves people's cherished memories and present realities.

RUTH SPACK
Bentley College

MARK R. ELLIS. *Law and Order in Buffalo Bill's Country: Legal Culture and Community on the Great Plains, 1867–1910*. (Law in the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 262. \$45.00.

With this monograph, Mark R. Ellis makes a solid contribution to the legal history of the American West. This is no small accomplishment for an important western topic, long held hostage by the purveyors of popular history and imaginative screenplays.

Ellis challenges a common perception of the West as a vast stage for unchecked lawlessness, a notion that has relegated an entire region to the periphery of American legal history. Rather, he argues that the violence, associated with all areas and eras of the West, is more correctly viewed as a localized, time-specific phenomenon than as a broad, regional, colorful romp characterized by blazing pistols and lynching ropes. The author contends that a careful examination of individual communities diminishes the exaggerated fanciful attention given to gunfighters and vigilantes and illuminates the ways in which the citizenry systematically constructed traditional legal institutions in fledgling western settlements. To build his thesis, Ellis focuses on Lincoln County, Nebraska, from its formation in 1867 to the first decade of the twentieth century. The thorough use of criminal case files, inmate records, commissioners' proceedings, court dockets, and newspapers buttressed by appropriate secondary literature gives ballast to the author's argument. Chapter discussions include a highly readable overview of Lincoln County, the various kinds of peace officers, the legal bureaucracy, local jails and the state prison, as well as the criminals and the attorneys who participated in the

development of the legal system. The result is a book that is worthy for the following two reasons.

First, Ellis places a small, nineteenth-century western locale at the center of the history of American jurisprudence. While Ellis in no way overlooks the well-documented violence perpetrated against all people of color in the West, he skillfully shows that the western legal culture of Anglo society was grounded in ordinary employees, mundane organization, and routine administration. The violence of this story typically stemmed from the random accidents and unpredictable assaults associated with any location—no dramatic showdowns at high noon on any Main Street in Lincoln County. Further, neither statutory decisions nor judicial actions cut a path of innovation, but rather they mirrored the established practices of the communities from which Nebraska's settlers had migrated, as they transferred their legal expectations and experiences from the East to the West. Thus, Ellis stands with those who question the originality of a Turnerian frontier, connecting the legal history of Lincoln County to the fundamentals of American law and the national court system. In this, Ellis sides with other western legal scholars, including John R. Wunder and the late Kermit L. Hall, who convincingly demonstrated that the West is in and of the United States of America, not parked next door to it.

Second, Ellis traces the role of the railroads in the emergence of Nebraska's legal identity, delving into a little-appreciated aspect of this complex national industry. In fascinating detail, the author outlines the railroads' multilayered legal impact on Lincoln County and the West, one that stretched beyond maintaining daily timetables from town to town. Those on the margins of the West's economy saw stations and supply depots, loaded with tools and materials, as attractive targets and the cars as the means to hasty escape. In response, railroads added their own lawmen to the West, engaging private police to protect company property. When on-site policing failed, other railroad personnel used the telegraph as a speedy way to convey bulletins about recent felonies, thus permitting company agents to greet an arriving train with suspect descriptions in hand. Overall, railroads produced new opportunities for criminals and led American business, not the government, to professionalize law enforcement and construct a network that addressed communication obstacles across a dauntingly large nation. In this way, the author highlights decisions from the private sector that ultimately influenced national public procedures concerning the management of crime.

Some imprecision mars the text. Ellis assumes those frequenting brothels and saloons were "young, single men," despite ample evidence that bachelors rubbed elbows with married males in western vice districts (p. 113). The definition of "criminal class" is not well explained, and the treatment of gender is thin. Granted, as the author clearly explains, Lincoln County was notable for its white male population and that group dominates the written sources. Yet, who and what made for a "criminal class" among them? As for gender, studies

suggest that misunderstood and under-reported violence against and by women are significant research topics in legal history.

These comments aside, Ellis has further solidified the place of the West in understanding the national context of American legal history.

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CYNTHIA CULVER PRESCOTT. *Gender and Generation on the Far Western Frontier*. (Women's Western Voices.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2007. Pp. x, 219. \$49.95.

A number of significant studies about the experiences of emigrants on the overland trails appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s, many of which addressed gender. Cynthia Culver Prescott re-examines and expands upon the work of such luminaries as John Mack Faragher, Julie Roy Jeffrey, Sandra L. Myres, Lillian Schlissel, and John D. Unruh. She is inspired as well by immigration historians' focus on cultural tensions between generations, particularly as those changes centered on gender issues, and by scholars concerned with the creation of a middle-class culture of consumption. In other words, there is a lot going on in this short but engaging examination of first and second-generation white settlers in Oregon's Willamette Valley.

Prescott's overarching argument is that the second generation struggled to reconcile adherence to their parents' separate spheres ideology with the often bewildering changes wrought by a national consumer culture. In explaining the mindset of the pioneering first generation, she uses an interesting concept of a "barnyard borderland" (p. 18) within which men and women negotiated the gender boundaries of farm work. Although the challenges of traveling the Oregon Trail frequently necessitated more flexibility in gender roles, once established in the Willamette Valley the first settlers attempted to reconstruct the Midwestern norms of the barnyard division of labor. Prescott then shows how second-generation men struggled to establish themselves as manly providers, a goal at times impeded by prolonged states of economic dependence on and subordination to fathers. Exacerbating these generational tensions, the generous terms of the federal Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 also limited many sons' access to land ownership. On the other hand, new possibilities in diversified crop production and marketing as well as opportunities to move away from the farm gave second-generation men some room to achieve independence.

Generational transition is demonstrated as well by shifts in ideas about marriage, from unions predicated on the need for shared labor to the desire for choice and companionship. Prescott sees a cultural change among middle-class Willamette Valley residents emerging in the late-nineteenth century, one that, in the author's apt metaphor, "pruned patriarchal authority and planted seeds of companionship and love in the fertile

soil of the American West" (p. 59). For the first generation, necessity rather than romance motivated marriage decisions and, again, the Donation Land Claim law frequently factored into the equation because married couples could claim twice as much land as single men. Second-generation couples married later on average than their parents and sought to infuse their relationships with a greater degree of equality. Prescott also deftly analyzes changes in women's fashions and quilting styles to examine the "ways in which the daughters of Oregon settlers negotiated the conflicting social forces that simultaneously lured them into the world and drew them deeper into domesticity" (p. 90). Emerging patterns of conspicuous consumption and public display, assisted by the rise of mail order houses, reinforced the class and gender distinctions second-generation Oregonians hoped would differentiate themselves from their more practical parents.

In the last segment of her study, Prescott briefly explores how Willamette Valley daughters defined their sphere in relation to the first generation's gender ideology. Framing this discussion in terms of a late-nineteenth-century women novelists' portrayal of "giddy butterflies," "busy bees," and "women's righters," she concludes that the second generation ultimately chose to redefine but not reject their mothers' domesticity. Even prominent suffragists such as Abigail Scott Duniway steered clear of radical repudiations of traditional conceptions of women's domestic roles. In a concluding chapter reminiscent of Faragher's coda in his *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (1986), Prescott looks at the symbolism that the aging original settlers and their children created to memorialize their pioneering feats. Through the establishment of pioneer associations, Native Sons and Daughters of Oregon chapters, and commissioning of statues, the Willamette Valley's first two generations distilled their complex negotiations over separate spheres into a mythology of "brave pioneers and self-sacrificing mothers" (p. 135).

The clarity with which the author expresses her generalizations and presents evidence is a model for how to write social history effectively. With the possible exception of her discussion on changing roles for second-generation women, a chapter which begged for further development, Prescott's ideas are more than adequately fleshed out. Her use of records from divorce proceedings was the most interesting application of primary sources, as they underscored her contentions about such issues as males' control of property and some women's frustrated desires to enjoy more refinement. This is a fine first book, one that should help open new lines of inquiry into the impacts of westward migration and settlement.

FRANK VAN NUYS

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LAWRENCE M. LIPIN. *Workers and the Wild: Conservation, Consumerism, and Labor in Oregon, 1910-30*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chi-

cago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 213. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

Lawrence M. Lipin's engaging new book crosses some lines that definitely need crossing more often. The most obvious of these is the line between labor and environmental history, which Lipin, following Richard White's *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (1995), proves is pretty arbitrary. The era Lipin tackles, 1910 to 1930, also crosses some long-standing historiographical divisions that unintentionally let World War I stand as a clean historical break. For in linking the prewar era to the 1920s, he emphasizes perhaps the most significant economic and ideological transitions in the labor and environmental histories of the North American West: from producerism to consumerism, and from resources to amenities. The result is a well-written, complex book built on solid research and an eye for the quirky detail.

Lipin accomplishes this through an examination, focused on the membership and leaders of the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Portland Central Labor Council, of Portland workers' changing ideas about and experiences of Oregon's natural abundance. He documents the ways in which a working-class producerist ethic committed to the maximization of nature's productive potential shifted to an uneven but increasingly dominant emphasis on the consumerist "enjoyment" of nature's beauty and bounty. For workers in Portland and elsewhere, this transformation involved some complicated changes in class politics, since the "sportsman's" leisurely conservationism had long been the object of urban and rural working-class scorn. Embracing the joys of scenic highways (formerly disdained in favor of "market roads"), camping (in forests that should have provided timber and jobs), and fishing for government-managed fish (which might have been caught in commercial fisher's nets), Portland's working-class men altered their relations both with their employers and with their rural "brothers."

Lipin argues convincingly that the most important factor in this transition was the mass popularization of the automobile. The passages on the auto are among the most interesting and on their own make the book worth reading. Indeed, the first three chapters (of a four-chapter book) constitute what might be called a sidelong history of the car. Lipin mined the regional archives and presents detailed evidence showing the ways that the possibility, and then the fact, of automobile ownership radically reconfigured how urban workers experienced, and thus understood, the very meaning of nature. It is not going too far to say that the car gave the word "wilderness" (in its modern sense) meaning for Portland workers, when previously it would have had almost none.

This is not to say that the book tells its story in some clean linear account. While the overall shape of the narrative is the way the shift from producer to consumer took place in the ideological arena of nature, Lipin is very good at giving the reader a sense of how messy this

process was, and how, even when it had run its course, important strains of producerism complicated it. For example, building on some of Robert D. Johnston's *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon* (2003), the book argues that even though the producerist emphasis on putting land into productivity diminished substantially, best exemplified by the failed effort to impose a Georgist single tax on unimproved land, producerism did not die. Hydroelectric dams, for example, were high on the Oregon labor movement's priorities throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Nor did consumerism just appear on the scene in a puff of smoke. Lipin shows clearly that the ease and rapidity of workers' absorption into car culture—and the hunting, fishing and vacationing it made possible—was a product of the fact that “worker-consumer” is an old dual identity, one we could trace back to the problem of the wage itself.

In short, this is a very good, worthwhile book. My only reservation lies in the fact that as a way into nature and natural resources, Lipin focuses almost solely on fishing and fisheries. There is good reason for that, of course: many urban workers discovered a consumable nature in the form of a fish on the line, and this complicated their relations to commercial fishers. But that focus makes the production-consumption problem a little easier than it might have been if Oregon's other economy, forestry, had been taken into account. Forest workers do not feature in the book, perhaps because the shift was not so marked for them.

That said, anyone interested in western labor or environmental history will enjoy this book and learn a lot from it. It would also be well-matched with much of the excellent recent work on consumer culture, like Meg Jacobs's *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (2005), especially because of the way Lipin puts the car at the center of the story, suggesting the rich possibilities of an examination of the urban consumption of the rural in the United States. Hopefully, that will be the subject of his next book.

GEOFF MANN

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LEROY G. DORSEY. *We Are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 218. \$34.75.

This book dispels the notion, common among liberal academics, that Theodore Roosevelt was a racist xenophobe. Rather, Leroy G. Dorsey argues, Roosevelt was an ardent nationalist committed to the idea of American greatness. Roosevelt insisted that America could not be great while some percentage of its citizens owed partial allegiance to other countries or while some swore allegiance to no country at all. To be sure, this made for much overblown rhetoric about the dangers of hyphenates and cosmopolitans. But it also made Roosevelt sensitive in his own way to the alienation

within American society of Indians, African Americans, and the poor.

Roosevelt was an ardent exponent of the transformative power of the American frontier. He viewed the frontier as the hothouse of American virtue and the source of the enlightened equality that made the United States exceptional. Roosevelt worried that individuals and groups lacking frontier experience would consequently lack the virtues requisite of self-government. Hence his logical and rhetorical burden in forging one nation from many peoples was to somehow include new petitioners for citizenship into the frontier legend. This burden is what this book is fundamentally about. It depicts Roosevelt defending the eligibility for citizenship of Indians, African Americans, and new European immigrants in terms of their participation in the frontier experience (or some suitable proxy). Readers may be surprised to learn that Roosevelt regarded European immigrants rather than Indians or African Americans as the biggest threat to civic solidarity. With no frontier left at the time of their arrival, immigrants' transformation into pure and simple Americans remained dubious and incomplete.

It has always struck me that, however pompous, arrogant, and often unbearable Roosevelt may have been, he was not, strictly speaking, racist. Roosevelt regarded hierarchical differences among nations and peoples as a function of culture (or “civilization”) rather than blood. Dorsey confirms this impression in what is to me the most engrossing chapter of the book, chapter four, on the “Negro Problem.” Unable historically to transport African Americans to the frontier, Roosevelt situated them in functional equivalents (war, hunting) where individual exemplars demonstrated African Americans' capacity for virtue. By focusing on individuals rather than the group, Dorsey suggests, Roosevelt charted a middle ground between intractable racists, who categorically denied African Americans' capacity for virtue, and starry liberals, who called for granting African Americans full civil and social rights. Dorsey credits Roosevelt with a realistic reading of the temper of his times. His “moderation,” if that is the right word, is certainly alive and well in our times, visible, for example, in the tendency of contemporary conservatives to view individual success stories like those of Clarence Thomas, Condoleezza Rice, and Colin Powell as evidence that the nation has at long last vanquished its racist past.

But what else, besides a few historical parallels, has Roosevelt to offer us? More than an exercise in historicism, this book seems to have been conceived of as an intervention into debates about American civic identity. “The relevance of Roosevelt's rhetorical discourses in contemporary American society is unmistakable,” Dorsey writes in his conclusion (p. 148). But read this way the book gives the impression of someone arriving at a party long after the party has dispersed. The book poses the question, “what does it mean to be American?” (with no acknowledgement of Michael Walzer's 1990 essay by that title), thus taking us back

to the multicultural debates of the 1990s, and to the misbegotten notion that cultural diversity, rather than global economic and industrial developments, posed the gravest threat to U.S. national well-being. Boy, those were the days. In offering Roosevelt as the solution to some contemporary problem of American civic identity, Dorsey seems to misconstrue the current moment and misinterpret Roosevelt's relevance.

The book begins with an autobiographical digression about the racial bigotry experienced by Dorsey's black father and a Japanese-American friend imprisoned during World War II. It concludes with reference to Dorsey's biracial son, who Dorsey imagines one day coming to him with questions about why some people find him different and why he has to constantly prove his Americanism in ways the white majority does not. The dilemmas of identity and solidarity during World War II were very different from those during the Progressive era and those Dorsey's son will confront. Moreover, Roosevelt's universal rhetoric, however comprehensible in its context, was already becoming outdated in his time. Roosevelt and many others may have understood the nation's principal challenge as making one people out of many, as Dorsey suggests. But diverse "other" Americans were beginning to recognize a more urgent problem, namely, to dislodge liberal democracy from its mooring in Anglo-American culture and history and to reestablish it on a civic foundation consistent with cultural pluralism. Not *e pluribus unum*, but *ex uno plura* was the goal of, among others, Franz Boas, Jane Addams, Louis Brandeis, John Dewey, and William James. To the extent that this project remains unfulfilled, it is not Roosevelt to whom we should go for insight, but to others, whose work more effectively balanced the principles of individuality and cultural inclusiveness with a sense of civic solidarity.

JONATHAN M. HANSEN
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TOM GOYENS. *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880–1914*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. x, 263. \$40.00.

Tom Goyens's deeply researched study of German anarchists in New York City makes a significant contribution to the scholarship on urban radicalism and immigration history. The author situates his subjects in two contexts: their German homeland, where they had been originally radicalized, and the densely populated urban neighborhoods in New York where huge numbers of Germans settled. (About one in seven New Yorkers, Goyens reminds us, were born in Germany as of 1890.) In immigrant neighborhoods, such as Yorkville and Kleindeutschland on the Lower East Side, Germans fostered a highly organized, left-wing political culture of which anarchism was an organic part. Although not nearly as powerful as social democracy—which had a solid foundation in the United German Trades and the German-dominated Socialist La-

bor Party—anarchism nonetheless constituted a vital subculture. This book can be considered among the most thorough studies of immigrant German radicalism in the English language.

Attentive to diverse, often conflicting, ideas and programs, Goyens skillfully leads the reader through various schools of anarchist thought. The question of violence was perhaps the most controversial issue. Despite longstanding misconceptions, anarchists, Goyens shows, did not uniformly celebrate violence. Many of them opposed "terror" and even its advocates rarely embraced it wholesale. For instance, the firebrand Johann Most, a former Reichstag deputy and the editor of *Freiheit*, New York's premier anarchist newspaper, denounced Alexander Berkman's 1892 assassination attempt on Henry Clay Frick (p. 133). One wishes Goyens would have devoted even greater attention to the question of violence. His one-page discussion of the 1884 "firebug story," in which a number of anarchists, apparently landlords, torched their own buildings for insurance money, is intriguing but all too brief (p. 119). This "defining incident" surely deserves greater examination.

Goyens's main purpose is not to explicate anarchist thought, recount factional conflicts, or chronicle the lives of colorful figures like Most. He does an excellent job at all three, but Goyens seeks primarily to map "the anarchist movement's geopolitical space," an original approach to the subject. In doing so, Goyens wishes to show that "German anarchists were no freak phenomenon but rather a small component of the larger immigrant fabric spun across America's largest urban region" (p. 2). It is not clear which historians have viewed anarchism as a "freak phenomenon" or denied its place in New York history. Nonetheless, Goyens's method of examining anarchism in the physical spaces in which the movement "moved" (p. 7) is important for understanding this and other radical movements. In venues such as beer and lecture halls, individuals expressed themselves, traded ideas, and forged personal bonds. The anarchist subculture flourished in such "oppositional spaces." Yet Goyens's strongest contentions fall short of convincing. He describes anarchist gathering places, such as Justus Schwab's famous saloon on First Street, as places "of defiance and a space of resistance and revolutionary consciousness" (p. 8). This seems overstated. Did any of Schwab's customers directly defy or resist anybody when they purchased a glass of beer, argued with a fellow anarchist, or listened to lectures in the back room? Did anyone ever try to stop them from doing so? Greater conceptual nuance and empirical evidence is needed to substantiate such claims. Ultimately, the author concludes that the anarchists failed to "subvert capitalist normality." Rather, Goyens writes, anarchists were merely "aware of the revolutionary possibilities of . . . space appropriation" (p. 182).

Notwithstanding the persuasiveness of Goyens's main contentions, he recreates the rich social and cultural life of immigrant German anarchism: theater groups, self-defense groups, lectures, saloons, choirs,

and picnics. Most of these organizations, it seems, were not unique to the anarchist movement, but were adopted from within the German immigrant community and infused with anarchist content. One wishes to learn more about anarchist social and cultural organizations. How did anarchists reconcile their attachment to German *kultur* with their principled commitment to internationalism? What were their attitudes toward Americanization? Were such questions even discussed?

As Goyens explains, immigrant German anarchism largely petered out by the 1900s due to the steady decline in German immigration, upward mobility, and a failure to transmit their subculture to second-generation German Americans. They failed to achieve any great victories in the realm of organized labor and electoral politics (which they eschewed altogether). Yet the German anarchists did succeed, Goyens concludes, in building an "alternative, peaceful countercommunity" which did not quite fit their "rhetoric of insurrectionary violence" (p. 222). German anarchism's legacy would be most strongly felt in the more consequential Jewish anarchist movement, which the German anarchists helped to establish in the mid-1880s. However, a history of Jewish anarchism comparable to this book has yet to be written.

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DAVID R. BERMAN. *Radicalism in the Mountain West, 1890–1920: Socialists, Populists, Miners, and Wobblies*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2007. Pp. xiv, 386. \$39.95.

Ralph Chaplin, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) poet, once asked plaintively, "Don't you know the West is dead?" The "death" to which he referred was that of occupations that once offered independence and the chance of wealth for all. Instead, the forces of absentee corporations and Eastern capital had conquered the region, rendering it a bleaker version of Northeastern industrial towns—a chaotic, lawless, and often brutal society based heavily on extractive industries such as hard rock mining.

David R. Berman examines those who opposed the new social Darwinist, free market world: those laborers, small farmers, political radicals and their sympathizers who hoped to bring a more humane and civilized society to the states and territories occupying the rugged and harsh landscape between the Great Plains and the Pacific Coast. Historians of both labor and radicalism can hardly be said to have neglected the region. From Melvin Dubofsky's early work on western radicalism and the origins of the IWW to Gunther Peck's more recent research on the padrone system among the region's immigrant workers, the historiography of the region is rich and nuanced.

But unlike the numerous books and articles on the Midwest and the Southwest (especially Oklahoma and Texas), no one, to my knowledge, had attempted an

overview of the varieties of radicalism in the Mountain Region as a whole until this work. Berman advances the idea that Western radicals—much like their counterparts in more agrarian states—saw mere reform as largely useless. Having a much more direct experience of the unregulated capitalist system, they sought to replace it.

Their opponents, however, were the "boomers" and boosters who actively courted eastern investors to help them extract the riches of the land once it had been wrenched from its previous American Indian inhabitants. With often cold calculation, they used local and state governments and militias to suppress dissent, as in the case of the 1902 Colorado Mine War. Berman notes that the Mountain West was especially amenable to both radical third party politics and industrial direct action. While he includes such well-known figures as Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Upton Sinclair, and Mother Jones, Berman also emphasizes the roles of more home-grown radicals, like Louis Duncan, miner and Socialist mayor of Butte, Montana, and Davis Waite, the Populist governor of Colorado, who sought to build democratic and humane institutions in the region.

Berman's approach is essentially topical and thematic. He devotes chapters to the People's Party in the region, where the Populists were much more an industrial working-class party than a farmers' one. It was also where the party found its greatest success, with three of the five states that its presidential candidate James Weaver carried in 1892 located there. Berman notes the evolution of western populism into socialism and the development of the region's radical unionism in the form of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and the IWW. Other chapters examine Debs's presidential campaigns in the region and the rise of a more localized municipal socialism (referred to as "Water and Sewer Socialism"). Berman does not shy away from the region's violent labor conflict such as the 1892 Coeur d'Alene miners' strike in Idaho that gave birth to the WFM, and the infamous Ludlow, Colorado, massacre of 1914, in which federal troops attacked a striking miners' tent colony, killing two women and eleven children.

From 1912 to 1917, such incidents, Berman contends, were moving the Mountain West unconsciously toward socialism, even if the Socialist Party failed to benefit from the change. Ultimately World War I and its political repression, fears of the Bolshevik Revolution, strategic political errors and missed opportunities, and the emergence of a more disruptive left-wing element in the Socialist Party all contributed to the decline of radicalism in the region. Berman, however, points out that radicalism in its various forms, and the Socialist Party in particular, educated the public, built support for political and economic innovation, and forced the major political parties to change their positions and embrace reforms that, if falling short of the radicals' goals, did help create more democratic institutions for the Mountain West.

The book suffers a little from Berman's gargantuan

research. His sources are often immense and perhaps a bit daunting. Sometimes the facts and statistics overwhelm his points, and the book's context suffers as a result. Still, this book is essential for anyone, not just labor and radical historians, trying to understand the troubled and conflicted nature of a region that has come, for better or worse, to symbolize America and the American character as a whole.

NIGEL ANTHONY SELLARS
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LESLIE PARIS. *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 364. \$39.00.

In her history of American summer camps up to the early 1940s, Leslie Paris explores how camps were "both signally modern and deeply nostalgic institutions" (p. 258). Nostalgia is the most obvious trope. The pioneers of camps in the late nineteenth century sought to rescue middle and upper-class American boys from the degeneration that they associated with modern city life and the feminized home. Invoking the pioneer spirit, and believing that camping was quintessentially American, they tried to instill qualities that would counteract the perceived effeminacy, luxury, and speed of life of the northeastern cities where they and their clients lived for most of the year. The routines of camp quickly became established: swimming, hiking, the mimicking of imagined Native American rituals, and the camp fire. Private camps were the forerunners, but they were soon joined by organizational camps (the Young Men's Christian Association, Boy Scouts, and many others), and by charity camps for children too poor to contribute to the expenses. Girls, too, were soon able to camp, though never in equal numbers to boys, and with a program of activities that emphasized traditional female roles. Where boys were encouraged to act out what a contemporary called their "inherent savagery," girls were taught that the camp fire was the equivalent of the domestic hearth.

By the early twentieth century summer camping was well established, but the mythical traditional way of life it harked back to had to make compromises with the modern world. Camps were nearly all segregated by class, gender, and race; and they all, especially the private camps, had to pay heed to what parents wanted for their children. They were also attuned to the spirit of the times, emphasising preparation for warfare during World War I and then rapidly retreating from too much emphasis on organization in the postwar period. By then, democratization and a greater respect for children's wishes began to make their impact on the running of camps. Cinema, for example, which in many ways stood for the kind of modernity that the camp pioneers rejected, now became a normal part of the program of activities. Tents began to seem uncomfortable and unhealthy, and most camps replaced them with cabins (which could be given a nostalgic coloring as representative of pioneering white Americans). In what

Paris rightly sees as "the camping industry," alertness to what would attract the punters, and a willingness to innovate, were crucial attributes. The camps made much of their own traditions but were quick to jettison them if they threatened commercial success: the conservatives were not those who ran the camps, but the children, who, invited to become more equal participants in their management, showed a disconcerting wish to be organized into competitions and reward ceremonies.

The summer camps, as Paris demonstrates, reflected dominant themes of American history in this period. Anxieties and prejudices about race, gender, urbanization, immigration, and age were all played out in the camps. Paris analyses, for example, how white campers acted out Indian pageants and amused themselves with minstrel shows, thereby reinforcing images of Native Americans and African Americans—the latter rarely getting a foothold in the camps other than as cooks. In charting a development toward "a new model of American childhood in which children exerted more power in their relations with adults" (p. 135), this book contributes to the history of childhood. By the late 1930s, with fascism the danger, engaging American children in democracy was seen as a safeguard for the future. But it is possible to overstate the new power of children, at least in this sense. It was as consumers in the marketplace, rather than as active citizens, that children exercised most influence.

Fluently written, well researched, alert to the wider picture, this book is an important contribution that can usefully be read alongside Abigail A. Van Slyck's *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (2006), where the emphasis is on the physical design of camps. Paris's final chapter looks at the history of camps from the 1940s to the present: in their heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, about one in six American children attended. It would have been good to have the full history within one volume, but Paris has enterprisingly recreated the early history of camping, putting a generally positive gloss on what she has found. There were unhappy campers, there was much home-sickness, only a few camps made any effort to counter the rifts in American society, but most campers enjoyed themselves—and in later life looked back on their experience with a nostalgia that this book itself may unwittingly encourage.

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JOHN F. BAUMAN and EDWARD K. MULLER. *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889–1943*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 331. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$27.95.

This book traces the interaction between private planning organizations in Pittsburgh and the municipal, county, state, and federal governments whose approval had to be enlisted to enact the planning groups' proposals. John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller focus on

the experiences of business-led planning groups as they formed and reformed to respond to the exigencies of the moment, and their research creates a useful political history of American city planning from its earliest years to the eve of federal Urban Renewal.

Perhaps the easiest way to summarize this history is to understand city planning as an effort to organize and give direction to the muddle of private actors who built the booming nineteenth-century city: railroads, public utilities, industrial firms, streetcar companies, and the myriad local builders and speculators who laid out the streets and built the houses, offices and stores. The famous Pittsburgh Survey of 1907–1908 documents the shortcomings of their combined actions.

Both a disastrous downtown flood in 1907 and the Pittsburgh Survey stimulated businessmen and a progressive mayor to launch the city's first planning studies. Soon thereafter, the businessmen organized into a citizen's planning committee and hired the leading professionals of the day. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. submitted a traffic plan in 1911 and Harlan Bartholomew fashioned a master plan in the years 1921–1923. In these years, too, the businessmen initiated a survey and enacted a zoning ordinance for all the city's districts, despite the opposition of some real estate interests. A Board of Appeals that gave out exceptions appeased the opposition. Finally, in 1939, Robert Moses offered a downtown plan that incorporated much of the work of his predecessors.

Through all these years, the distinguished planner Frederick Bigger (1881–1963) served in a variety of roles to guide the initiatives of the business leaders. Bigger was a champion of professional data collection and master planning for the city and region who realized the limitations of the process he led. He lamented that planners often chased after the consequences of “determining factors” over which they exercised no control. Pittsburgh like all major cities, he felt, shared such an experience.

The hilly topography of the city made for isolated neighborhoods and limited thoroughfare possibilities. Its basic industry, steel, relied on a technology that depended on the local coal, its methods out of date by World War I. Its rivers remained uncontrolled until the federal government built a series of dams in the upper Ohio Valley. Above all, the arrival of the automobile refashioned the city, planners or no. The process was gradual at first, but gathered momentum during the 1930s such that, by the end of World War II, the automobile had destroyed the accumulated high values of land in the “Golden Triangle,” the city's 330-acre downtown, and the central concern of Pittsburgh's planning.

Bauman and Muller are to be congratulated for their careful delineation of these foundational years of American city planning. Theirs is a useful enlargement of the work begun by Roy Lubove in his *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh* (1969). As Lubove noticed with his theme of “public paternalism,” there are no citizens present in Bauman and Muller's history, only business reformers, professional planners, mayors, and govern-

ment officials. Their absence is not a peculiarity of Pittsburgh. Citizens were not present in the American planning process until the 1950s.

It is also important for readers to add a publishing note. The University of Pittsburgh Press published both Lubove's and Baumann and Muller's books. In the former there are useful maps and many illustrations; in the latter but one map, despite the frequent references to streets and bridges. The absence of maps makes this narrative very difficult to follow.

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MICHAEL TAVEL CLARKE. *These Days of Large Things: The Culture of Size in America, 1865–1930*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2007. Pp. 326. \$65.00.

In his innovative exploration of “gigantism,” Michael Tavel Clarke offers a wide-ranging cultural history of “American attitudes toward the body and physical stature” during the Progressive era (p. 5). Selecting an eclectic mix of sources, Clarke conducts a close reading of literary texts, scientific ideas, and public events including representations of “pygmies,” child growth studies, the fiction of Mary Antin and Upton Sinclair, skyscrapers, and corporate capitalism. Influenced by Michel Foucault and employing what he terms “a strategic constructionist approach to the body” (p. 9), Clarke mines each source for what it reveals about Americans' “obsession” with “large things,” which he argues took hold “[a]t the turn of the twentieth century [when] daily life in the United States had assumed a scale unlike anything previously known” (p. 2). Clarke points out the contested nature of this celebration of size; illustrating that Americans were also deeply conflicted, feeling small, overwhelmed, and diminished. Many historians have documented the dynamics of Progressive-era growth—in population, cities, immigration, industry, and government—but Clarke examines the issue of size itself, height in particular, and how “bigness” became a “key component of American identity and a peculiar sign of American progress during this period” (p. 5). Speaking across disciplines (history, anthropology, gender and literary studies), Clarke declares that rather than a set of isolated, random discourses, Americans' tributes to size were instead “a decisive assertion of values that found expression and coherence in disparate ideas, institutions and practices” (p. 7).

Although Clarke does not articulate exactly why he chose certain texts and subjects over others and the overall organization of the book is somewhat choppy, this is a lively, engaging book full of provocative insights. The two most intriguing are his explication of the scientific discourses and his interwoven analysis of racial hierarchies. In order to decode “the basic mythology of height and growth,” the first third of the book highlights the anthropological, medical, and scientific hypotheses that emerged in regard to representations of “pygmies” (most significantly, their display at the

1893 and 1904 World's Fairs), and then the wave of height and growth studies performed at the turn of the century (p. 10). While summary cannot do justice to his nuanced and persuasive argument, Clarke argues that common to all of these discourses was an effort to understand and praise the tall, big body which, in turn, shored up white Americans' "stature" in response to fears raised by such rapid social change.

Clarke never lets race fall far from view. In each chapter he contends that by the end of the nineteenth century, the antebellum view that nurture (social conditions) determined physical size was overtaken by nature (heredity). In relation to "pygmies" and the growth studies, for example, he concludes that "predicated on the view that heredity and race determined body size—stature in particular—these studies contributed to widespread anxieties about the presence of savages in the heart of empire" (p. 95).

Analyzing the fiction of Sinclair and Antin, he illustrates the relationship of race to their efforts to negotiate changing gender roles: the New Woman for Antin and the "shrinking man" for Sinclair. In Clarke's chapter, "The Growing Woman and the Growing Jew," Antin "positioned herself, a Jew in the role of the New Woman" and "rejected racial hierarchies and hereditarian dogma . . . to refute antisemitism and anti-immigrant furor" (p. 214). In *The Jungle*, Sinclair "attempts to unite men across class lines in part by posing the protection and support of women and the containment of blacks as a fundamental (white) masculine and national need" (p. 230). Clarke suggests that almost anywhere one looks, notions about race were central to understanding America's fascination with size.

Clarke's approach is less effective in the middle section of the book that focuses on industrial capitalism and the aesthetic debates provoked by skyscrapers perhaps, because, as he states, "this section wanders further from explicit discussions of the body to examine the historic backdrop that crucially informed changing conceptions of the body during the period" (p. 11). While both chapters make intriguing claims, they may work better as stand-alone essays. In any history of the body, it is extremely difficult to keep the body—whether literal or figurative—at the center of the story, so to truly fill the gap in the "attention to the history of attitudes toward physical stature despite a recent eruption of interest in the body," Clarke might have been more careful in his wanderings, enticing though they are (p. 7). Still, this book is a great read and well worth a few meanderings along the way.

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SARAH A. GORDON. *"Make It Yourself": Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890–1930*. (Gutenberg-e.) Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press, with the American Historical Association. 2007.

This book does a marvelous job examining the multifaceted historical meanings of home sewing in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sarah A. Gordon's choice of time frame is apt: in 1890 some familiarity with home sewing could almost be taken for granted in the experience of American women across a wide spectrum of location, social class, and background, but by the 1920s the spread of ready-made clothing had rendered the practical rationale for such activity much less pressing. Yet as Gordon points out, sewing persisted as cultural behavior even as it became less of a factor in household finances. The reason, she persuasively argues, is that "home sewing is laden with multiple meanings about femininity, labor, family, creativity, sexuality, identity, and economics" (introduction, par. 4).

The book's strength is precisely its ability to examine this topic from so many different angles. Early chapters show that women sewed to economize, but also to mask or highlight social expectations for their race or class, and to show themselves as good wives, caring mothers, or helpful citizens. In the process they found sources of personal expression, a sense of community with other women, at least a small measure of control over their economic destiny, and a means to experiment with or challenge the norms of acceptable appearance and behavior. Gordon makes inventive use of source material, effectively tapping popular magazines, private papers, photographs, school lesson plans, sewing patterns, garments, toys, popular fiction, and oral history.

Although the electronic book format has distinct disadvantages for anyone who does not like to read online or prefers the compact, portable, and tangible qualities of a printed book, it also provides additional resources. The online site offers more than seventy click-to-enlarge photos accessible from within the chapters or in a separate gallery of thumbnail images. Readers can hear portions of interviews that Gordon conducted for the book by downloading ten short audio clips. They can also view a forty-image photo essay documenting the creation of a homemade dress one step at a time. The site includes an engine for full-text searches as well as PDF files of each chapter for those who wish to download and print them.

Characteristic of the book's best moments is a chapter on the type and motivations of sewing instruction received by young girls. By analyzing interviews, instruction books, toys, and paper dolls, Gordon is able to reconstruct the manner in which girls were taught at home; she then shows mainly through published reports that sewing was central to school curricula but had different emphases if the student population was primarily African American, Native American, or immigrant; and finally she uses archival sources to document the manner in which settlement houses, Girl Scout organizations, and child-sized versions of the Progressive-era woman's club (including 30,000 members of the Jenny Wren Doll's Dressmaker's Club) promoted the technical and ideological aspects of sewing to young women. Gordon pushes on to learn what she can about how girls responded to those lessons, using school workbooks, in-

interviews, diaries, and garments to probe the attitudes and expertise of young seamstresses.

A subsequent chapter on home sewing and consumer culture argues that advertisers in the early part of this era tried to reach women using "straightforward tactics" emphasizing quality and affordability (chapter 4, par. 10), while in later years—because the rise of ready-made clothing began to erode the demand for home-sewing supplies—they increasingly focused their marketing on the connection between sewing and "appropriately feminine" identity (chapter 4, par. 3). The evidence here is less persuasive, in part because it takes no notice of the fact that early advertisements and advice columns also embedded gender ideology into their appeals and because the examples offered for the later period focus more on the ease and economy of sewing than on the implicit construction of women's roles. Nonetheless, the chapter demonstrates how this domestic-sphere activity was inextricably entangled with a range of commercial enterprises that sold textiles, sewing machines, patterns, and magazine subscriptions, and thereby how complicated and problematic it can be to trace a smooth transition from a producer to consumer mentality in this time period.

The final chapter makes interesting points about the development of sportswear, asserting that because such garments were both novel and marginal, they offered space to challenge existing norms. The sources once again are rich—this chapter makes particularly good use of existing garments as evidence—although the analysis of gender roles depends on generalized and abstract discussion of ideals such as "modesty" or "appearance" rather than specific links to the gender politics of the time.

Overall, this book is thoroughly successful at showing the multitude of ways that home sewing functioned in women's lives and provides a well-researched and insightful addition to the cultural history of the time period.

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DEBORAH A. SKOK. *More than Neighbors: Catholic Settlements and Day Nurseries in Chicago, 1893–1930*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 241. \$38.00.

The Roman Catholic Church thrived in American cities, and its influence extended far beyond sanctuary walls. The church carved out mini-empires within urban neighborhoods, creating houses of worship, schools, and agencies of social provision that contributed to progress and generated amenities that made life more agreeable. Parishes were often the center of urban neighborhoods. They nurtured piety, encouraged and supported acts of charity, and constructed space for recreation and entertainment.

Deborah A. Skok's study of Catholic settlements and day nurseries in Chicago shines a spotlight on one aspect of the interplay between Catholics and urban life.

In itself, this would probably be enough. But Skok's research also underscores the agency of Catholic laywomen during the Progressive era and calls attention to the multiple contests for space, autonomy, and identity that took place in the neighborhoods of Chicago.

Settlement houses occupy a hallowed place in the standard narrative on Progressive-era America. No college or even high school textbook skips a mention of Jane Addams's Hull House and the role it and other settlement houses played in identifying the agenda for urban reform. Many of these settlement houses were secular endeavors. By setting her study in Chicago, the virtual ground-zero of settlement house work, Skok lifts similar Catholic institutions out of the shadow of Hull House. Her heroines are not the native-born Yankees of Hofstadter fame but middle and upper-class Catholic women themselves not far removed from the conditions of urban poverty. Contrary to the arguments of Allen F. Davis in *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890 to 1914* (1967), the myriad of Catholic and Jewish settlements were more than "missions" and did contribute to social reform.

Skok argues quite effectively that although these organizations were at times hampered by uneven financial support, they were important in helping poor and working-class Chicagoans adjust to the realities of life in the industrializing city. They also left their mark on the political and ecclesiastical culture of Chicago. Eventually, episcopal centralization and a greater professionalization of social welfare services altered the nature of the work. Nonetheless, for the period Skok studies (1893–1930) the settlement houses functioned as semi-autonomous agencies.

Skok identifies three different types of agency that developed in Chicago: the club model, built by Catholic women's clubs; the proprietary settlement, funded and run by wealthy families; and the parish model, founded within parishes and subjected more directly to clerical control. Catholic middle-class reformers focused on preserving the health, morals, and religious allegiance of their constituents, mainly by providing child care for working mothers. Skok situates Catholic settlement work in the matrix of larger developments among middle and upper-class women. She writes a creative chapter on the Catholic variant of the popular rescue stories of the era, fanciful and sometimes lush accounts of widows and orphans in peril saved by the compassion and imagination of highly motivated women. The Catholic versions of this popular genre, found on the pages of the diocesan newspaper *New World*, summoned upper and middle-class Catholic women to reach out to those still mired in poverty and adverse social and economic conditions. Skok identifies and explores the Catholic Women's League (CWL) as an important manifestation of this commitment, drawing parallels between CWL concerns and those of other women's groups and accentuating their ambivalent relationship with the reigning Democratic (and heavily Catholic) Party, which appeared resistant to reform and to the "meddling" of

women. The CWL sponsored a number of day nurseries and settlement houses throughout Chicago and employed working-class women to help run and oversee these institutions. CWL women who entered public life drew on the resources of Catholic social teaching—especially Pope Leo XIII's landmark encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891)—to lobby for reforms in the treatment of the poor and advocate for laborers.

Proprietary settlements are highlighted in the Guardian Angel Mission—an offshoot of the heavily Irish Holy Family Church. Funded by the well-to-do Amberg family, Guardian Angel actually evolved into a full-fledged settlement house. The mission began as a means of assisting the parish by working with the numerous Italians in the area. Guardian Angel resembled Hull House to the extent that both shared the vocation “to change the behavior of the immigrants.” Skok describes in great detail the challenges mission staff experienced as they struggled with the padrone system and strove to alter Italian devotional activities and public celebrations such as the processions that took place in the streets during various feste. Ultimately, the “domestication” of Italian religious practices took place with the creation of a separate mission and later parish for the Italians—something that mission leaders pointed to with pride as a signal accomplishment. In the end, Guardian Angel did not maintain its relationship with the parish churches but spun off into a separate entity renamed Madonna Center. This operation represented, for Skok, “the apex of laywomen's autonomy” in Progressive-era Chicago.

Clerical and religious order control were the usual forms of leadership in nursery/settlement houses founded within and sustained directly by parishes. Skok uses DePaul Center, founded within St. Vincent's Parish, to illustrate this type of charitable endeavor. The early organizational and financial backing for DePaul came from parish bazaars and fund-raisers. The settlement house first opened as a day nursery and was soon put in the hands of the Daughters of Charity, a congregation of sisters, who brought with them professional expertise in child care and the delivery of social services. With the advent of Cardinal George Mundelein in 1915, the centralization and professionalization of Catholic social service provision proceeded apace, eventually replacing the haphazard and voluntaristic efforts of earlier benevolent groups.

The author does more than describe a parallel Catholic narrative to balance out the traditional emphases of settlement house history. She uses each of these institutions to explore other aspects of Chicago and Catholic life. For example, Skok relates the suspicions that the leaders of Guardian Angel/Madonna Center had of the religiosity and moral life of the Italian people. In such passages, it is not difficult to understand the arguments of those who insist that these benevolent activities were really a form of social control. Nonetheless, by reporting as objectively as possible, Skok helps us understand Catholic laywomen reformers on their own terms.

In the story of Mary Amberg and Marie Plamondon, the twin pillars of Guardian Angel/Madonna Center, Skok explores the twists and turns of female agency. She not only asserts the character of their strong leadership, but argues as well that the two enjoyed the company of one another in a way that would suggest more than the bonds of platonic friendship. Skok is on to something here. The nature of this kind of same-sex companionship and its impact on the work of the Catholic Church is a theme that might be profitably explored not only in studies of Catholic laity but also in those of men and women religious. Although religious superiors and rules warned against the dangers of “personal friendships,” there is no doubt that same-sex companions in convents, rectories, and monasteries drew emotional strength and sustenance from one another in a manner resembling marriage.

Skok documents the occasional clashes between clergy and lay women and emphasizes a now familiar theme in many studies of American Catholic women: clerics and “strong” females did not always agree. The uncovering of these clashes certainly contributes to a better understanding of the actual nature of religious institutions, whose older narrative histories often tend to flatten out or ignore such incidents. It also challenges perceptions of docility and submissiveness that do not accurately reflect the true identity of Catholic women, especially religious sisters. Skok does not overstate her case. However, one can ask if such an emphasis sometimes overlooks the more regular patterns of cooperation and communal values that marked religious work in the Roman Catholic Church? Women did at times diverge from church leadership and plotted their own course. Nonetheless, for any kind of charitable work done under Catholic auspices to succeed, the prevailing sentiment had to be one of cooperation rather than confrontation. While some clergy may have been antagonistic and even vindictive toward the “mannish” women who ran the settlement houses, it is fair to assume that the majority of priests favored them, sent them “clients,” helped them in material ways, and welcomed their work.

Skok is on less firm ground when she consistently attributes the interest in charitable work primarily to the impact of *Rerum Novarum*. Indeed, the encyclical did have a wide appeal to many American Catholics. However, the impulse to practice charity predated *Rerum Novarum*. Nowhere was this more true than in Chicago where traditions of caring for the poor, immigrants, and children were hallmarks of the Catholic urban presence.

Skok clearly has a superb command not only of the extensive literature of Progressive-era social welfare reform and women's benevolence but also of American Catholic history related to this field. Her research has advanced the study of American Catholic women and the role of the church in the creation of the social welfare state. However, from the perspective of this reviewer the book serves urban historians best. By softening the supposed rigid boundaries between sacred

and secular Skok gives us a richer picture of the continual interplay of religion and urban life in industrial America.

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JOE L. COKER. *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement*. (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. x, 329. \$50.00.

Although several scholars have chronicled aspects of the southern prohibition movement, their accounts have typically focused on the history of the movement in a single state or locality. Joe L. Coker's book offers a welcome although partial attempt to synthesize these studies and makes a worthy contribution to the history of southern evangelicals and their role in the prohibition movement. It carefully traces how theology, race, gender, and the cult of honor shaped the development of southern antiliquor activism and presented some distinctive challenges and opportunities to the movement. For example, as evangelical teetotalers increasingly embraced political solutions to the problem of drinking during the late nineteenth century, they ran headlong into their own churches, which viewed politics as antithetical to their spiritual mission. Likewise, prohibitionists had to construct a new concept of honor to displace the South's traditional cult of honor and its celebration of drinking, gambling, and violence. Still, the South proved to be fertile ground for the anti-liquor message as southern dries capitalized on the region's growing hostility toward blacks and joined campaigns to restrict their rights and discredit their capacity for self-governance.

Coker's work analyzes the development of evangelical support for prohibition in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia and asserts that these states were generally representative of the South "in terms of politics, geography, economic development, religion, wartime and Reconstruction experience, and social makeup" (p. 7). In focusing on these states, however, he contributes less to the historiography of southern anti-liquor activism than he might have done otherwise. Other historians, such as Paul Isaac and James Benson Sellers, have already published scholarly books and articles on the anti-liquor movements in these areas, while similar campaigns elsewhere (most notably in Arkansas, South Carolina, and Louisiana) remain relatively unstudied. In addition, the author's decision to exclude "atypical southern states such as Florida and Louisiana, with their strong Catholic influence" (p. 7) limits the claim that this book "is the first comprehensive survey of temperance in the South" (book jacket). That said, Coker's unwillingness to grapple with southern Catholicism is not so much a glaring weakness as it is a missed opportunity. The author has a strong background in theological studies, and his analysis of Protestant-Catholic relations in the South undoubtedly would have been insightful.

More significantly, while Coker persuasively argues that idiosyncratic aspects of southern culture shaped the prohibition movement, his emphasis on the region's exceptional character means that he sometimes ignores continuities between the northern and southern anti-liquor efforts. Given the South's ultra-traditional views about gender roles, Coker contends that women's participation in the prohibition movement "raised deep concerns among southern white men, especially in relation to women's suffrage and women's leadership in the church" (p. 200). However, northern men were often similarly troubled by the political demands of female teetotalers, especially their support for suffrage and fuller participation in church decision making. Although framed by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) as vital for protecting the home in the 1880s, women's suffrage did not gain widespread support from northern men until the twentieth century. Women activists were similarly rebuffed by the northern Protestant churches; in 1888, for example, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church refused to seat Frances Willard, a pioneer female delegate to the conference and also the national president of the WCTU. Meanwhile, Coker suggests that southern evangelical denominations were particularly loathe to enter politics because of a uniquely southern theology but never discusses the fact that northern churches often equivocated about dry agitation and also expressed a desire to avoid politics.

Coker's book would have been better informed overall by a greater understanding of the northern prohibition movement. For instance, his claim that "prohibition never gained the level of widespread support in the North to achieve statewide prohibition laws" (p. 231) is factually incorrect; several northern states, including Michigan, Nebraska, Idaho, Indiana, and Washington, adopted state prohibition measures between 1900 and 1918. In a similar fashion, Coker completely overlooks the role of the dry fraternal orders, either national (e.g., the Good Templars) or southern (such as the United Friends of Temperance), in the campaign for a dry America. Such orders may have played a less substantial role in the South than in the North, but they provided secular alternatives to the churches, and their history helps explain the relatively isolated character of southern teetotalers. More specifically, what were the relations between these orders and southern white evangelicals? Again, Coker misses an opportunity to enlighten scholars about a neglected topic.

These caveats aside, Coker has written a lively, absorbing book that is clearly written and well researched. This text is a fine starting point for anyone who wishes to understand the history of the southern prohibition movement and its most ardent supporters, white evangelical Protestants.

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BURTON W. PERETTI. *Nightclub City: Politics and Amusement in Manhattan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 284. \$39.95.

Burton W. Peretti's book constitutes a significant attempt to weave together a cultural history of New York City's nightlife during the interwar period and a political history of municipal efforts to regulate morality. The book is organized chronologically. Peretti first describes the context of the 1920s, which saw the emergence of the nightclub as a New York institution, before devoting several chapters to mostly failed efforts by reformers, city officials, and federal authorities to tame what they perceived as a threat to moral standards. The book then moves to an examination of nightlife during the Depression era, then to Samuel Seabury and Fiorello La Guardia's reform efforts, and concludes with two interesting chapters on nightlife in the late 1930s. Peretti focuses on large processes but also on individuals like nightclub entertainers Mary "Texas" Guinan (of 300 Club and "Hello, sucker!" fame) and Billy Rose, mayors James Walker and La Guardia, reformers George Worthington and Seabury, who add a human dimension to the narrative. Nightclub users, on the other hand, seldom appear in the book, which is largely based on newspaper and magazine sources as well as papers from reformers and reform organizations as well as mayors and municipal archives.

Although New York City's nightlife and political life during the 1920s and 1930s are well known and have been explored in a sizable number of books throughout the last three decades (including Lewis Erenberg's *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture* [1981]), Peretti's most significant contribution resides in his idea that the relation between nightclubs and civic life (a notion that is used but not really defined in the book) should be construed not only in terms of efforts to regulate the city's seamy nightlife and force nightclubs to evolve but also in terms of how nightclubs succeeded over time in changing local norms of propriety and behavior. Influences worked both ways, and what happened in fact was a form of "cross-pollination of nightlife and politics" (p. xiii). The book attempts to sketch this complex cultural process.

This transformation, of course, took time. Peretti's analysis of reform efforts by the Committee of Fourteen or federal attempts to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act (1919) in a "war on the nightclubs" offer some food for his main thesis, but the case of Jimmy "Beau James" Walker, New York City's night mayor par excellence, makes for a stronger argument. Walker rather paradoxically used his firsthand knowledge of the subject to attempt to regulate the city's nightlife, but Peretti interestingly suggests that Walker had a transforming cultural impact on public views of nightclubs that ultimately eclipsed his own peccadilloes. Debates about the place of nightclubs in New York (and, ultimately, the nature of nightly amusements and morality) remained vivacious throughout the 1930s, however, as suggested by a con-

vincing analysis of La Guardia and Robert Moses's early anti-nightclubs efforts. Yet the Depression years saw a dual evolution as nightclubs sought to appeal to a larger middle-class constituency and became less potent sites of challenges to moral values, while municipal authorities soon focused their reformist efforts against other supposedly transgressive amusements like burlesque.

By the 1940s, as a result, the nightclub, once a hallmark of 1920s modernity and a challenge to existing moral, leisure, racial, and sexual values, "had become static" (p. 220). Gone were the days when Harlem nightclubs contributed to transforming racial stereotypes and "new women" were the talk of the town. On the other hand, the smoothing of their former rough modernist edges meant that the nightclubs were still around, contrary to what reformers had originally hoped for. The book's final chapter, "Billy Rose and Nightclubs for the Masses," illustrates this turn to a mass market, perhaps inevitable in Depression-era New York City. Rose's clubs, like the Diamond Horseshoe, displayed a nostalgic formula that included acts celebrating earlier periods of American history (the Wild West, the Gay Nineties). Sentimentalism did not replace sex, but it contributed to make it less obvious and more acceptable to a larger audience and to local authorities. The success of Rose's nightclubs testified to his understanding of New York's new nightlife.

This book is a useful and nuanced addition to twentieth-century New York and U.S. cultural and political history.

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MATTHEW C. GODFREY. *Religion, Politics, and Sugar: The Mormon Church, the Federal Government, and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1907-1921*. Logan: Utah State University Press. 2007. Pp. 226. \$34.95.

Economic historian Leonard J. Arrington declined to discuss controversies surrounding the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company's past in *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Beet Company, 1891-1966* (1966). Noting this omission, Matthew C. Godfrey opines that Arrington omitted the controversies "presumably because of the embarrassment they caused the company" that had given the economist access to its corporate records. However, Arrington knew of the public sources on which Godfrey relies, and insisted that "the choice of the episodes treated is entirely my own, and if the judgment has been bad, the fault is mine" (p. 129, n. 1).

Godfrey argues that the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) "attempted to destroy competitors and to enact policies that would keep it afloat in the cutthroat world of sugar" (p. 14) so that "beet sugar would enrich the LDS church and its leaders" (p. 15). Utah-Idaho Sugar Beet Company leaders, "many of whom were high-ranking church au-

thorities, essentially had a monopoly over both states' sugar production" (p. 46). The "LDS church's role in the industry" included "unseemly conduct by Utah-Idaho leaders, such as stock watering, price hikes for Utah consumers, and actions to discourage independent sugar concerns" (p. 52), even though "its leaders . . . were not supposed to be trying to squeeze profits out of their followers" (p. 84). "LDS leaders insisted that there was no impropriety in their involvement in the sugar industry, but the evidence presented before the Hardwick Committee [of Congress] made that difficult to believe" (p. 92), because "high-ranking church leaders [had] been involved in a corporation that had attempted to gouge its own people" (p. 157). "Despite leaders' claims to the contrary, the Mormon church still exercised considerable economic power in Utah as late as 1920" (p. 179), and "the ultimate question was why an official [the supreme LDS "Presiding Bishop"] in a religion that promoted honesty would resort to, at best, deceptive business techniques" (p. 187). Godfrey finds a "tendency of Utah-Idaho authorities to act in immoral and dishonest ways to eliminate competition" (p. 196), whose "methods were used to line the pockets of LDS leaders who held an interest in Utah-Idaho Sugar" (p. 197).

Aside from passing references to the federal investigations of the company in overviews of Mormon history, Godfrey is the first person in forty years to correct Arrington's "fault" by exploring those neglected controversies. After all, "many members of the LDS church reeled at the news that Heber J. Grant, who had served as their president since 1918, and Charles W. Nibley, their presiding bishop since 1907, faced criminal charges" (p. 144) in separate cases filed by federal prosecutors during 1920. One "transcript contained 13,428 pages of testimony and 6,000 pages of evidence" (p. 166). Godfrey had to conduct his research without access to the company's own records. "The LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City holds the papers of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. However, as of 2005, that collection remained unprocessed and unavailable to the public" (p. 78 n. 65). Lacking those institutional documents, Godfrey pursued the controversies through examining Arrington's research materials at Utah State University, equally accessible manuscripts at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah, federal records in the National Archives, and published sources, including detailed accounts by Salt Lake City's non-LDS newspaper about the federal investigations.

Aside from the damning evidence and partially substantiated allegations he was still able to find, even such limited access allowed Godfrey to diffuse other accusations against the religious leadership of this sugar company. In fact, Godfrey's main thesis repeatedly counters the claim by federal investigators and Utah critics that church-controlled businesses exploited local Mormons by charging them the same price for products as paid by consumers hundreds of miles away. Rather than the LDS hierarchy's ruthlessly pocketing the unexpended costs of transportation for local consumers,

the critics "failed to understand" (p. 83) the inevitable consequences of the national demand since 1890 that the Mormon commonwealth be integrated into the national economy: "it became imperative that [Utah's] prices match what that market set" (p. 84). Likewise, "national market forces affected Utah-Idaho Sugar and could be used to justify questionable actions" (p. 128), including its exploitation of migrant workers (pp. 124–125).

Despite his earlier zingers, Godfrey ends with five pages of sympathetically reasoned answers to the question: "Why did religious leaders permit such conduct to occur, and, in some instances, actively encourage it?" (p. 204). This book is long overdue.

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SUSAN PORTER BENSON. *Household Accounts: Working-Class Family Economies in the Interwar United States*. Afterword by DAVID MONTGOMERY. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 233. \$45.00.

A poignancy infuses this book by Susan Porter Benson. The human stories of struggle, in steady succession, not only offer convincing evidence of scarcity as an abiding theme of working-class life in interwar America, but they are moving: the woman who cared for and fed her neighbor's two children for the modest sum of three dollars per week, because "we got to help each other" (p. 116), or the Italian wife of an unemployed printer, depressed and ashamed to leave the house in her ragged clothes. The images linger. The poignancy of the book's content is compounded by the circumstances of its publication. Porter Benson passed away in 2005, with about ninety-five percent of the book completed. Her colleagues Nancy Hewitt, Charles McGraw, and Sharon Strom finished the manuscript. As with her first book *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (1986), this book reflects Porter Benson's capacity to capture the nuances of working peoples' lives in ways that challenge and complicate broader historical paradigms.

The central argument of this book is that in the interwar years, working-class Americans did not participate in the culture of consumption that most assume had come to dominate by this point. Rather, their lives were defined by unremitting scarcity and scrounging, by tough choices between paying for rent or food—not deciding between attending movies or dance halls. Working people operated in survival mode, often on the brink of destitution. In this context, "the working-class majority tasted the joys of consumption in a very limited way" (p. 6). Porter Benson thus cautions against assuming the ubiquity of mass consumption, claiming it was "not a 'mass' phenomenon but rather a 'class' phenomenon" (p. 12) enjoyed mostly by the middle and upper classes.

Though she initially assumed the book would explore working-class consumption, Porter Benson ultimately made the working-class family economy her operative

framework, a wise choice for allowing a broader analytical canvas. She drew on home-visit interviews conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau and studies of the unemployed by settlement workers and social scientists. Women were both the subjects and investigators; as such, they figure prominently in the book, not only because of the sources' perspective but also because women invariably acted as managers of the household economy.

Porter Benson explores the working-class family economy from a number of angles. Within nuclear families, husbands and wives shared both wage earning and household responsibilities, with men taking on a surprising amount of housework with little complaint. Many families also depended on the income of children. Although this practice was not new, children's wage earning was distinguished in this period by its intersection with intensifying mass consumption and advertising; kids, in turn, developed a stronger sense of entitlement to their earnings. Porter Benson deftly explores the gendered dimensions of this dynamic—daughters contributed more of their earnings to the family yet were harshly criticized for their consumption desires, while sons contributed less and spent more on themselves—revealing a double standard in how parents viewed their children as consumers.

Families also used economic strategies that reached out to relatives, friends, and neighbors. Laying somewhere between a family-based peasant economy and the cash marketplace, these approaches represented a non-institutional subculture of support, barter, and trade in second-hand goods. Porter Benson emphasizes the themes of mutuality and reciprocity here. Families shared household space, typically with the wife's extended family. Childcare likewise involved networks of kin. Relatives, neighbors and friends also engaged widely in borrowing, lending, and giving away material goods—from food, tools, and sewing machines to telephones and cash. This critical sharing of resources reflected the needs and hazards of working-class life, with families deeply dependent upon these individual interconnections, apart from mutual aid societies and the like.

Porter Benson also describes the ways that working-class families entered the cash marketplace, usually as marginal players. She provides an excellent description of the vigorous market in second-hand goods; clothes and furniture were the most common items. When they could afford services, families tended to purchase those that replaced household labor, like baking, sewing, and laundry. For working-class Americans, the culture of consumption was thus tied to home production. They shunned consumer credit, more out of a keen awareness of its steep risks and costs, less on moral grounds. In these ways, they stood on the margins of the consumer culture.

This book forces a reckoning with these material realities as a first step in thinking about working-class labor and consumption in the interwar years. While Liz Cohen's masterful *Making a New Deal: Industrial Work-*

ers in Chicago, 1919–1939 (1990) explored the alliances and loyalties working people forged in the mass culture arena of the 1920s, Porter Benson's book demands a reconsideration of the ability of the working class to step into this arena at all. Porter Benson raises many good, important questions. Can we assume these sources reflect a broad working-class experience? Despite their struggle and deprivation, did working people still aspire to be full, freewheeling participants in the consumer culture? Did these economic strategies reach into the middle-class at all? Porter Benson's work shakes up our understanding of working-class America in the interwar years and reminds us to keep our sights on the material realities of everyday life as “step one” in historical understanding.

BECKY NICOLAIDES

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DALIA TSUK MITCHELL. *Architect of Justice: Felix S. Cohen and the Founding of American Legal Pluralism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 368. \$59.95.

After the decision by the United States Supreme Court in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* in 1903, all that remained of federal Indian law was the plenary power of Congress over American indigenes and some vague sense of a trust responsibility toward them. For the next three decades, American Indians, who reached their population nadir in the 1900 census (numbering fewer than 250,000), continued to decline in other ways. Politically powerless and forgotten by most Americans, who assumed that they were vestigial relics of the previous century, Indians were forced to stand by and watch as their land base continued to slip away as a result of allotment while courts and Congress did nothing.

The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt unexpectedly supplied the means to begin to turn things around. Coming into office in 1933, the new Democratic president appointed Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior and John Collier to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs within the Department of the Interior. Both men had longstanding interests and involvement in Indian reform. Although their personal relationship was complex, the men were able to put their differences aside to forge the basics of what came to be called the Indian New Deal. The excitement was contagious. As Felix Cohen, assistant solicitor for the Department of the Interior, wrote to a friend, “Even old employees rally enthusiastically to the defense of the oppressed Indian” (p. 65).

Dalia Tsuk Mitchell tells this story with some skill. Her focus is neither Ickes nor Collier, as important as they were (and she fundamentally misunderstands and therefore downplays the significance of their interpersonal dynamic) to the tale she weaves. Instead she creates the first significant critical biography of Cohen. Her book's title saddles Cohen with the moniker “architect of justice,” but in the case of the indigenous peoples of the United States, the appellation is apt. Cohen

was the co-author of the cornerstone of the Indian New Deal and the restoration of a modicum of Native self-governance, the Indian Reorganization Act (1934). More importantly, he authored the 1941 *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. This first attempt to codify and digest national law and policy with regard to Native nations restored a notion of Native national sovereignty. The “handbook,” as it is still called in shorthand, remains one of the most important texts in federal Indian law to this day. It has long been known that, as a Jew, writing in the shadow of Nazism and the run-up to World War II, Cohen felt an affinity with American minorities. (He compared Indians directly to Jews and called the former the “miner’s canaries” of U.S. politics.) Mitchell emphasizes the importance of the philosophy of legal realism to Cohen’s thinking and, as the subtitle suggests, his shaping of American legal pluralism.

Although this is an important biographical study, the book lacks subtlety and a nuanced reading of the era it covers. Mitchell quite rightly reveres the role of Cohen but ignores or minimizes the changes and crosscurrents emerging in the same period independent of Cohen’s work (though not necessarily from the Indian New Deal). For instance, Mitchell mentions *Otoe and Missouri Tribe of Indians v. United States* (1939), yet she does not discuss its significance as the first case to ask for compensability for aboriginal title. She also fails to give due attention to the resurgence of tribal national demands for sovereignty. Still, this monograph could restore interest in a significant figure in American legal letters and a critical actor in Indian law.

JACE WEAVER
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SALLY H. CLARKE. *Trust and Power: Consumers, the Modern Corporation, and the Making of the United States Automobile Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 296. \$50.00.

In her innovative study, Sally H. Clarke traces the nuanced interactions among producers, consumers, and a host of mediators—from car dealers to state regulators—in shaping the modern automobile market. Using the themes of trust and power to characterize the tango-like dance between automakers and consumers, Clarke explores three interrelated ideas: early debates about consumer welfare and the social costs of innovation; how conflicts between manufactures and buyers shaped the structure of modern corporations; and state regulation of the relationship between producers and consumers. Clarke asks: How did producers and consumers negotiate the liabilities of technological and market innovations? For corporations, what were the tensions between fostering consumer trust (and thereby increasing the market) and minimizing costs while increasing profits? To answer these questions, Clarke brings together recent scholarship in economic, business, legal, social, and technology history. With a tight focus on the tension between building consumer trust and exerting

corporate power, Clarke argues the “contests between consumers and corporations . . . were not byproducts of, but figured directly in the auto market’s creation and evolution” (p. 12).

Clarke examines the changing dilemmas of trust and power over three periods of automotive history, from the emergence of the automobile in the 1890s, to the development of a mass market in the interwar years, and the mature market that developed after World War II. Early automakers had difficulty in gaining consumer trust because early cars were incomplete and often unsafe. Small manufacturers therefore imposed many of the social costs of innovation onto drivers. Encouraged by wide cultural discourse that promoted mechanical know-how and adventure, drivers accepted some of these the physical risks of driving untested and defective vehicles. Indeed, early adopters played an important role in sustaining both innovation and consumer desire for the new machine. However, as Clarke shows, auto enthusiasts were more than mechanical daredevils, they were also consumer advocates; willing to pursue state regulation and sue manufacturers for defects. Highlighting court cases, such as *MacPherson v. Buick* (1914–1916), Clarke sheds light on the role of drivers and of the state in mediating the unequal power relationships between consumers and automakers.

As the industry matured in the 1920s, manufacturers perfected automotive technology and used advertising to build consumer trust, but they still faced problems of fair pricing and matching production with demand. Concentrating on Alfred Sloan, president of General Motors, Clarke investigates the dilemmas of managing the large auto firm in period of expansion and bureaucratic innovation. Sloan juggled competing goals of efficiency and profitability in conflict with consumers’ desire for reliability, safety, and economy. Sloan also struggled with insufficient information about consumers, who, despite the inception of consumer surveys, remained intractable. Since advancements in flexible mass production, advertising, and styling did not solve the daily conflicts with consumers, automakers turned to dealers as mediators who could negotiate pricing and a myriad of other problems. Automakers exerted power over dealers through franchise contracts and rigorous accounting practices. Dealers, however, proved to be imperfect intermediaries because of, among other things, the complex problem of price negotiations and their own difficulties in building consumer trust. The final section traces three social institutions key to the maturation of the automobile market in the postwar period: the firm, the state, and the family. Clarke asserts correctly that economic prosperity alone was not the only factor in increasing automobile sales because prices rose along with incomes after the war. Rather, a web of social transformations including changing family patterns and the wider availability of credit encouraged expansion of the market, especially among the working class. In an insightful study of lending practices, Clarke documents discrimination, or lack of trust in consumers based on gender and race, that continued to shape and

restrict the automobile market well into the 1970s until the establishment of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

While rooted in the existing historiography, this book breaks new ground in several ways. In terms of economic history, Clarke challenges a static vision of outcomes by focusing on the dynamic processes that conditioned the evolution of the market. The study also contributes to a growing body of scholarship on social mediators that negotiated the relationships between producers and consumers through close exploration of new source material on automobile dealers, creditors, and regulators. With its productive focus on the dialogue between producers and consumers, and the intriguing theme of trust and power, Clarke's work enhances our knowledge of the modern firm and enriches the history of one of the most powerful industries of the twentieth century.

KATHLEEN FRANZ
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LEWIS A. ERENBERG. *The Greatest Fight of Our Generation: Louis vs. Schmeling*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 274. \$15.95.

Pivoting his narrative around American boxer Joe Louis's two-minute knockout of German heavyweight Max Schmeling in June 1938, Lewis A. Erenberg weaves biography with a treatment of race and ideological rivalry during the Great Depression. Louis rose from southern poverty to challenge racial discrimination while Schmeling, who had defeated Louis two years before, could not escape the Nazi embrace and became an unwitting exemplar of Aryan supremacy. The trials of both boxers before and after the bout (Louis's in combating Jim Crow and creditors, Schmeling's in overcoming the taint of Nazism) until their deaths is superbly drawn. Both remained decent men, despite the forces around them.

Erenberg enters a historiography that now embeds sports in wider scholarship of race and international relations. He follows older work on baseball's color line, such as Robert Peterson's *Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams* (1970), a study of the Negro leagues, and the late Jules Tygiel's masterpiece, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (1983), with a balanced indictment of American segregationist thought in particular. Propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels's effort to portray Louis, the "Brown Bomber," as an unthinking savage in the ring when compared to the astute Schmeling, the "Black Uhlan" representative of German purity, is not surprising. Still, Schmeling—who straddled Nazi *diktats* and desire for fame, rescued his Jewish tailor's two boys during *Kristallnacht* (revealed in 1989) and climbed from destitution after the war—was even more fascinating. Erenberg is fair in his treatment of the Black Uhlan's connections to the Hitler regime. A photo of him giving the Nazi salute after a victory in Germany indicts the

fighter, although clearly, Schmeling was uncomfortable with Hitler's attentions. Louis is a window into American race relations. The first black boxing champion, Jack Johnson, committed the sin of flaunting his fame and socializing with white women. Louis foreshadowed Jackie Robinson by rarely exposing his private life to public scrutiny, remaining humble (and deadpan) before journalists. Still, cartoonists often depicted him as a "simple, slow colored boy suitable for the cotton fields rather than the ring" (p. 43). Among the worst offenders was Grantland Rice, one of the leading sportswriters of the day.

The author builds his story not on rich archival holdings but through periodicals (German and English) and scrapbooks, a common problem for sports historians who lack primary sources. Yet these sources also prevent a full and complex picture of Joe Louis the man, the machinations of the boxing establishment, Nazi culture and influence, and the efforts of Schmeling to recoup his reputation after the war, among other subjects. Curiously, boxing fans might also feel shorted by the rather cursory treatment of the fights themselves. Barbara Keys's *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (2006) explores the national chauvinism theme that also undergirds Erenberg's work and is a standard of both the multi-archival possibilities and the sophisticated treatment of transnationalism in sports history. Erenberg is less versed on the transnational turn, however, and weaker still on gender studies, which he wields a bit in his story.

Race is the driving theme of the book. Erenberg wisely devotes a chapter to the Brown Bomber's defeat of heavyweight champion James Braddock in 1937, which further intensified his rivalry with Schmeling, who had beaten Louis the year before. The Braddock bout represented the breaking of the color barrier by a black man acceptable to moderate whites—not the case for Jack Johnson three decades before. Additionally, the Louis-Schmeling fight carried symbolic freight that rivaled the Berlin Olympics because of racial ideology. Thus, blacks and Jews found common cause in rooting for Louis.

Using sports figures to forge national identities is Erenberg's conceptual framework. For Germany, the choice was clear, but white American southerners inclined toward the white Schmeling. Because of Nazism, however, many southerners (but by no means a majority) ended up rooting for Americanism over racial superiority. Clearly, both fighters struggled with awesome forces beyond their control. Schmeling sought to legitimize his campaign to fight Louis in the face of threats of a pre-fight boycott in America against Nazi racism. Louis combated Jim Crow. Regardless of Louis's victory (and Schmeling's ultimate redemption as a representative of the "German Miracle" after the war in his capacity as a Coca-Cola distributor), the Brown Bomber wasted away, a victim of corrupt handlers, health problems, and, yes, racism. Despite his highly symbolic triumph in 1938, the civil rights struggle had a long way to go. That the bout changed whites' notions

of blacks is apparent. Louis made life a bit easier for black Americans, but like them, he remained subject to racism until his death. Ultimately, he never fully recovered from that body blow.

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LORRAINE M. LEES. *Yugoslav-Americans and National Security during World War II*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. x, 270. \$40.00.

In this book Lorraine M. Lees examines American national security during World War II and how it intersected with issues of ethnicity and nativism by focusing on Yugoslav Americans: American Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. She contends that while, on one hand, the Roosevelt administration espoused ideals of democracy and tolerance and advocated a pluralist approach toward most ethnic groups, on the other hand it reflected nativist views when dealing with Yugoslav American groups. During the World War II era these concerns were amplified by heightened fears that a subversive Fifth Column operated among the populace seeking to sow wartime disunity. Lees points out that the overall assumption among government officials was that Americans of Slavic descent would tend to side with its opponents. Lees examines how various agencies of the United States government—the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services' Foreign Nationalities Branch, the Justice Department's Foreign Agents Registration Act section, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the State Department—sought to deal with these issues.

A particular strength of Lees' book is her analysis of the means by which the United States government sought to control the quarrelsome and disparate Yugoslav American groups. She notes how the Justice Department sought to use various laws to prevent ethnic groups from undermining wartime unity. A particularly significant contribution is Lees's examination of the government's use of the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA). During World War II the administration time and again used this law against those deemed threats to the domestic order, whether ethnic groups or opponents to administration foreign policy. Her analysis sheds more light on the process.

Lees details the priorities and perceptions of other agencies involved in monitoring Yugoslav American groups. The Office of War Information sought to bring unity among the sometimes vocal and partisan South Slav organizations. The Foreign Nationalities Branch believed the groups to be a rich source of information that could help the war effort. The State Department, meanwhile, like the FBI viewed ethnic groups as a threat that needed to be either controlled or limited. In short, what Lees demonstrates clearly is that the Roosevelt administration did not have a clear policy in how to cope with the disparate and fractious Yugoslav ethnic groups.

In the Yugoslav American community there was indeed much conflict, reflecting divisions seen in the Balkans then and now. For example, there was the Serb National Defense Council, which defended the Serbian Chetnik paramilitary movement and published the vocal *Amerikanski Srbobran* (*American Serb Defender*). This publication was so outspoken and partisan in its views that the Roosevelt administration targeted it using the FARA. There was also the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, itself divided. The American Slav Congress, a pan-Slavic group composed of more than just South Slavs, was dominated by leftists and concerned the United States government in its efforts to seek Slavic American unity. And there was the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans that supported the Partisan movement of Josip Tito, and whose president, Louis Adamic, opposed the FARA.

While Lees's argument about the underlying nativist nature of the government's response to Yugoslav ethnic groups is generally convincing, given the disparate Yugoslav American groups and their extraordinarily strained relations this reader was left wondering if the administration's fear over their disharmony was on one level understandable. Some Croats—Ustasha—joined the Fascist cause; the Chetnik leader Paul Mihailović was believed to have collaborated with the Nazis; and the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans and the America Slav Congress were believed to be dominated or under the control of communists. This is not to excuse the Roosevelt administration's response; far from it. But this reader would have liked to see the book's argument contextualized more within the history of American nativism. This reader was also left wondering more about the FBI's role. Lees mostly focuses on the work of the Foreign Nationalities Branch, which is understandable given available records, but she seems to characterize the FBI as largely disinterested. This may well, in part, be true but given sometimes heavily redacted FBI files and the complex and often confusing nature of FBI files and filing procedures this reader believes one aspect of this story may have been overlooked. A deeper examination of the FBI and Yugoslav American groups would add to our understanding of the how the government of the World War II era dealt with perceived threats to domestic or national security. Nevertheless, Lees's book is, indeed, a fine scholarly contribution to a little explored aspect of American national security policy and illustrates well the activities of those agencies involved during a critical period in this nation's history.

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SUZANNE METTLER. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 252. \$30.00.

After a period of scholarly neglect, the G.I. Bill has suddenly captured the attention of historians and other so-

cial scientists who have begun, in recent years, to reassess the meaning and impact of this legendary piece of social policy. Much of that work has tarnished the mythic image of the G.I. Bill. Perhaps most powerfully, Elizabeth Cohen (*A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* [2003]) argued that the legislation did far less to open up higher education, middle-class occupations, and home-owning than has generally been believed to be the case. The G.I. Bill excluded almost all women, was implemented in ways that discriminated against African Americans, and directed most educational and financial resources to those who already had them. The G.I. Bill, Cohen concluded in 2003, "orchestrated much less social engineering than it promised and has been given credit for" (*Consumers' Republic*, p. 156).

But if that was the Elizabeth Cohen school this is the Suzanne Mettler school, and the latter, a political scientist, has a very different account of the G.I. Bill. Based predominantly on her own extensive survey research (as well as interviews) with World War II veterans, Mettler concludes that this was indeed great legislation for a great generation. Indeed, the greatness of the program and the generation are connected in Mettler's accessible and engaging history. She argues that the explanation for the astonishing level of civic and political involvement by this cohort (born in the 1920s) rests upon the experience of its members with government. Here, Mettler asserts, it was the G.I. Bill, particularly its educational benefits, that was most formative. Indeed, Mettler shows that veterans who used the G.I. Bill were significantly more likely than veterans who did not to engage in civic and political activities. This was an "independent feedback effect" reducible to neither educational level nor standard of living (p. 110). Rather, Mettler argues that the program sent a powerful message to the veterans who used it, communicating that government cared about people like them, and that as a result they became more involved in government and community affairs. And men of this cohort used the G.I. Bill's educational and training benefits in such large numbers that their engagement characterized their era more broadly—these were not people who bowled alone.

Mettler's account situates the G.I. Bill in wide view, looking, for example, at the creation of the legislation, the experience of soldiers during the war, or their expectations upon returning home. She pays considerable attention to vocational training alongside higher education benefits. Throughout the narrative she effectively uses the voices of veterans drawn from her survey and interviews. But the most critical chapters attempt to make the case both that the G.I. Bill was "magnanimous" and "inclusive," and that those who used it became more public-spirited as a result. The second claim (about public-spiritedness) is the more effective one, documenting as it does the beneficiaries' positive experience with government. Most found benefits to be "readily accessible and smoothly administered" (p. 59). Mettler's argument here is important for its defense of

generous social provision against charges that it spawns a dependent and anemic citizenry. "The way that government implements social programs," she smartly concludes, "can have a direct effect on the kinds of citizens it produces" (p. 59).

On the earlier point—that the G.I. Bill was profoundly inclusive and democratizing—Mettler's thesis is intermittently at war with her own evidence (and that of many other recent works on the G.I. Bill). Mettler acknowledges that the program excluded women almost entirely and barred many gay soldiers. She also describes some of the barriers that emerged to prevent African American soldiers from taking full advantage of the legislation, as well as the more limited effect of the G.I. Bill on social mobility for African Americans. While she wants to lay the blame on racist educational institutions or a segregated labor market, she does not effectively refute other historians' emphasis on the racism of the VA bureaucracy itself. And she misses the extent to which exclusion from the program (especially for those African American and/or gay soldiers with undesirable discharges) actually may have been what was politicizing for these outcast members of the greatest generation. None of Mettler's concessions about the G.I. Bill's limitations, moreover, seem to shake her rosy belief in its inclusivity and impact—although many of her claims about its achievements are, of necessity, limited to the category of "nonblack male veterans." But what does inclusivity mean if it depends on separating so many out of the unit of analysis? In sum, this is a worthy study that wants to talk about doors opened but not doors closed. That puts Suzanne Mettler at odds with an emerging historiography on the G.I. Bill that says they go together.

MARGOT CANADAY
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LAURA BROWDER. *Her Best Shot: Women and Guns in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 287. \$29.95.

In this wide-ranging work, Laura Browder deftly analyzes the figure of the armed woman as both cultural hero and villain, and the ways these stories and images have shaped our ideas about citizenship, gender, and American identity. Simply put, if the armed male citizen stars in the nation's creation myths of the Revolutionary War, the wars against the Indians, and all twentieth-century conflicts, then stories about armed women both highlight these narratives and try to undercut them by advocating women's rights and competence beyond the family sphere.

During the Civil War some 400 northern women and 250 women in the South enlisted in their respective armies, all hiding their gender by cross-dressing. Their memoirs and fictional narratives about them flooded the literary marketplace after the war ended. The stories stressed women's valor and intimated that all women had earned the right to become full citizens because of this successful ritual initiation by warfare.

But of course women did not receive the vote after the Civil War. Instead, the image of the armed women resurfaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not as a progressive embodiment of women's rights and abilities but rather as a symbol of white racial strength and superiority. Worried about declining birth rates among the upper and middle classes, and fearful that blacks and other minorities (including white ethnic groups) were gaining in population and power, white men began to redefine modern femininity as different from the earlier ideal of the spiritual yet sickly woman. Sculptures of pioneer women holding a baby in one arm and a rifle in the other—what Browder calls the "Prairie Madonna"—enjoyed great popularity. The *St. Louis Globe Democrat* editorialized in favor of big game hunting by women as uniting "those health-giving and exciting qualities for which the girls of strenuous age are looking" (p. 74). In 1904 *Outdoor Life* ran a photograph of a man and women hunting with the caption, "The Gun an Important Factor in the Saving of the American Race" (p. 73).

Having shown how the white establishment co-opted the image of the armed woman as a way to shore up its racial dominance and reaffirm the nation's core mythology, Browder argues that the historical stage was set for viewing other armed women—nonwhites, outlaws, political radicals—as extremely dangerous and deviant. Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover routinely vilified women gangsters in the 1930s, saying "I'm going to tell the truth about these rats. I'm going to tell the truth about their dirty, filthy, diseased women" (p. 122). After Ma Barker's son Herman was killed in a police shootout, Hoover said she transformed "from an animal mother of the she-wolf type to a veritable beast of prey" (p. 127). The implication is clear: such women should be killed immediately.

In the 1960s, when the Black Panther Party (BPP) advocated armed self-defense, women picked up the gun. Emory Douglas, the BPP Minister of Culture, created a poster with a woman holding a toddler who is holding a toy pistol, what Browder describes as an updating of the "image of the pioneer mother" (p. 151). She quotes former BPP leader Elaine Brown proclaiming her power as chair of the Central Committee, "I have all the guns and all the money. I can withstand challenge from without and within . . . Here I was, a woman, proclaiming supreme power over the most militant organization in America. It felt natural to me" (p. 152). The white women in the Weather Underground felt similarly empowered by their weapons and violence. The 1969 essay "Honky Tonk Women" celebrated their new lives: completely transformed from "passive wimps, afraid of blood or danger or guns, satisfied with the limitations set on us by hated slave relationships with one man, we became revolutionary women" (p. 173).

However, none of this worked. Generating mass fear did not create successful revolutionary movements. Gunfights did not bring down the state. In this respect, the would-be revolutionaries lived in a fantasy world

created in part by their guns and the cultural myths they embodied. "Guns are perhaps the best cultural example of how the imaginary and the real cannot be conflated," Browder concludes. "There is a fatal world of difference between props in fantasies and real guns that have the power to kill" (p. 232). Combat weapons just do not address the problems of advanced capitalism or patriarchy: "A woman cannot gain equal pay for equal work by shooting her boss" (p. 231). I would add that neither can men transform their lives with warrior fantasies and personal combat weapons.

JAMES WILLIAM GIBSON
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DOUGLAS M. CHARLES. *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-Interventionists: FBI Political Surveillance and the Rise of the Domestic Security State, 1939–1945*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 197. Cloth \$39.95. CD \$9.95.

Since the disclosures in the wake of the Watergate scandal about the illegal activities of the U.S. intelligence community during the Cold War, research into the history of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has blossomed. Scholarship on the FBI has advanced conflicting explanations for the political influence of the Bureau. Some scholars have pointed to deep-seated beliefs in the political culture, such as paranoia, counter-subversion, and nativism fuelled by insecure groups in the U.S. population suffering from status anxiety. Others have argued that the political role of the FBI must be seen as part of the response of the growing federal state to domestic social and political unrest. In contrast, a number of historians have described the rise of the FBI as a part of the development of the national security state during times of international crisis and wars. Finally, it has been popular to point to the powerful influence wielded by the Bureau's legendary director from 1924 to 1972, J. Edgar Hoover, as the explanation for the political power of the FBI.

Douglas M. Charles's study of the FBI's surveillance of conservative opponents of American intervention in World War II explains the Bureau's activities as a response to international crisis. According to Charles, the national security state of the Cold War had its roots in what he calls the domestic security state that evolved during "the Great Debate" about U.S. intervention or isolationism in 1940–1941. As a conservative holdover from the previous Republican administrations, Hoover felt vulnerable when the Democrats came to power in 1933. In order to consolidate his position, Hoover tried to placate President Franklin D. Roosevelt by investigating his foreign policy opponents. Using the most damaging pieces of information, Hoover was able to portray legitimate critics as dangerous subversives to the White House. The surveillance targeted, among others, the leading anti-interventionist organization, the *America First Committee*, as well as prominent spokesmen such as Charles Lindbergh and Senator

Burton K. Wheeler. In the process, the FBI's use of illegal methods such as wiretapping escalated and the liaison with British intelligence was forged, resulting in increased influence and autonomy of the Bureau, according to Charles a process that continued during the war and the ensuing Cold War.

This short but well-researched and well-written book adds to the existing literature about the origins of the Cold War national security state and about the link between international crisis and domestic surveillance. The book confirms previous portraits of FDR as a president with a somewhat relaxed view of civil liberties, and it shows compellingly how Hoover perfected the use of criminal investigations, launched to find evidence of unlawful activities and to gather, file, and disseminate political and other forms of noncriminal intelligence. It therefore fills a void in the scholarship on the FBI, which has tended to focus on the early political activities of the Bureau during World War I and the Red Scare of 1919–1920 or the Cold War era.

However, the book also suffers from several weaknesses. As Charles himself notes in the introduction, his study focuses on the conservative anti-interventionists, and he therefore avoids dealing with the FBI's surveillance of left-wing opponents such as the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) and its various front organizations. The CPUSA had close links to the Soviet Union, which opposed intervention in the "imperialist" war among Germany, France, and Great Britain during the period of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact from August 1939 to June 1941. Moreover, the Communists supported strikes in the war production industries and, we now know, infiltrated and spied against the administration. If the author had included the CPUSA in his analysis, the description would have been more balanced, and it would have shown that the FBI to a considerable extent reacted to a real threat to the security of the United States.

Moreover, Charles seems to underestimate the seriousness of the foreign connections of some of the conservative critics. For example, Lindbergh had visited Nazi Germany and expressed his sympathy for the regime, a German propaganda agent wormed his way into the office of Congressman Hamilton Fish, and Laura Ingalls was paid by the German embassy. Clearly, non-intervention or neutrality on the part of the United States was in the interest of the Axis powers, and it was the duty of the FBI to investigate information, however implausible, about the supposed foreign links of the noninterventionists and to determine whether they were in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Furthermore, the expansion of the FBI's surveillance needs to be appraised in the proper political context. As Charles notes, Hoover referred cases under investigation to the lawyers in the Department of Justice for decision. Thus, the Bureau did not act on its own initiative. In fact, the Roosevelt administration intended to use the intelligence and security agencies aggressively to combat supposed subversive activities. For example, FDR in April 1941 authorized the creation of a so-

called "suicide squad" of FBI agents who were to operate "outside the law." When the FBI during "the Great Debate" used illegal methods to gather political intelligence for the White House, it must be seen as a response to the wishes and intentions of the Roosevelt administration. The reason why observers and historians often tend to underestimate the extent to which political leaders have knowledge of and condone the activities of the intelligence and security services is the doctrine of "plausible denial": there can be no written record of orders and instructions, as the administration must be able to deny any knowledge of illegal or controversial activities against its own citizens or foreign powers.

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LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *Guarding Life's Dark Secrets: Legal and Social Controls over Reputation, Propriety, and Privacy*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. 348. \$29.95.

Lawrence M. Friedman probes the legal protection of private life and personal reputation during three historical periods: the nineteenth century's "Victorian compromise," the early twentieth century's era of vice, and the era of the post-sexual revolution. Friedman reads a wide range of legal cases involving sexual and moral impropriety in order to show how the legal protection of private life and reputation has changed. He argues that the nineteenth century's legal "leeway" in matters of sex and vice allowed for a greater protection of privacy than exists in the contemporary period.

In the nineteenth century, an era Friedman describes as dominated by the "Victorian compromise," there existed a tacit agreement that while the public sphere would adhere to norms of morality, especially in the realms of sex and vice, there was room for moral indiscretions in the private sphere. Thus during the nineteenth century, Friedman notes, there were laws regulating public indecency but also thriving vice districts containing brothels. Friedman presents a number of legal constructions that made possible the seeming contradictions contained in the Victorian compromise.

Friedman also documents how laws designed to protect reputation and privacy were used to rehabilitate a select group of privileged Americans. In a society built on dreams of upward mobility, and not on royalty or caste, reputation was something earned by achieving social standing. In this way, nineteenth-century law protected reputations for those that had achieved them. Those who were too poor or thought to be immoral could not protect their reputation because they had not earned or been granted one.

If the Victorian compromise led to a legal culture that protected the status of the elite by granting leeway in some legal matters, it eventually gave way to suspicions about the vulnerability of the masses to vice. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, courts upheld censorship of obscene material and film

that was thought to corrupt consumers. As vice crusades swept across urban cities, the Victorian compromise fell apart and gave way to anti-vice crusades.

By the twentieth century—if not as early as the 1870s—anti-vice crusades undermined and eventually curtailed the Victorian compromise. Where nineteenth-century culture tolerated some private indiscretion on the part of people of standing, in the early twentieth century laws were designed to fully contain and criminalize immoral behavior. Moral reformers rejected the premise that some “immoral” behavior was necessary and under the banner of hygiene, good government, and a range of other political and social reforms, sought to alter the permissiveness of nineteenth-century culture. The shift away from the more permissive culture of the Victorian compromise, according to Friedman, was inspired largely by a concern about immigrants, their morality, and their fertility.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the sexual revolution replaced the culture of vice created during the first half of the century. The fall of the vice culture also transformed legal approaches to privacy and the protection of reputation. Propriety was no longer a commodity that secured social standing, thus, less was lost when someone was defamed. Moreover, mass mediated culture enabled consumers to view the private lives of elite and famous people. Ironically, in the late twentieth century, as society became more permissive, Americans assumed fewer rights of privacy for elites and celebrities.

To a cultural historian interested in the social construction of privacy Friedman's book offers an interesting and useful discussion of how the law has worked to protect reputation and privacy for some while leaving others unprotected. Moreover, Friedman subtly shows how the seeming prudery of the Victorian compromise enabled, and was based in, an understanding of privacy and toleration for indiscretions outside of the public sphere. Ironically, during the contemporary period, as morality is more permissive than it was in the nineteenth century, there's less expectation of privacy.

While this book is provocative, it does not fully contextualize the historical transformation central to its argument. Major transformations in approaches to vice are explained rather quickly and without adequate use of secondary literature. Hence the fall of the Victorian compromise is rather quickly explained as the result of concern about immigration among other unexplained factors. Yet, it seems that a wide range of social forces may have contributed to this transformation including, most importantly, the ascendancy of the Federal State in the wake of World War I that increasingly saw regulating daily life as part of its responsibility. Historians may also balk at Friedman's periodization of the entire nineteenth century as one block. That said, historians will nevertheless find Friedman's book a valuable source for thinking about the meaning and history of privacy, reputation, and propriety.

ALEX LUBIN
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AMY L. FAIRCHILD, RONALD BAYER, and JAMES COLGROVE. *Searching Eyes: Privacy, the State, and Disease Surveillance in America*. Assisted by DANIEL WOLFE. (California /Milbank Books on Health and the Public.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 342. \$19.95.

This book analyzes the dynamic balance between disease surveillance and privacy in the United States during the twentieth century. The historical chapters examine tuberculosis, syphilis, occupational diseases, cancer, and birth defects. Other chapters focus on the contemporary medical issues of AIDS reporting and registries of childhood immunizations. Each chapter can be read independently.

Surveillance is defined as “the ongoing, name-based reporting of cases of disease to state and local health departments” (p. xvii). The uses of surveillance include investigation and tracking of cases of disease, contact tracing, quarantine, treatment, program development and evaluation, epidemiological studies of disease patterns, and sanitary inspections. Each use has raised privacy concerns.

Systematic disease surveillance by public health departments began around 1900 after bacteriology discovered modes of transmission of infectious diseases. Mandatory reporting of specific diseases by public health departments was upheld by the courts, which recognized the impact on privacy. Later the Cold War and computerized data collection elevated concerns about privacy, which the Supreme Court ruled a constitutional right in the 1960s, but excluded most public health surveillance. Throughout the century, public health departments steadily expanded patient privacy by reducing public access to information about cases of disease.

Tuberculosis, as the greatest cause of urban mortality, became a surveillance issue around 1900 after the discovery of its contagious nature. Most surveillance sought to identify, monitor, and inspect poor tuberculosis patients living in overcrowded tenements, but many cases were not reported. Opposition was based on traditional beliefs that tuberculosis was hereditary, and intrusions into the physician-patient relationship. Health departments protected patient privacy by limiting access to their tuberculosis registries.

Syphilis surveillance began in the 1910s, raising issues of patient privacy and the physician-patient relationship. World War I federal legislation funded venereal disease control programs, which led to universal state-level reporting using a variety of methods to protect patient privacy. The use of penicillin to treat syphilis in the 1940s expanded the goal of surveillance from locating the source to treating the patient, but this did not eliminate underreporting.

Occupational disease reporting changed the issues to vulnerable workers and industry regulation. By the 1910s several states required physicians to report a list of diseases related to employment, which produced problems of physician compliance and the occupational

basis of some diseases. State workman's compensation laws expanded beyond occupational injuries to include occupational diseases. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 required employers to maintain records of work-related health problems, which workers were later allowed to see.

Registries of new cases of cancer were delayed by concerns about the physician-patient relationship, industry opposition, and doubts about the usefulness of the data. The National Cancer Institute, created in 1937, undertook to measure cancer prevalence, but state and hospital registries were far from comprehensive and raised issues of patient privacy.

The enumeration of crippled children in order to provide them with treatment began in the nineteenth century by fraternal and voluntary organizations. It became a widespread movement with the polio epidemics in the 1920s, which led to an expanded role for federal and state governments. The thalidomide and similar tragedies in the 1960s led to the inclusion of birth defects. Despite parental concerns about stigmatization, birth defect registries have been universal.

AIDS reporting exacerbated the conflict between surveillance and privacy. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and public health agencies considered mandatory reporting essential to understanding and controlling the disease, while the gay community feared that infected men would lose their jobs, be stigmatized, and shun treatment. In 1999 the CDC formally delegated case reporting to the states, which varied widely in their surveillance activities.

Immunization registries record all immunizations of children in order to maximize immunization rates and were encouraged by the CDC on a national scale after federal legislation in 1962. They were opposed by anti-vaccination and other groups and by physicians and others as cumbersome and unworkable. The outcome was a decentralized and more flexible approach.

Last, the book discusses recent efforts to expand health surveillance and their impact on privacy. The individual chapters can be strongly recommended for their very informative and well written discussions of key surveillance issues in public health. The chapters do not cohere well because the definition of surveillance as name-based reporting is used inconsistently and never analyzed systematically. The CDC states that a "surveillance system includes a functional capacity for data collection, analysis, and dissemination linked to public health programs." The CDC focus is on organization and methodology, not the content of the reporting. This reviewer found that the CDC definition better encompasses the medical, political, and social issues described in this book than does name-based reporting.

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ROBERT A. ARONOWITZ. *Unnatural History: Breast Cancer and American Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 366. \$30.00.

Robert A. Aronowitz offers an accessible and insightful account of the medical, social, and cultural history of breast cancer since the 1800s. The book makes a significant contribution to medical history, especially in its ability to bridge the too frequent gap between history and health policy. Almost every one of the eleven chapters opens with an engaging case history, centering women's experiences with breast cancer in the analysis. In short, the book traces American society's attention to collective breast cancer risk since 1812. Aronowitz concludes that contemporary social reactions to breast cancer do not reflect the biological impact of the disease but rather the social influence of fear, faith in cancer screening, and medical desire to treat disease.

The book is framed by the chasm that exists between physicians' understanding of the disease and patients' responses to it. This is epitomized most clearly in the two chapters dedicated to famous U.S. surgeon William Halsted. By tracing correspondence between and among Halsted's patients, their family members, and a broader community of physicians, Aronowitz details the different, although parallel, conversations about breast cancer at the turn of the twentieth century. Physicians frequently refused to confirm cancer diagnosis, not to deceive patients but rather to preserve hope in the face of a devastating illness. Meanwhile, Aronowitz suggests that patients understood the gravity of the diagnosis but also embraced hope offered by physicians and questionable treatments.

Cancer treatment provides another lens for this analysis. Halsted encouraged uniform surgical responses to all breast cancers (complete excision) with the modest goal of preventing local recurrence and extending life by delaying metastasis. By the early twentieth century, a dichotomy emerged between cancer skeptics who challenged the necessity of surgery and those advocating a new dogma. Whereas Halsted's dedication to surgery never centered on the stage of diagnosis, within the early decades of the twentieth century with the advent of the American Society for the Control of Cancer (1913) and support from surgeons, cancer discourse became increasingly embedded in early detection rhetoric. Although still centered on hope, this dogma prioritized early diagnosis.

The emerging faith in early detection created a parallel sentiment among patients of "life at risk." Aronowitz demonstrates how ideas of risk cultivated fears about cancer and metastasis; reduced belief in cancer control; increased faith in medical surveillance; and demanded medical intervention. In the decades that followed, more and more patients sought "salvage treatment" or adjuvant treatment of radiation, radium, and in the post-World War II years, chemotherapy. The popular message "do not delay" fostered a sense of patient responsibility but was not steeped in scientific studies, supportive data, or compelling evidence. Rather, delay assumed a special resonance as it fit into popular understandings/fears of cancer and surgeons' hope to offer acute and prompt care. Exaggerated claims of its benefits also allowed for shifting of blame

(to patients) and broadened explanations about why and how an idiosyncratic disease behaved.

As outlined in the seventh chapter, some clinicians criticized educational messages steeped with fear; suggested biological outcome might be predetermined; and questioned emerging precancerous diagnosis. Two prominent critics shared their skepticism in the 1960s: Rachel Carson in her struggle with breast cancer, and Dr. George Crile in his rejection of radical cancer treatment. In their patient-physician relationships, we learn about nuances in breast cancer care including sentiments of hope, trust, and truth telling.

The final chapters of the book examine the rise of breast cancer surveillance in the United States, particularly the battle over mammography and its standards. This narrative highlights the intersections of culture and science, as existing technologies became imbued with novel applications. Identifying Dr. Jacob Gershon-Cohen's early curiosity of breast cancer screening, Aronowitz argues that its eventual adoption as a screening tool and the debate that surrounded it reflected a continuum of tension between cancer activists and skeptics, as well uncertainty about the disease.

The compelling final chapter illustrates how contemporary notions of breast cancer risk reflect a set of beliefs about cancer that have been informed by a dynamic historical process. Medical and social understandings of breast cancer have shaped patient experiences with the disease, clinical responses to it, and its social meaning. Breast cancer incidence and mortality rates have been remarkably consistent throughout the twentieth century. As this history of nearly 200 years indicates, breast cancer's deadliness has changed little. What has changed, and what this book traces, is Americans' response to it.

This is a wonderful book filled with lessons for future breast cancer policy. Aronowitz analyzes primary sources created by physicians and patients and his keen interpretation maps out how and why the meanings of disease change over time. Aronowitz traces a continuum in patient and physician cooperation to preserve hope while demonstrating the impact of social factors in health policy. That said, this book would have benefited from more dialogue with other works in this field, most notably Barron H. Lerner's *Breast Cancer Wars: Hope, Fear, and the Pursuit of a Cure in Twentieth-Century America* (2001). Overall, however, it offers a convincing narrative that demonstrates why history is critical to health policy.

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LESLIE J. REAGAN, NANCY TOMES, and PAULA A. TREICHLER, editors. *Medicine's Moving Pictures: Medicine, Health, and Bodies in American Film and Television*. (Rochester Studies in Medical History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 343. \$85.00.

This is a collection of engaging, original essays that focus on the intersecting histories of medicine and media by addressing the contributions that health films, Hollywood films, and television programs have made to the perception and practice of medicine in the United States. Many of these essays are based on archival research in established areas of inquiry for the senior scholars who contributed to this volume, and their collective expertise lends an authoritative tone to their work on materials that, as the editors note in the introduction, "have largely been ignored by film and media scholars, including historians" (p. 2). While the absence of scholarly attention to these moving images may be somewhat overstated, their historical importance and contemporary relevance is not; the editors succinctly argue that "Medicine provides media with reliably popular content and expertise while media provide medicine with modern communication systems for the powerful delivery of its messages" (p. 2). This claim is substantiated by essays on venereal disease, polio, and breast cancer films from the 1940s to 1950s; the role of celebrity in publicizing diseases and their sometimes controversial cures; the changing depictions of (mostly white, male) doctors on television; and representations of black physicians in Hollywood films, among others. While the methodologies, subject matter, periodization, and image media of these essays vary widely, they are unified by their emphasis on "medicine's moving pictures as a genre . . . defined not only by its topics, but . . . by its unique relationship to the medical profession and science" (p. 2).

As the chapters by Nancy Tomes, Naomi Rogers, and Susan E. Lederer demonstrate, this "unique relationship" is exemplified on the one hand by Hollywood's deference to medical institutions, especially at the mid-century peak of their scientific power and prestige, and, on the other hand, by medicine's insistence on its own authority and prerogative to define technically accurate representations, even when they required Hollywood-style artifice to be translated for general public consumption. The negotiations required to satisfy simultaneously the demands of Hollywood (audience-pleasing profitability) and medical authorities (didactic influence) often led to debates over the appropriate boundaries between education and entertainment. While the moving images discussed throughout this book are all engaged in one way or another with the challenge of presenting medically accurate information without boring or alienating their viewers, Paula A. Treichler's piece on *General Hospital* offers a particularly intriguing solution to this dilemma. In her discussion of the powerful role of soap operas in the health education of many Americans, Treichler provides a strong example of an interdisciplinary approach that bridges the history of medicine and media studies.

The editors emphasize the need for such interdisciplinary scholarship, noting the obstacle that discipline-specific publications can pose to exchanges among scholars trained in different fields. As a collection aimed at and deserving of a broad, multidisciplinary

readership, this volume makes a major scholarly contribution by drawing attention to the importance of continued efforts to forge connections among scholars who work on different aspects of medical media. To this end, several chapters conclude by proposing directions for future research, and the book also includes "Suggestions for Further Reading," a selected bibliography that will provide a useful starting place for readers interested in continuing to bridge the history of medicine/media studies gap. It should be noted that more scholarship exists, in the United States and abroad, on non-theatrical health films than is cited in this collection, although these publications can be as difficult to locate as the once ubiquitous but now obscure health films they discuss. This elusiveness is due to inconsistent classification of the film genre (as educational, instructional, training, sponsored, instrumental, non-theatrical, and so on), and to variations in emphasis (production studies might include health topics under the rubric "YMCA films," or "Ford Motor Company films"). These little known medical images indeed deserve greater scholarly attention, and this collection contains several excellent models for new projects in the field.

Another important facet of the tension between education and entertainment has been audience segmentation; the medical media discussed here variously addressed the general public, medical experts, women, men, African Americans, deaf viewers, military recruits, and children. As Martin S. Pernick's essay explains, a key strategy for addressing potentially sensitive medical topics was the segregation of subject matter and viewers into theatrical and non-theatrical exhibition settings. Under Hollywood's Production Code, most health films were separated from feature films, though Rogers's essay on *Sister Kenny* (1946) shows how clips from non-theatrical polio films were used to bolster the legitimacy of the Hollywood biopic. Medicine and media were also mutually influential in "agenda setting," as Lisa Cartwright's, Vanessa Northington Gamble's, and Valerie Hartouni's essays show, linking debates in areas of medical and social conflict related to teaching deaf children, racialized medical education and practice, and genomics, respectively. All of these essays demonstrate that power and influence move fluidly between science and popular culture; in doing so, they correct a common but misleading dismissal of medicine's cinematic and televisual depictions as frivolous and inconsequential in comparison with the serious and socially important practice of medicine. This collection proves that images have real consequences, too.

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GERALD R. BUTTERS, JR. *Banned in Kansas: Motion Picture Censorship, 1915–1966*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 348. \$44.95.

Tip O'Neill once said that all politics is local. Gerald R. Butters Jr.'s book suggests that so is most film censorship. The current scholarship, however, mostly deals with national institutions, be they the Production Code Administration (PCA), founded by the film industry in 1934 to enforce Hollywood's self-imposed rules of behavior, or the Office of War Information (OWI), established in 1942 by the wartime administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to steer the film industry toward contributing to the war effort. This book argues that there is a longer, and narrower, story to be told as individual states began censoring movies much earlier than the PCA did—the first state to censor films being Pennsylvania in 1911. Butters's book takes into account the Kansas Board of Review (originally Board of Censorship), an institution that policed Kansas screens from its creation in 1915 until its demise at the hands of the state's Supreme Court in 1966. Before the establishment of the PCA, the Kansas Board of Review examined all films exhibited in the state and financed its operation by imposing a fee on each reel it scrutinized. That fee and the Board's control of the screen pleased neither film producers nor exhibitors but the Board enjoyed vast popular and political support. If anything, Kansans wanted sterner censorship. When in 1916 Wichita film exhibitors launched a referendum against local blue laws that prevented the opening of theaters on Sundays, they were soundly defeated at the polls. Butters convincingly argues that it would be a mistake to see all partisans of censorship as religious fanatics. Kansas censorship was, in fact, "founded on the political movement of Progressivism" (p. 317), which intended to make films, in the words of University of Chicago Professor T. K. Starr a "vital force of culture as well as amusement" (p. 11). Thus, in the beginning, the Kansas Superintendent of Public Instruction sat on the Board and the censors, spurred by governors Arthur Capper and Henry J. Allen, were able to prevent D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* from being shown in Kansas until 1924 on the ground of the film's racism and the deleterious effects it would have on the public. In the absence of any federal censorship, the Hollywood scandals of the 1920s, racier spoken dialogues, and the strain of the Great Depression, all contributed to make Kansans chafers of the morality of Hollywood movies, and their suspicions strengthened the role and legitimacy of the Board. The formation of the PCA in 1934 did not make the Board superfluous but freed its bureaucrats to focus on independently produced exploitation films that were out of the purview of the PCA. The Board became increasingly embattled in the aftermath of World War II. Its staunch opposition to sex education was at odds with a national debate dominated by the Kinsey Reports and with the national necessity to educate large numbers of sexually curious teenagers. In the new world of James Dean, Brigitte Bardot, and "the pill," censorship was outdated. Furthermore, the rationale for this opposition—that the "entertainment screen" had no place for education—ran contrary to the early Progressive origins of the

Board, which had intended to make films educational. Kansan censors came under increasing attack from the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1952 (*Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson*) and in 1957 (*Roth v. United States*) reversed its early stance in favor of film censorship and argued that films were protected by the First Amendment unless they could be clearly and conclusively defined as obscene. At the time of its demise in 1966 the Board was unable to please anybody: pro-censorship fundamentalists saw it as too lax and anti-censorship modernists as a relic from the past. Many studies are sure to appear that follow the localist methodology of this book. It is important to note, however, that the local does not exist in vacuo but in a conversation with larger trends, which, at times, are only hinted at in the book under review. Staffed by politically involved white women, the story of the Kansas board is part of the larger historical context of women's involvement in twentieth-century reform movements. This reader also feels that more attention to the films' diegetic qualities would have shed more light on underexplained aspects of Butters's story. More descriptive than interpretive, this book notes in passing that Mae West's films, which were famously grounded in audible rather than visual effractions, were hardly ever in the crosshairs of the Kansas censors. The book does not, however, sufficiently explain the reason for this curiously lenient stance toward the notoriously transgressive actress and author. This said, Butters tells an important story that helps us better understand the working of the American censorship apparatus.

SAVERIO GIOVACCHINI

ANDREAS W. DAUM. *Kennedy in Berlin*. Translated by DONA GEYER. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) English edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xxii, 294. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$23.99.

When contemporary historian and personal adviser Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., recalled in *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965) the speech in which Kennedy used the famous phrase "Ich bin ein Berliner," Schlesinger made it clear that the context had been "The European Trip." Andreas Daum's lively account of Kennedy's visit to Berlin de-emphasizes the European context but argues that Kennedy's trip to Berlin was a landmark in transatlantic history as it strengthened the special ties between "America's Germany," the Federal Republic including West Berlin, and the United States. In the era of the Cold War when the stand-off between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers had allowed the Berlin Wall to be built in 1961, Kennedy's visit on June 26, 1963, according to Daum, was a staged event in a drama unfolding in the arena of symbolic international politics.

The story told in the book's five chapters emulates a play whose "final act" (pp. 156–163) was the speech at the Schöneberg Rathaus before hundreds of thousands of cheering Berliners. The analytical model on which

the book stages its plot is a dramaturgical explanation of social interaction, where politics equals performance, and the symbolic uses of signs and signals create an atmosphere of either acceptance or hostility, in any case emotion, that can be planned in advance in sessions of careful tactical preparation.

The introductory chapter lays out two analytical models on which the evidence is to be hinged. One is the idea of "Politics as Theater" (pp. 5–8), as introduced in Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), the model for "The Politics of Visibility" (pp. 9–12) that characterized the postwar period when the "Berlin Airlift" saved the city, and again in the Cold War after the Cuban Missile crises. The other analytical model is Max Weber's idea of charisma, the quality of leadership that entices the masses to invest a politician with quasi-religious powers. Through Kennedy's declaration "Ich bin ein Berliner," Daum ventures, a community bond of felt solidarity was being established between Kennedy, the charismatic American, and the inhabitants of West Berlin.

Chapter one, featuring "The Story and Its Protagonists," sets the stage from the "politics of memory" capping previous visits of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, rivalled at the time by the conception of Europe in the early 1960s proffered by France's President Charles de Gaulle, close ally to German chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Chapter two, "The Script and the Staging," recalls the planning and antecedents of the visit, involving "visibility politics." Chapter three, "Dramatic Climax," invoking "The Greatest Show on Earth": Kennedy in Berlin," reconstructs the staged appearances of the *dramatis personae*, culminating in how Kennedy came to write the four magic words, scribbling the phonetic German on the back of a prepared index card. Chapter four deals with the reaction to the Kennedy visit in East Berlin, where Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev soon would make a state visit, and in particular the intense shock and grief in West Berlin following the assassination of Kennedy that same year. Chapter five, "The Show Goes On," briefly covers the years until 1990 and beyond. Chapter six reviews the story told, from the perspective of the two analytical models in the book. Daum again perceives "political theatricalization" (p. 218), obvious in "America's Berlin, a symbolic place of transnational community" (p. 221).

Interestingly, the concluding chapter fails to mention the analytical model of legitimation through charisma taken from Weber, although it is one of the two conceptual frameworks of the book. The omission, however, appears to be justified. The book marvels in envisaging, even embellishing, President Kennedy's charismatic qualities. Daum cites memoranda, newspaper articles, and other contemporary sources as he recreates the dazzling aura of Kennedy, the charismatic personage. But that is as good as it gets. Daum's reference to charisma ends here. His use of Weber's idea is merely anecdotal.

In addition, the theatrical metaphor used to interpret the events and the impact of Kennedy's visit to Berlin

is not what Goffman envisaged. Daum overlooks that Goffman did not invoke one-sided impression management when he focused on the resemblance between theater and interaction. Daum takes for symbolic politics what Goffman did not aim at. Daum's narrative bypasses Goffman's theatrical metaphor of everyday life as a two-way passage. Regrettably little of Goffman's interactionism finds its way into this book. Its analytical conception, therefore, remains sadly sketchy.

UTA GERHARDT
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GERALD HORNE. *The Color of Fascism: Lawrence Dennis, Racial Passing, and the Rise of Right-Wing Extremism in the United States*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 229. \$45.00.

Gerald Horne turns his energies here to the recovery of one of the strangest, most enigmatic subjects of the recent past: the mid-twentieth-century avatar of American fascism, Lawrence Dennis, who "passed" for white as an adult. As Horne presents him, Dennis is a case study for the coexistence of racial passing and the formation of modern conservatism in the life of one man. Despite Horne's mighty efforts to conjoin this racial performance with practical politics, Dennis is a resistant, elusive, and deeply submerged subject, often refusing to reveal any thoughts and feelings about race, blackness, or the color line. This is, then, a serious and important book written by a very talented historian, but the biography at its core is both troubled and troubling.

The story of Lawrence Dennis, as Horne tells it, is an arc between extremes. As a child, Dennis was touted as a child "Negro" preacher. As a young man, he set aside his religious fervor and his racial identification to "[perform] whiteness" (p. 26). He willfully lied about his mother's background, took degrees from Exeter and Harvard (he was thought to have "foreign blood" [p. 27]), served in a "white" military unit in the Great War, and then joined the State Department and worked on Wall Street. Though rumors persisted that he was a "Negro," Dennis forged ahead with remarkable confidence. He also began to drift toward a rightist critique of American and global society. By the 1930s, in fact, he was at the very vanguard of American fascism, diagnosing the end of capitalism and in conversation not just with Charles Lindbergh but also with Hermann Goering and Joseph Goebbels. After the war, tried for sedition and pushed to the political margin, the determined Dennis found a new role for himself in William F. Buckley Jr.'s emergent conservative counterrevolution. Rejecting the rise of massive resistance, he pined for the days when white supremacists were worthy of his respect, for the 1920s, when the grand blancs with names like Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard walked the earth. Then, in a confusing and "final act of definition" (p. 177), he died sporting an "Afro," wearing his once again uncertain politics in his hair.

This book is better read as a history of fascism than a biography of Lawrence Dennis. Horne inevitably runs

into a problem when he takes note of the public survey of Dennis's body, alternately "bronzed" or "tanned," and always just a bit "too dark" to be white. At the height of his infamy, Dennis kept his hair short, Horne implies, to hide a marker of his race. His darker-skinned mother, by and large, was hidden from view. His family and personal history were buried. The problem, for this reader, is that these are public expressions and not private ones. Dennis's skin tone was a subject of great discussion (from Federal Bureau of Investigation probes to intellectual rivals), but that does not tell us much about the mindset of the man under scrutiny. How did he feel about these rumors? Was he worried about being revealed as someone who had "passed"? How did that concern manifest itself in his daily life? How was his mother kept away? Did they have any contact? Did Dennis consider himself black? Or did he simply want to avoid being defined by that trace of "Negro blood" that ran through his veins. Or did he reject "race" altogether? What, indeed, did he see when he looked in the mirror? On these subjects, Dennis is uncharacteristically silent and the evidentiary record (despite Horne's ambitious research) is paper thin. We cannot know Dennis's interior life as a racial subject.

In the absence of more evidence, Horne offers a few tantalizing suggestions about the role of anger and ambition in Dennis's ascent, drawing on history, psychology, and critical race studies. To his great credit, Horne never allows himself to substitute the veneer of fact for the pulp of speculation. His basic biographical points—that Dennis might well have become an advocate of fascism because he had seen its power up close in the Jim Crow South, and that Dennis's extraordinary reticence about his exact racial position was a consequence of both his passing and his conservatism—are phrased as grounded hypotheses rather than unassailable certainties. Horne's repeated use of conditional statements is both honest and insightful. Indeed, given the absence of a cache of personal notes, autobiographical drafts, or diary entries, it is hard to see how else we would make sense of this important, meaningful life. Horne has at least asked a very big question: what, for Lawrence Dennis, was the link between his fascism and his passing? This book gives us a great first answer.

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TIMOTHY HODGDON. *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965–83*. (Gutenberg-e.) Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. 270. \$49.50.

Few images more succinctly defined the transformative cultural forces of 1960s America than the long-haired, denim-clad, guitar-strumming hippie who inhabited the sidewalks and stoops of San Francisco's Haight Ashbury district during the "Summer of Love." Yet, as Timothy Hodgdon makes clear in his richly documented and well-argued study, few were more complex and con-

tradictory than this enigmatic symbol of countercultural revolt. By focusing on the constructions and practices of masculinity in two distinct counterculture communities—the Diggers of San Francisco and those followers of Steven Gaskin who founded The Farm community in Tennessee—Hodgdon undermines the one-dimensional stereotypes of “flower children” and “freaks” and replaces them with a thickly described world of anarchist urban outlaws and chivalric spiritual homesteaders whose notions of gender relations highlighted critical tensions between conservatism and change. The result is a creative piece of scholarship and publishing (the book was published through Gutenberg-e, an online collaboration between the American Historical Association and Columbia University Press) that contributes much to the broader rethinking of the 1960s in American history.

The dramatic and mediagenic antics of the Diggers serve as the starting point for Hodgdon’s study. An outgrowth of the San Francisco Mime Troupe’s “guerrilla theater” projects, the Diggers emerged in 1966 as an effort to “mobilize the hippies of the Haight in a revolution of consciousness” (chap. 1, par. 4). Their tools were those of theatric expression. Using a combination of street theater, handbills, and performance art (many images of which can be accessed through hypertext and embedded links), the Diggers created modern-day tableaux designed to strike at the heart of the capitalist system: an outdoor free soup kitchen in a neighborhood park; a free store that literally gave its merchandise away; and dramatic public demonstrations, replete with costumes, props, and life-sized puppets, that “attempted to reclaim the streets as free territory” (chap 1, par 4). Despite the Diggers’ emphasis on cultural freedom and liberation, their gender norms seemed markedly constrained by tradition. As Hodgdon describes them, the men of the Diggers placed great emphasis on proving themselves to be “real men” who “deserved to lead the psychedelic revolution” (Intro, par. 57). They derided the apparent effeminacy of both bourgeois society and the flower power mystique, and instead “life-acted” a code of outlaw masculinity that celebrated charismatic risk-taking, confrontational militancy, sexual promiscuity, and male camaraderie. As for the female Diggers, they made important contributions by providing the emotional support and physical labor that sustained the group’s efforts. But the men, who were anything but “gender radicals” (chap 3, par. 72), made it clear that they, not the women, were to be the movement’s stars.

Gender relations on The Farm’s utopian rural commune, in contrast, appeared far more egalitarian and transcendent of prevailing cultural norms, at least at first glance. Founded in 1971 by the followers of the Haight’s psychedelic Buddhist mystic, Steven Gaskin, The Farm strove to embody a vision of a new society defined by spiritual discipline and enlightenment. Like the Diggers, Gaskin’s Farmies believed that revolutionary social change could only occur through the transformation of human consciousness. The Farmies’ path,

however, led them away from the hypermasculine dramatics of the Diggers and toward “the cultivation of what they saw as men’s repressed capacity for love, compassion, and selfless devotion to the good of all” (chap 4, par. 5). Casting themselves as chivalric knights prepared to rescue humankind from a threatening world, the men of The Farm helped create a community rooted in companionate sexual relations that venerated women for their “natural” life-giving powers and men for their sensitive and caring “tantric manhood.” Reflecting this gendered interpretation of yin and yang, Farm members promoted a sexual division of labor that sent men out on work crews (where they engaged in heavy outdoor labor, including construction, farming, and automobile repair) and generally kept women closer to home, cooking for their collective households, caring for the community’s children, and acting as midwives to The Farm’s childbearing women. Although these work and social roles may have been complementary in practice, from a historical perspective they seem more suited to the nineteenth-century world of separate spheres than to the 1970s era of women’s liberation. The Farm may have provided an alternative model for living, but, as Hodgdon argues, it was most definitely “not a feminist utopia” (chap 6, par. 3).

Despite outward differences, the men of the Diggers and The Farm thus shared much in common: a distrust of mainstream American culture, a belief that changes in individual consciousness could change the world around them, and an ironic replication of the gendered relations of power that marked the very cultural systems that they sought to transform. By focusing on this last point, Hodgdon forcefully highlights the conservative impulses that marked the limits of 1960s countercultural revolt, placing his work in good company with other recent studies of 1960s politics and culture.

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ANDREW G. KIRK. *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xiii, 303. \$34.95.

In this engaging and enlightening book, Andrew G. Kirk revises familiar understandings of both the counterculture and American environmentalism through a focus on the “pragmatic environmental sensibility” (p. ix) articulated in the pages of the *Whole Earth Catalog* and the other publications and actions of an eccentric cast of characters led by Stewart Brand during the late 1960s and 1970s. Kirk weaves together a number of fascinating themes—including the alternative technology movement, ecological design, outdoor recreation, space colony proposals, and the so-called greening of American business—to develop an original and persuasive argument about the larger significance of *Whole Earth*. In addition to careful consideration of the catalog in all its permutations, Kirk draws on a plethora of other published materials, together with archival

sources as well as interviews with key protagonists, to construct a lively and textured narrative. Filled with intelligent insights, the book connects Brand and *Whole Earth* to broader themes in modern American history, complicates conventional portraits of the counterculture and the environmental movement, and ponders the enduring legacies of this unique publishing venture.

Kirk uses Brand's frequently quoted remark from the first issue of *Whole Earth* in 1968—"We are as gods and might as well get good at it" (quoted pp. 1, 13)—to emphasize the catalog's departure from the sentiments promulgated by mainstream environmentalists and some countercultural figures of the era. Although Brand studied biology with Paul Ehrlich at Stanford, he rejected the apocalyptic rhetoric and declension narratives deployed by Ehrlich and other environmental thinkers to celebrate human ingenuity and promote environmental optimism. Brand's embrace of technology set him apart from the focus on wilderness preservation by such organizations as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society; it also broke from the anti-technological dimension of the counterculture, as described in influential works of the time by Theodore Roszak and Charles Reich. To be sure, LSD and Ken Kesey, communes, and the Grateful Dead all appear in Kirk's narrative, but Brand and his recognizably countercultural allies, according to Kirk, nurtured a more practical approach to cultural and environmental change. Inspired by Buckminster Fuller, *Whole Earth* contributors for the most part eschewed the politics and protest strategies of the New Left to tinker with tools and envision new designs for sustainable living. The catalog, *CoEvolution Quarterly*, and related publications became major sites for the dissemination of ideas from proponents of alternative technology and ecological design, and Kirk cogently pieces together key moments in the evolving histories of these understudied, but vitally important, movements.

In one of his most compelling arguments, Kirk perceptively grounds these different figures in the American West, demonstrating how they drew upon frontier mythology as well as specific cultural and political sensibilities of the region to forge a "counterculture libertarian or 'hip Right' ethos" (p. 157) that ultimately transformed outdoor recreation, clothing styles, and some sectors of American business. In tracing these themes, Kirk introduces readers to the little-known careers of environmental advocates Huey Johnson, William Bryan, and John Perry Barlow, who sought to reconfigure established approaches to wilderness preservation and recreational land use. He also charts the rise of outdoor clothing company Patagonia, whose signature jacket became "for many westerners" a "political statement" (p. 203) worn in lieu of the traditional cowboy hat. Drawing on the writings of Jane Jacobs, Kirk describes these different figures, as well as alternative business leader Michael Phillips, as pursuing a commerce path to environmental improvement as opposed to the guardian path followed by most environmental activists. Indeed, his analysis reveals a surpris-

ing blend of liberal and conservative values in the *Whole Earth* milieu and should encourage other historians to move beyond the binary framing of Left and Right in modern political culture.

Kirk offers captivating portraits of his protagonists and develops a convincing argument about how this alternative genealogy of American environmentalism could provide useful and inspiring ideas for a pragmatic and human-centered movement in the twenty-first century. From geodesic domes and windmills to rock climbing gear and the whimsical Earth Ball, he also traces the material and symbolic dimensions of countercultural environmentalism. Yet he never really explains the failure of alternative technology and ecological design to refashion the nation's landscape and environmental politics. While he alludes to mass media coverage of Brand and other "tool freaks," he does not examine these portrayals in enough depth to determine how their ideas were framed and packaged to larger audiences. Likewise, he might have reflected, in a more critical fashion, on whether their distrust of big government and dismissal of politics, while appealing to many readers of *Whole Earth*, also worked to limit the impact of their proposals. These criticisms aside, Kirk's excellent blend of cultural, environmental, and intellectual history offers a novel and illuminating account of the counterculture's effort to foster environmental hope.

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JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN. *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 300. \$45.00.

In the United States' early twentieth-century encounters with the wider world, much was subject to negotiation. Jonathan Zimmerman reminds us, however, that rarely did that apply to American worldviews. The American "ideal of freedom" and "idiom of rights" were fixed standards by which the broader world was to be measured and, often, refashioned. Americans traversing the globe prior to 1950 were generally emissaries of this point of view, but Zimmerman focuses on one category of Americans—overseas teachers—that departed from the pattern in several respects.

First of all, American teachers abroad challenged the American exceptionalist ideologies guiding U.S. international relations. Even during the early decades of the twentieth century, says Zimmerman, "America's overseas teachers mounted a steady challenge to (America's) providential premises." Not only were teachers asking "whether America was special," but "why, if at all, the rest of the world should imitate it" (p. 4). Moreover, Zimmerman explains, American teachers were increasingly influenced by anthropological views of "culture" that relativized group values and customs and promoted a rough equality of cultures. Although overseas teachers were slower than university-based scholars to embrace these postmodernist prefigurations, by the mid-twentieth century they were sufficiently per-

sued by these views to "assail their own culture—not just their 'right' to transport it" (p. 9). This seeming affront to American cultural ascendancy was compounded by the fact that the nations accorded equal cultural footing with America were formerly colonized nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Despite their attempts to rise above cultural imperialism, however, American teachers remained bearers of American culture, "inevitably engaged in an act of imposition," says Zimmerman (p. 10). For example, American teachers favored teaching methodologies that emphasized critical thinking skills, they stressed vocational education as the best-suited curriculum for less-developed countries, and they believed that educational opportunities should be available to all. Often, these views conflicted with host country preferences for rote learning, Western classical education, and educational approaches that maintained gender and class-based social differences. Zimmerman points out the difficulties American teachers had conceding their own standards of social progress and deferring, instead, to local preferences on such matters.

Zimmerman delivers a finely nuanced analysis, yet aspects of this encounter between American teachers and host countries seem surprisingly benign. In a section on American teacher support for equal educational opportunities, Zimmerman remarks "post-World War II American teachers simply could not respect people who did not regard other humans as equal" (p. 103). He acknowledges, however, that teachers often adapted to gender limitations within their contexts, but suggests that the "cultural tolerance" of American teachers "would not extend to people who openly discriminated for reasons of race or ethnicity." In support of this point, he cites several instructive examples where American teachers "bridled" in response to racial or ethnic chauvinism in Latin America, West Africa, and India. But would not an analysis of American teacher encounters with southern African contexts have provided a better measurement of their intolerance for racism abroad? After all, nowhere outside the United States during this period was racial equality contested as stridently, nor resisted as fiercely, as in South Africa, Rhodesia, and South West Africa (Namibia). The American missionaries that rendered ecclesiastical service in southern Africa after World War II frequently conformed to the racial policies within the context. Is Zimmerman suggesting that the American teachers in southern Africa behaved differently than their American co-laborers? The reader is forced to speculate on this point because it is not addressed in Zimmerman's account.

Nevertheless, this is an eloquent history that provides a unique window on American citizen diplomacy during the twentieth century. As American citizens, overseas teachers were often conscious of mediating political worlds, even as they were conscious at personal levels of mediating professional duties, social identities, and moral responsibilities. Zimmerman effectively maps both sets of intersections, thereby thickening descrip-

tions of citizen diplomacy. Overseas teachers were also deployed by organizations in most cases, and the teacher perspectives Zimmerman assembles are important angles of vision on organizational channels of citizen diplomacy, including the U.S. Peace Corps and Christian mission organizations. These aspects of Zimmerman's study will be of interest well beyond the academy, including policy makers and practitioners concerned with international development, church missions, and voluntary sector activities. This is a valuable study, and it deserves a wide readership.

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KATHRYN M. NECKERMAN. *Schools Betrayed: Roots of Failure in Inner-City Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 260. \$29.00.

This book is not really a work of history. As Kathryn M. Neckerman notes, it is a work of sociology informed by "a series of layered stories" concerning the relative educational disadvantage of working-class black and immigrant youth in Chicago in the first half of the twentieth century (the term "immigrant" here is restricted to non-Jewish groups). Using charts, graphs, and anecdotes drawn from the years 1900 to 1960, it surveys a wide range of factors that seemed to perpetuate blacks' relative "failure" in the city's public schools.

Defining "failure" mostly in terms of academic achievement but also in terms of school enrollment, grade retention, graduation rates, and college aspirations, this book opens with a series of demographic and political factors that shaped black and immigrant schools. Overcrowding and underinvestment in predominantly black schools meant that, even when funds increased during the Great Depression—evidently owing to an infusion of federal aid—black schools consistently received less money to serve more students.

In the second and most important chapter of the book, Neckerman considers the effects of a racially discriminatory labor market in which black workers had fewer job opportunities than immigrant workers. Linking this situation to education, she makes a rather surprising discovery: there was "no consistent pattern of racial difference" in the economic return to education (p. 56). In other words, black and immigrant workers derived equal benefits from equal levels of education across occupational categories.

Yet, blacks started lower on the economic scale, and, according to Neckerman, education did nothing to narrow the economic gap between black and immigrant workers; education did not improve blacks' relative chances of "a better job, steadier employment or higher earnings" (p. 57). Despite this fact, Chicago's black communities, and black elites in particular, put great stock in education—greater in fact than (non-Jewish) immigrant communities did. Neckerman attributes this high esteem to education's symbolic value for blacks in an era when other status markers were not available.

After sketching the demographic, economic, and

“cultural” factors that perpetuated racial inequality in Chicago’s schools, Neckerman peers inside schools themselves to see how black students fared vis à vis immigrant students. By the 1930s, she asserts, segregation, attributable to residential patterns as well as official policies, was thoroughly entrenched, with eighty-four percent of black children attending predominantly black schools. These schools, in turn, had less money, less space, and less experienced teachers.

Moreover, black and non-black schools had different programs. When the city expanded its vocational classes, for example, a two-tiered system emerged with placements based on standardized test scores. Black students, with lower average scores, found themselves tracked into lower-tier classes with a manual rather than commercial focus. In a racially discriminatory labor market controlled by strong, ethnically oriented unions, Chicago’s ostensibly neutral vocational-education policy may have had racially disparate economic effects.

Yet, while this policy may have shunted black students into lower-tier vocational classes, one wonders how it really shaped their job opportunities. If educational attainment had no clear effect on black workers’ prospects vis à vis non-black workers, then how might one measure the relative benefit to be derived from high-tier or low-tier placements? It is difficult to know whether higher test scores or higher-tier vocational placements would have helped black students gain ground on immigrant students in a discriminatory job market.

In the end, the greatest obstacle to working-class black students’ educational success may not have been the schools so much as black students’ own realization that “school” itself made little difference in Chicago’s discriminatory labor market. Apparently, regardless of the condition of their schools (or their own efforts), black students could not close the economic gap with immigrants. Indeed, absent education’s symbolic value, working-class blacks hoping to get ahead had, according to Neckerman, no “real hope” of doing so (p. 58).

She summarizes: “Students with high achievement scores, who could qualify for college-preparatory academics or top-tier vocational training, were discouraged by labor market discrimination. . . . Students with low test scores faced a disheartening choice between the degraded curricula of the unselective vocational schools, which prepared students for lower-tier jobs, many of them racially stereotypical, and a non-vocational curriculum that prepared students for nothing at all” (pp. 125–126).

This book (which might have been titled *Black Students Betrayed*) offers several novel insights, but one must look for them. Its non-chronological organization makes it hard to discern why specific reforms arose in specific eras under specific leaders. Also, the narrative jumps from decade to decade, even within paragraphs, and the book does not systematically explain change over time. Were black students better or worse off in 1960 than in 1940, 1930, or 1920? The answer is unclear.

Finally, given its argument that schools were simply part of a larger system of institutions that perpetuated racial inequality in Chicago, the book’s closing policy recommendations come as a non sequitur. With no supporting evidence, why should readers accept Neckerman’s call for new school-aid formulas or “a base of flexible and stable federal funding,” let alone her appeal for (unspecified) new vocational or remedial programs, as the key to solving the complex problems she identifies (p. 184)?

This book is no more policy brief than a work of history; rather, it is a multifaceted (if sometimes meandering) sociological meditation on the enduring effects of racism in Chicago’s public schools.

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JEFFREY J. KRIPAL. *Esalen: America and the Religion of No Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 575. \$30.00.

Esalen conjures up so many images: the Pacific Coast, hot tubs, psychedelic drugs, past-life regressions. Yet as Jeffrey J. Kripal makes clear in this engaging book, if we can get beyond the stereotypes encapsulated in the word there is a rich, complex history of the spiritual encounters of the past half-century that shape, often in hidden ways, the current American experience. By “the religion of no religion,” the author captures what lies at the heart of the American creed, or as he says (pp. 463–464), belief in “freedom for religion but also, simultaneously and paradoxically, from religion, particularly when the latter grows intolerant, bigoted, and exclusive. The result is, if you will, a kind of mystical space, and deeply spiritual (but not religious, as the saying goes).”

Kripal’s interpretation of Esalen as mystical space ties in closely with his view of the comparative study of religion: both mysticism and comparativism have flourished within American pluralistic culture, and both have drawn upon academic ideas and intellectual figures for inspiration. They share an appreciation for diversity of and exchange among mystical views, grounded less in a sense of a stable past than in the expectation of a future potentiality, “a kind of fertile emptiness, a creative void . . . at once full and empty, of the history of religions” (p. 52). So viewed, we are left with an openness to possibility, especially in the American democratic and individualistic context.

The book chronicles this quest in human potential beginning in the late 1950s with Michael Murphy’s intrigue with Tantric teachings and Richard Price’s attractions to Theravada Buddhism, Japanese Zen, and Chinese Taoism. Together, the two founders defined what Esalen would become: a meeting of East and West, of European Enlightenment and Asian spirituality, of the secular and the sacred. A creative period of development followed in the 1960s during “The Outlaw Era” of the countercultural years, as the author puts it. Names like Norman O. Brown, Allen Ginsberg, Alan

Watts, Fritz Perls, Timothy Leary, and Abraham Maslow became associated with Esalen in its various searches for enlightenment. Psychedelics, the union of mind and body, sexuality as sacred, peak experiences, consciousness and energy, cosmic joy—alternative practices and teachings all, and all quite visible when viewed against the backdrop of a previous, culturally repressive decade.

Next came the Cold War years, 1970–1985, a period of gender consciousness, attention to kundalini awakenings, Jungian psychology, quantum physics, UFOs, and spiritual counseling to those abused by gurus and their totalizing belief systems. Two contradictory trends characterize the period: the human potential movement was losing something of its original radicalism, but it was a politically active and socially engaging time at Esalen. Psychologists, philosophers, and humanists at Esalen engaged in conversation with their counterparts in the Soviet Union on topics ranging from satellite communication to humanistic medicine.

The past two decades have been a time of greater maturity for Esalen as a place of gnosis, of providing deeply humane knowledge to a spiritually hungry clientele. Not that its experimental, cutting-edge quality was lost, but it had evolved and was reaching out and consolidating spiritual universals. Apparent too were the excesses of New Age gurus and so many competing spiritualities. Moreover, as Kripal discusses, as a place catering largely to a white and upper-middle-class constituency, Esalen finds itself—as do all self-conscious American religious and metaphysical communities—caught up in a world dominated by capitalism and political ideologies. Who does it serve? Where does it fit within the larger picture of a consumption-oriented culture? How should it understand itself—as a spiritually creative enclave somehow not diminished by these worldly realities, or as inevitably enmeshed as one niche within the contemporary “spiritual marketplace” of individual choices?

This latter perspective is not totally dismissed by the author, but he prefers the former. He envisions Esalen as the mystical symbol of America, a nation premised on a democratic ideal. But he does so not in any triumphal assurance but out of worry if not despair. In the final chapter, he writes, “can we revision ‘America’ not as a globally hated imperial superpower, not as a ‘Christian nation’ obsessed with mad and arrogant apocalyptic fantasies abroad and discriminatory ‘family values’ at home, not as a monster consumer of the world’s ever-dwindling resources, but as a universal human ideal yet to be realized, as a potentiality yet to be actualized, as an empty and so creative space far more radical and free than the most patriotic or religiously right among us have dared to imagine?” (pp. 464–465). No matter what one might think about Esalen and its place in the American imagination, we can share his vision of the challenges facing the country.

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EVELYN A. SCHLATTER. *Aryan Cowboys: White Supremacists and the Search for a New Frontier, 1970–2000*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 250. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

This ambitious book offers a historical overview of the growth and development of white supremacy groups, their ideologies, and underlying beliefs. Focusing on western states and the growth of extremist groups since 1970, Schlatter sees a connection between American nationalism and beliefs about Manifest Destiny, masculinity, and rugged individualism. She argues that social constructions of manhood and masculinity connect with the historical roots of millennialism, vigilantism, fraternalism, and extremism to create a fertile environment for the growth of white supremacist ideology. After providing an overview of the history and activities of extremist groups, Schlatter examines linkages between white supremacist ideology and constructions of American identity and nationalism. She provides background information on the Ku Klux Klan, before focusing almost exclusively on the groups who have sought refuge in the Pacific Northwest. These groups include the Aryan Nations, The Order, and the Posse Comitatus. Explored are possible connections between the growth of militia groups and highly salient political events such as the deaths that occurred in the invasion of David Koresh’s Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas; the standoff between Randy Weaver and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at Ruby Ridge, Idaho; and the Oklahoma City bombing that occurred while she was conducting her research for this book.

Schlatter’s book is a good starting place for anyone unfamiliar with white nationalism and the violent confrontations that have taken place between group members and law enforcement officials. Unfortunately, however, it offers little new information for researchers familiar with this subject. Nor does the author offer proof for many of its most controversial assertions. Readers will find no new data to bolster her claims about the dangers posed by extremist groups or about the alleged ideological connections between extremist groups and America’s founding ethos and myths. Nevertheless, I believe she is accurate in her conclusion that “Extreme rightists are our fellow Americans. . . Their views are not a part of some lunatic fringe.” Instead “the overwhelming majority of people who subscribe to extremist rightist ideology live and work in our communities. Most want pretty much what we all want: food, shelter, a good job, a secure future for themselves and their children, a comfortable retirement” (p. 168). Schlatter could have written a much stronger book had she conducted original research. Limited by secondary sources, she has provided readers with a good historical overview of the growth of white supremacy groups and their beliefs. Undergraduate students and persons unfamiliar with the topic will find this book an excellent starting point for a more in depth examination of what seems to be an important social movement, one likely

to grow in urgency as the nation becomes more and more racially and ethnically diverse. If Schlatter's book succeeds in heightening public awareness of a growing problem, then it will have done its job.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MARGARET CHOWNING. *Rebellious Nuns: The Troubled History of a Mexican Convent, 1752–1863*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 296. \$35.00.

Margaret Chowning's detailed history of a late colonial Mexican convent extends her concern with changes and continuities in the period immediately preceding and following Mexico's Wars of Independence. This most recent study takes up the chaotic story of La Purísima Concepción, a reformed Conceptionist institution established by a young orphaned heiress in San Miguel el Grande (renamed San Miguel de Allende after Independence). Chowning traces the trajectory of this "ill-fated convent" from the decision to found it in 1752 to the forced exclaustation of Mexico's nuns in 1863. Although the book's argument emerges only tangentially, Chowning insists that the convent's story must be understood in relation to key themes in the late colonial period. Her focus here is on convent rebellion, the church's relations with convents and the women within them, the role of the convent in urban life, and intellectual change in general. In linking the tale of La Purísima to these broader themes, Chowning sheds light on the deep fissures emerging within Mexican society by the last half of the eighteenth century, not only in the capital but also in smaller communities like San Miguel, a city with perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants at the time of the convent's foundation.

La Purísima's was an unusual foundation. In 1752, the teenaged orphan Maria Josepha Lina committed her substantial inheritance to the project of founding San Miguel el Grande's first convent for women. Although San Miguel was prosperous and prided itself on its exceptional piety, the city contained only a house for religious laywomen (*beaterio*). Given the colonial association between women's convents and urban pride, the teenager's plan was received with enthusiasm. Little concern was raised about the foundress's desire for strict communal observance, which in 1752 was rare in Mexico. In 1756, four Conceptionist nuns from Regina Coeli in Mexico City arrived to officially found the convent; greeted with rapture by the populace, the nuns joined the local novices in a hastily renovated building, and La Purísima was born. The harmony and joy expressed in the foundation ceremonies, however, would evade the nuns of La Purísima ever after. Indeed, for the next 111 years, the convent was beset by crises. Immediately after its founding, these convulsions were spiritual, as some young nuns rebelled against the strict observance required by their rule. This occurred against a backdrop of general convent rebellion throughout the

colony, as the church attempted to impose stricter observance and communal life (*vida común*) upon New Spain's convents, most of which had been established under the more relaxed system known as *vida particular*. After 1772, the convent's internal and episcopal relations stabilized. This peace, however, was accompanied by growing economic uncertainty. By 1782, La Purísima was in financial crisis, its abbess requesting even stricter observance to cut costs. This inaugurated a new period of debate over observance, which ended with the bishop's imposition of *vida particular*—that is, an abandonment of the convent's rule—in 1792. Thereafter, La Purísima limped along through the chaos of the Wars of Independence, becoming surprisingly prosperous (and even profligate) in the 1830s, but never achieving anything like the growth and vitality imagined by its foundress. Its population continued to shrink at a dramatic rate and, after exclaustation in 1863, its traces disappear from the archives, although it was re-established in the twentieth century and has become vital enough to serve as a founding institution for new convents in both its home state and other states.

Chowning's research in the episcopal archives of Michoacán allows her to reconstruct the trajectory of La Purísima effectively. In so doing, she links San Miguel to broader colonial (and, indeed, extracolonial) trends and themes. Her economic analysis of the convent's functioning is detailed and engaging and allows her to draw out a larger argument about the economic fortunes of the colony before and after Independence. Independence, indeed, here recedes in importance much as it does in Chowning's earlier study of the fortunes of the Michoacán elite in the late colony and early republic. When looking at the origins and courses of convent conflict, Chowning is no less convincing; extraordinarily detailed sources, including observations on the personalities and talents of each nun in the convent, allow her to trace not only psychological but generational factors in the crises that beset La Purísima. Finally, Chowning links not only nineteenth-century liberals but eighteenth-century churchmen to Enlightenment thought; and her analysis of *vida particular* as an imposition linked to the bishop's admiration of Adam Smith is thought-provoking.

Still, while the analysis is sophisticated and fruitful, some questions remain unanswered. The first relates to the overall significance of the work. Chowning makes the case for the novelty of the material, but there are many studies of convent rebellion that make use of sources similar to those Chowning considers exceptional. Moreover, the generational analysis that Chowning employs could have been developed to enhance her analysis. The discourse of youth employed by the "rebel" nuns in the convent, particularly paired with their use of Enlightenment tropes, deserves fuller treatment. Indeed, Chowning's treatment of Enlightenment thought would be enhanced by clearer gender analysis. While the disparagement of women by male religious figures that emerges strikingly from Chowning's documentation was nothing new, the apparent contradiction

between episcopal acceptance of principles of freedom and rationality and trivialization of nuns' concerns is worthy of exploration in light of the dual turns enacted by Enlightenment thought with regard to women as a whole.

Finally, one is left with a strong sense of the significance and fragility of Mexico's convents for women, which always seem to have been burdened with far too much significance and far too little funding. Chowning's work is a fine regional study of a broader phenomenon, convent rebellion, which illuminates larger trends. It will be required reading for those interested in women's convents, the economic history of the late colony and early nation, and the processes by which so-called Enlightenment thought penetrated even remote reaches of Mexican society.

JACQUELINE HOLLER

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MARIE EILEEN FRANCOIS. *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750–1920*. (Engendering Latin America.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 415. \$39.95.

Beautifully written, tightly structured, and meticulously researched, Marie Eileen Francois's new study of the culture of everyday credit in Mexico City is simply a gem. The author deftly blends archival sources and government documents with relevant excerpts from nineteenth-century novels, travelers' accounts, newspaper reports and editorials, and even the popular board game "Juego de la Oca." This rich repository of sources leave no doubt as to "the everydayness of pawning" (p. 187) for which she argues.

Francois's analysis of a two-tiered culture of credit affords an upstairs/downstairs view of how pawning underpinned the survival of the working as well as the middle and elite classes of Mexico City throughout the long nineteenth century. On the first tier, we find the *pulpero* (corner grocer) who also functions as pawnbroker. By the 1830s, independent pawnbrokers (frequently immigrant Spanish men) began to found *casas de empeños* (pawnshops) which offered higher loans. The Monte de Piedad occupied the second tier. Originally founded in Italy and later Spain, this institution was intended to aid the poor. Nevertheless, by the time it was established in New Spain (1775), it actually served to maintain the creoles, especially creole women in danger of being *déclassé* and even mixing with mestizos (people of mixed ancestry). Thus, pawning policies bolstered racial and ethnic hierarchies (together with the Pragmatic Sanction, decreed for the colonies in 1778, which aimed at preventing marriage between whites and mestizos or other *castas*). As she details the trials and tribulations of distinct social classes in the culture of everyday credit, Francois explores the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity.

Women are the protagonists of this work as they struggle to maintain households and appearances in

cash-strapped economies. We see women pawning (primarily their own clothing, jackets, jewelry, and shawls as well as household items) and even a few female pawnbrokers. At first, middle-class and elite women would send their maids to do the pawning, later they would pull up in their carriages and pawnbrokers would come to the window to inspect the items, and finally, by the later nineteenth century, they entered the establishments themselves. Surprisingly, Francois detects a decline in women pawnbrokers with the *Porfiriato*, precisely when elite and middle-class women were more boldly joining working-class women in the public sphere.

The author emphasizes the significance of pawning not only for conspicuous consumption "but also the mundane but essential patterns of inconspicuous consumption managed by women of all classes" (p. 8). That said, conspicuous consumption and the pressure to appear "modern" loomed larger for both sexes later in the nineteenth century. This impacted pawnbrokers and clients alike. In the eighteenth century, clothes retained their value, allowing brokers to lend two thirds of the value. If the item were not redeemed, it could be sold. By the 1840s, as fashion changed more rapidly, the value of items diminished more quickly. In a growing consumer economy, *casas de empeño* expanded into major businesses and the Monte de Piedad opened new branches not only in Mexico City but also in the provinces. If in earlier periods people pawned jewelry, silver plates, and silverware, now timepieces, electric fans, irons, and even sewing machines were pawned (although women's clothing still constituted the majority of items pawned). Consumer culture resulted in a pawning boom.

While Francois focuses on pawning as a fundamental feature of everyday life for Mexicans living in the nation's capital, she also underlines its linkages with liberalism and state formation. She is particularly good at framing the contradictions facing liberal policy makers who, while espousing *laissez-faire* policies and the sanctity of private property, had to contend with the day-to-day realities of the population and their dire need for credit. However, while colonial policies tended to be more paternalistic toward working classes, by the late nineteenth century, the rights of private property held precedence when brokers gained the right to charge any interest that the market would bear.

While the "everydayness" of pawning continued, conditions changed considerably. By 1916, extreme inflation, food shortages, and unemployment had severely reduced workers' purchasing power. However, a revolutionary regulation that imposed a five percent limit on interest to forestall pawnbrokers' excesses resulted in the demise of pawnshops and the rise of bazaar buyers who bought used goods from borrowers who then permanently lost their collateral, a painful decapitalization. Pawning, the possibility of retrieving and repawning goods, however exploitive, was vital to the Mexican economy, and necessarily reappeared in the postrevolutionary period. The author's *longue durée* ap-

proach permits the reader to appreciate the elements of continuity and change in the culture of credit in Mexico City from the late colonial period through the 1910 Revolution.

Two elements are missing from this study. Given the references to downtown Mexico City, a map locating the Monte de Piedad would be helpful. The lack of a bibliography is unfortunate and leads to tedious tracking of sources through the endnotes. While too long for undergraduate courses, this monograph would serve as an excellent text for graduate courses in Latin American history as well as gender studies.

FRANCIE CHASSEN-LÓPEZ
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ELISA SERVÍN, LETICIA REINA, and JOHN TUTINO, editors. *Cycles of Conflict, Centuries of Change: Crisis, Reform, and Revolution in Mexico*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 405. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

This collection of essays presents the dynamics of Mexican history and politics as circular or interweaving, returning every hundred years—in 1810, 1910, and 2010—to similar moments of crisis. The approach contrasts with analyses that focus on the Mexican present as a unique turn to liberal democracy as well as with the emphasis in Mexican historiography on a sequence of distinct periods linking independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the breakdown of the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) regime at the end of the twentieth. Juxtaposing similar processes at hundred-year intervals allows the contributors to underscore two themes that characterize modern Mexico: the importance of rural villages in shaping the course of regional and national events; and the centrality of liberalism in Mexican politics, not simply or even predominantly in the nineteenth-century *Reforma* of Benito Pablo Juárez, but as a characteristic of late colonial and late twentieth-century rule as well.

The significance of the local is delineated by Eric Van Young, who shows that we need always to examine whether and how the motivations and actions of ordinary people take up the broad themes of national politics (because often they do not). The theme of locality is convincingly connected to that of liberalism by Antonio Annino, who demonstrates that the liberalism of late colonial rule and early independence gave municipalities tools of citizenship with which to oppose nineteenth-century liberal attacks on municipal landholdings. And the liberalism of locality is connected equally clearly to electoral competition by Leticia Reina, who highlights the significance of municipal elections as locations of contestation in the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries. This liberal political capacity to defend land and vote in elections enabled Mexican pueblos (towns) to protect their material holdings and thus, in John Tutino's view, their autonomy.

This autonomy is also, Friedrich Katz shows, a product of international wars. Townspeople could protect

their sovereignty and their landholdings not only because of liberal constructions of nationhood—the terms on which Mexican communities agreed to join the nation—but because ordinary people were mobilized to fight foreign enemies in wars. This mobilization gave them power not only through arms, but through their self-consciousness as Mexicans and the promises made to them in exchange for their military support.

Tutino identifies autonomy as the necessary foundation for rebellion and revolution, which can occur when people in their communities have the material resources to fight established and contesting powers. Tutino then brings us to the present by arguing that this autonomy is now, finally—as a result of the industrialization and agricultural modernization of the 1940s–1980s—over. For Tutino, this end-of-autonomy explains why the economic harms of the final two decades of the twentieth century have not led to widespread rebellion and thus answers the book's opening question—will there be breakdown and revolution in 2010? No, there will not, and there will not be much reform or social justice either, in Tutino's view, because in Mexico, democracy without the possibility of armed insurgency has become a tool of the wealthy and powerful.

Alan Knight answers the question of economic harm without rebellion another way, by contrasting the relative suppleness of the PRI at the end of the twentieth century with the rigidity of the *Porfiriato* a hundred years earlier. Faced with broadly comparable situations, the PRI regime, true to its twentieth-century character, bowed to and shaped the inevitable. In Knight's words, "Bourbon and Porfirian intransigence contrast with the pragmatism—a cynical, calculating, self-interested pragmatism, perhaps—with which the regime of the PRI has conducted its affairs, right to the last." The PRI opened up the political system in a variety of interconnected ways after the political explosion of 1968 (when the military fired on protesters at the Tlatelolco Plaza) and ultimately allowed the one-party system to come to an end through voting. This opening up is the story told in part three.

Tutino is deeply pessimistic about the democratic regime's capacity to address pressing problems of misery and exclusion, and Knight is agnostic. In contrast, Lorenzo Meyer optimistically contrasts liberalism's turn to authoritarianism under Porfirio Díaz with the coming of liberalism in the 1980s, when it entered through the corridors of power to enact economic reform, but was pressed by circumstance (or the pragmatism of the PRI) to preside over a transition to democracy. Elisa Servín sees contestation over power today in Congress, in municipalities, and among governors, likening this to the 1920s, when there was real, rough-and-tumble jockeying for power in the postrevolutionary government. Reina likens the present to the active electoral life of the last decades of the colonial period and of the *Porfiriato*, other times when municipalities and citizens chose elections as their means for expressing political needs and desires.

While this book successfully reframes Mexico's past

to illuminate the present with its comparisons, it misses the contestation of the twentieth-century PRI regime, glossing over the years from 1940 to 1980. As a result, the book invokes liberalism to characterize the late twentieth century without examining the imaginaries of development and politics that have animated, mobilized, and impassioned Mexicans since the 1920s and 1930s. Much of what the authors point to for earlier periods—fights over autonomy, electoral contests, municipal citizenship, and struggles over resources—played key roles in daily life and politics in twentieth-century Mexico as well. Alternative visions of nation, development, party, pueblo, civic politics, and radical popular movements, deeply embedded in the years of PRI rule, have not disappeared and will continue to be invoked through and in opposition to liberalism.

Moreover there is not enough, beyond Van Young's opening chapter and attention to nineteenth-century liberal and electoral political culture, on daily life, on the popular cultures that animate, mobilize, divert, and enchant. These phenomena are deeply regional and cultural, and they are enmeshed with a multifaceted and changing state. We could think, for example, about the multiple ingredients of the 1994 Chiapas rebellion, as well as its diverse pathways and outcomes, so aptly described elsewhere by Jan Rus (2003), Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo (2001) and Shannan L. Mattiace (2002). We could think of the Santa Muerte cult in Mexico City, elegantly described in the work of anthropologist Laura Roush, where ex-cons by the scores cradle to their breasts virgins smoking cigarettes, or of journalist Ruben Martínez's descriptions of the cyclical migrations of families from rural Mexico to St. Louis and the way the texture of their home village changes in tandem with the migrants' experiences and dreams (2002). Each of these phenomena is bound up in the politics and economics of PRI and post-PRI regimes and shapes current events.

In its considerations of the present, the volume would benefit from a more open-ended notion of breakdown and revolution. This book argues that autonomy has ended and liberalism taken hold, and that the resulting liberal democracy may or may not carry out the kind of significant reform necessary to address inequality and poverty. While acknowledging this uncertainty head-on, the book concludes that there is no conceivable pathway or possibility for rebellion or even widespread disorder in 2010.

Breakdown and disorder, however, can happen in a flash, and capacities for guerrilla resistance in urban and rural areas develop unexpectedly. One can indeed imagine breakdowns of authority in Mexico, mobilizations and emergency measures in escalating interactions, new religious practices, and new violence. There is great fragmentation in twenty-first-century Mexico. But this is easily unnoticed at the level of the national regime, where the trajectory of this volume concludes, against the advice of its opening chapters. Indeed, everything we know about Mexico in the past, as this book shows so well, tells us that breakdowns, mobilizations,

religious passions, and violence are with us now and will shape the future.

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JUSTIN WOLFE. *The Everyday Nation-State: Community and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Nicaragua*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 272. \$40.00.

"In the years immediately following Central American independence," writes Justin Wolfe, "'Nicaragua' was not high on the list of potential political identities" that would have attracted adherents in the erstwhile colonial province (p. 20). Wolfe's purpose is nothing less than documenting how "Nicaragua" became the operative political identity, not just among the rival elites of León and Granada but also among indigenous, African, and mixed-race people who populated rural towns and villages and who comprised the lower classes of urban centers. His conclusion that "Nicaragua" was not so much a top-down imposition as the result of constant negotiation between urban elites and subalterns of all backgrounds should come as no surprise to those familiar with the recent historiography of Latin America.

Not that the leaders of León and Granada, and subsequently Managua, did not try to impose their vision of the nation onto subalterns. But they were unable to do so unilaterally, and thus their nationalist aspirations remained but a dream through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In Wolfe's narrative, U.S. filibusterer William Walker serves as the *deus ex machina* that disabused the Nicaraguan elite of its fantasy. Invited to help the Liberal cause in 1855, Walker easily stole the reins of power, demonstrating to Liberals and Conservatives that the state was anemic and the elite version of national identity meant little to the subaltern majority. Walker forced the elite to face the reality that if it wished to create a nation-state in anything but name it would have to achieve some degree of subaltern "buy-in." Thus, in the aftermath of the National War (1855–1857) that drove Walker from Nicaragua, the elite compromised on its view of the nation, allowing its "brotherhood of class" to be transformed into a brotherhood of modest landholders. Although in practice citizenship rights remained often contested and far from universal, national identity did become more inclusive.

Ironically, Wolfe shows, liberal nationhood took its first steps on the Conservative watch, a not uncommon phenomenon in Latin America. He describes how Conservatives succeeded in strengthening the state by increasing revenues, the capacity for coercion, and involvement in activities that were intimately connected to daily life, from the production and sale of alcohol to educating children. By tackling education, among other things, the state also reduced the purview of its institutional rival, the Catholic Church. Now well on its way to moderate solvency, the state was free to focus on more contentious issues like land tenure. Here Wolfe is at his best, deftly integrating archival material and nuanced analysis to produce a new understanding of the

success of Nicaraguan state-formation: although legal changes did facilitate the transformation of communal lands into private property, the outcome was a proliferation of smallholders comprised primarily of those who had formerly utilized communal lands. Many of these new smallholders were indigenous, and not all communal lands were privatized; indeed, far from it. These new property owners increasingly saw the national state, rather than their town government, as the agent of their prosperity, a trend that weakened community-based political identities.

Next, Wolfe unravels how indigenous communities took advantage of the contradiction between elite associations of "labor" with "Indian" and the new conceptualization of the nation that vested citizenship rights in small landholders. If farmers were the foundation of the nation, then it was no longer acceptable for ladino (non-indigenous) officials or elites to categorize Indians as landless laborers. Many had acquired property, and many others retained usufruct rights via membership in their communities. Thus, indigenous villagers now had reason to believe that their fortunes were linked to the nation. The downside, Wolfe suggests, was a general weakening of indigenous identity and community solidarity. Still, not all indigenous communities ceased to exist by the early twentieth century. Some persisted and even thrived. The key to persistence was the degree to which commercial agriculture generated ladino populations within indigenous towns. Where sizeable ladino populations emerged, they pushed Indians out of municipal government and denigrated all things indigenous to justify appropriating their land and labor and reducing their political and cultural autonomy. In these towns, indigenous community identities withered even though the number of Indian landowners may have increased. Where the prospects for commercial agriculture were dim, however, ladinos remained few, Indians retained control over municipal government, and indigenous identities survived.

Wolfe could have done more to explicate the term "indigenous community" at the start of the book. Even specialists in Latin American history might not clearly understand that he used this term to refer exclusively to an ethnic sodality within a town or municipality, rather than a town that historically comprised primarily Indians, or a municipal council that was under their control. Clarification of this point would have helped readers connect more quickly to a complex argument, and might have allowed Wolfe to further elucidate his already rich and sophisticated investigation of nation-state formation in nineteenth-century Nicaragua.

RENÉ REEVES
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MARIXA LASSO. *Myths of Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia, 1795–1831*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 203. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Clearly written and well documented, this book by Marixa Lasso is both an important contribution to the specialized literature on the history of race relations in the Americas and a great teaching tool on this and several other topics, including the process of independence in Spanish America. It builds on the thesis proposed a decade ago by Alfonso Múnera Cavadía's *El fracaso de la nación: región, clase, y raza en el Caribe colombiano (1717–1821)* (1998). Similar to Múnera Cavadía, Lasso focuses on Cartagena and Colombia's Caribbean and holds that both free blacks and pardos (mulattoes) there participated actively in the movement led by the local creole elites to put an end to colonial rule. Although the author acknowledges that racism continued to prevail in various forms, Afro-Colombian participation in the movement for independence and presence in some powerful positions of the new republican regime contributed to the emergence of a myth of racial equality, a myth powerful enough to cause further revolutionary activities throughout the region.

To make her larger point, Lasso develops several interrelated theses. One is that in the late colonial period tensions between pardos and white creoles increased due to the fact that the former received support from the crown to advance socially and to whiten their social status. These tensions grew further because of the 1790s rebellion for independence in Haiti, a revolt that became a part of the local imaginary of Caribbean Colombia. Such tensions carried over into the early republican era when a rumor emerged that a racial war was about to break out.

A second important thesis is that Greater Colombia, the political unit of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, was one of the first regions to proclaim racial equality as a public policy and was also one of the first to develop a nationalist rhetoric of racial harmony, something that started in Cartagena during the Age of Revolution. Lasso claims that to many pardos the wars for independence represented the possibility of an old aspiration to justice and also became the road to freedom for many slaves. Another claim is that while creoles actively looked for the support of people of African descent for the revolutionary cause, pardos who embraced the call appropriated for themselves the revolutionary rhetoric, actively pressing for the implementation of social and political equality. They led the proclamation of racial equality among all free peoples and actively contributed to forging a nationalist myth of racial equality and harmony. This very myth allowed the local elite to continue to discriminate informally, and it contributed to neutralizing the creation of political associations based on racial identity. In any case, with the emergence of a black political and military class, and the granting of voting rights to free Afro-Colombians, pardos developed yet further expectations of freedom and equality and, in an effort to materialize such aspirations, continued to apply constant pressure on the creole elite.

These attractive theses on the defining historical agency of black slaves, free blacks, and pardos in Ca-

ribbean Colombia held by Múnera Cavadía (and, by extension, Lasso) were challenged in Aline Helg's outstanding book *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835* (2004). Helg argued that the Caribbean region in late colonial Colombia was a frontier and multiracial society in which racial identities were weak. This made it unnecessary for blacks to forge a united front to challenge white domination. Furthermore, revolutionary ideals only influenced free blacks; slaves remained immune to them. Popular political mobilization thus was not based on racial or class identities. Lasso's book renews the debate proposed by Helg and gives us new evidence with which to assess the extent of Afro-Colombian participation in the liberation of colonial Colombia and the development of a more racially equal society. Useful in both graduate and undergraduate seminars, this book should be acquired by research and general libraries alike.

VICTOR M. URIBE-URAN
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PATRICIA H. MARKS. *Deconstructing Legitimacy: Viceroy, Merchants, and the Military in Late Colonial Peru*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 403. \$65.00.

In 1990 an influential group of Peruvian scholars, inspired by a phrase in one of Mario Vargas Llosa's novels, published the volume of essays, edited by Carlos Milla Batres, entitled *En qué momento se jodió el Perú*, which translates, politely, as *When Did Peru Get Screwed?* Predictably, there was no consensus, for as one scholar observed, the violation had occurred "not just on one day. There were several" (p. 125). A key argument running through their contributions, however, was that the late colonial history of Peru, culminating in its transition to an independent republic in 1821–1824, encapsulated missed opportunities, because the creoles of Lima, motivated by socio-racial conservatism and aristocratic loyalties, succeeded in constructing a "fief of the oligarchy" within which Peru's "conservative elite" condemned the majority of its inhabitants to limitless exploitation and domination by a white minority (pp. 9–11).

This pessimistic interpretation has influenced much of the historical scholarship of the last two decades, with national scholars such as Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, followed by international authorities (including David T. Garrett, Ward Stavig, Steve J. Stern, Sergio Serulnikov, Sinclair Thomson, and Charles Walker), focusing their research on the aims and identities of subaltern groups, mainly indigenous of the southern Andes, while paying little attention to the attitudes and activities of the limeños. Patricia H. Marks's monograph offers a welcome antidote to this trend, for it deals unashamedly with the most prominent members of Lima's *consulado*—the merchant guild established in 1593 as an offshoot of that of Seville, but by the late-eighteenth century with a substantial proportion of creole members—and its maneu-

vers within the viceregal corridors of power during the last forty years of the colonial era. In analyzing the responses of viceroys José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa (1806–1816) and Joaquín de la Pezuela (1816–1821) to insurgency from 1809–1810 in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia), Chile, Quito (modern Ecuador), and Peru proper, the analysis also broadens its scope to explain the tripartite relationships among merchants, bureaucrats, and the military establishment, led from late 1815 by a cadre of peninsular officers of a largely Liberal persuasion, which culminated in January 1821 in the deposition of Pezuela and the assumption of viceregal power by General José de La Serna e Hinojosa, who remained in office until his surrender to patriot forces at Ayacucho in December 1824. Within this scenario, the 40,000 slaves who worked Peru's coastal haciendas and the much larger communities of "Indians" (i.e., those registered as tributaries) and mestizos (people of mixed ancestry)—collectively eighty percent of the viceroyalty's viceregal population of 1,115,000 according to the 1795 census—are passive actors, as, indeed, are the provincial creoles, who in 1814–1815 declared, unsuccessfully, for the creation of an independent republic governed from the highland city of Cuzco.

This monograph provides the first detailed analysis of the complex inner workings of the *consulado* in the critical period that followed the introduction of "free trade" in the Hispanic world in 1778. It demonstrates that the principal beneficiaries of commercial reform were the Madrid-based "Cinco Gremios Mayores" and the agents in Peru of the Royal Philippines Company (which enjoyed a monopoly of trans-Pacific trade in Chinese goods) together with a minority of creole members engaged in coastal trade, mainly with Chile, whereas Peruvians were frozen out of the Atlantic trade by the deliberate anti-creole measures of Charles III (1759–1788) and his ministers. However, as chapter three ("Sabotaging Reform") shows, the introduction of neutral trade in 1797 eventually reduced the 1778 measures to "irrelevance" (p. 108) by opening the Pacific to contrabandists and licensed foreign traders, mainly British and U.S., trading with Peru at first indirectly, via Panama and Chile, and during the final years of Pezuela's viceregency directly with Callao, as the need for customs revenues for military expenditure took priority over the maintenance of the official prohibition of genuine free trade. The merchants who benefited from this policy, led by Pedro de Abadía and José Arismendi as spokesmen for the interests of those trading with the Philippines, strongly supported Pezuela's concessions to foreigners, but the Atlantic traders, represented by the publicist Gaspar Rico, conspired with the hard-line peninsular officers, discontented with the viceroy's weak military strategy, to force him from office, thereby undermining the principle of legitimacy and establishing a "model of praetorian politics" (p. 353) that persisted beyond independence. In broad terms the arguments and conclusions presented in this stimulating book build upon and extend, rather than contradict, those of previous commentators on Peru's

transition to independence, but they do so with an unprecedented level of detail and incisive analysis, making a major contribution to the historiography of late colonial Peru. This book deserves to be read by all students of the Bourbon reforms and Spanish American independence.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

GABRIEL HERMAN. *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens: A Social History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 472. \$110.00.

Was classical Athens a society with a classically "Mediterranean" honor code in which revenge on one's enemies trumped all considerations of proportion and humanity? Or was it imbued with a mildness that typically manifested itself in self-restraint in the face of provocation and altruistic individual and collective behavior? Against several distinguished historians who have taken a darker view of Athenian private conduct, Gabriel Herman makes a case for Athenian forbearance.

This is an ambitious book, written with brio. The argument is broad, including assessments of the Athenian empire, economy, and religion for what each reveals about conflict and cooperation in Athens. (Although Herman does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of Athenian morality—there is nothing, for example, on sexual morals.) More impressive still are the data Herman has enlisted in support of his thesis. In addition to classical sources from a variety of genres, there are discussions of, inter alia, psychological research, natural selection and game theory, as well as comparisons to several other societies, from Gaul of the sixth century A.D. to contemporary Albania. These forays are fascinating, and, as far as I know, competent. A few borrowings from other disciplines struck me as a fancy way to say something self-evident, but most of the time Herman's interdisciplinary research reveals a real insight: for example, his discussion of why Athens was able to avoid the collective action problems identified by Mancur Olson. (Answer: small size and a moral climate that led individuals to identify their own well-being with that of the collective.)

The core of the book explores what Herman describes as "a revolution . . . in the history of moral ideas" (p. 202): the renunciation of the Homeric ethic of revenge in favor of a "code of behaviour" requiring self-restraint in personal interactions. Herman surveys surviving law court speeches and argues that litigants strove to present themselves as exhibiting "self-restraint, moderation, meekness, a deflated sense of honour . . . and subordination to the law" (p. 201). He also uses legal, literary, and artistic sources to contend that Athenians were much less violent and bloodthirsty than members of other ancient societies, most notably Rome.

Herman presents a powerful and, to my mind, largely

persuasive challenge to widely held beliefs about the role of violence and honor in Athenian courts and society. But the force of Herman's argument is at times undermined by tendentiousness. Although he claims to be interested in what people do rather than in what they say they do (characteristically discussing some interesting psychological research showing the wide gap between the two), Herman does not adequately acknowledge the problems with assuming that litigants' self-presentation in court represents social reality. He also glosses over evidence in the speeches suggesting that not all Athenians subscribed to his proposed moderate code of behavior. The funeral oration of Thucydides is presented uncritically as an accurate depiction of Athenian social life. A discussion of the tendency toward leniency and proportionality in Athenian penalties (pp. 296–298) neglects to mention that thieves could be summarily executed under the apagoge procedure. In presenting the amnesty of 403 B.C. as an example of "outstanding magnanimity" (p. 397), Herman cites ancient sources praising the democrats for avoiding grudges and recriminations without acknowledging the extent to which discussions of litigants' political persuasion and behavior during the coup continued to reverberate in later court speeches involving unrelated charges.

In the final chapters, the book shifts its focus from the individual to the state. Herman argues that in the absence of a developed state apparatus, compliance with the law and judicial verdicts was achieved largely through the implicit threat of enforcement by armed hoplites. This thesis is ingenious but speculative. Herman relies entirely on examples of armed responses to political insurrection, but this seems quite different from mustering the hoplites to compel the occasional recalcitrant litigant to obey a routine judgment. Perhaps most provocatively, Herman contends that the code of restraint and suppression of traditional notions of honor can be seen in Athens's management of its empire and treatment of its enemies. This move represents a vast expansion of Herman's thesis and may even be counterintuitive given the importance of social solidarity, collective identity, and coercive force in Herman's model of domestic social interactions.

Some criticism and disagreement are inevitable when one confronts a work of this scope. But this is an absorbing and provocative book, aiming at and largely achieving a greatness of spirit seldom seen in academic writing anymore. It will be much argued over by ancient historians. It can also be recommended to historians of other periods as a sustained argument on an important topic, a fine product of wide and long learning.

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ANNA J. CLARK. *Divine Qualities: Cult and Community in Republican Rome*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 376. \$120.00.

Anna J. Clark offers a survey, largely chronological, of the ways Romans engaged with “divine qualities.” These are deities we are more accustomed to hearing described as “deified abstractions” or “divine personifications,” that is, gods and goddesses with names like Honos, Virtus, Concordia, Felicitas, Fides, and Victoria. Clark is concerned mostly with those qualities that are known to have received public cults and temples in the period of the Republic. In addition to six synthetic chapters and a lengthy concluding chapter that traces the appearance of divine qualities into the imperial period, Clark provides appendixes on republican temples and shrines to divine qualities, prodigies pertaining to them and their cult sites, republican coins on which they or their attributes appear, the Capitoline Temple of Ops, and the appearance of “*feliciter*” in Campanian graffiti.

Clark takes on the prevailing view that this group of divinities was significantly different from their better known and (it is commonly assumed) more complex fellows, such as Jupiter, Juno, and Hercules, that they were somehow less real, less individual, and less vital to the Romans who worshipped them. Her study goes a long way to demonstrating that divine qualities functioned in many ways like the other gods, and that they played a dynamic role in Rome’s physical, political, and social landscapes over the course of many centuries. Clark is right to point out that, in some key ways, divine qualities were more present in daily life than other gods. The Romans did not suffer from our modern problem of trying to decide whether a particular appearance of a quality in a text refers to the divinity or to the quality with its everyday (Clark prefers “discursive”) meaning. Is it Victoria, the goddess, or just a victory? The Romans did not write with lowercase letters, so the word was always both god and concept. Clark solves the problem of communicating this to her reader by putting all deified qualities into small capitals. The effect is off-putting at first, but Clark’s point is well taken.

Rather than being one-dimensional figures with an appeal only to Rome’s elite, divine qualities were worshipped and claimed by groups from various social strata and political alignments. For example, slaves and aristocrats both made offerings to Spes, though their hopes were, presumably, radically different. In another case, the prominence given to the *pietas* of Carthaginian characters in Plautus’s *Poenulus* should not be treated simply as the attribution of a quintessentially Roman trait to non-Roman characters, but is more fruitfully taken as an instance of a contemporary debate about a “Roman monopoly” on piety in the age of rapid imperial expansion. The fact that Sallust’s Catiline can talk about his followers’ *fides* and *virtus* is a function of the ambiguous and contradictory way divine qualities always functioned in Rome, rather than a sign of the breakdown of order in Roman society in the last decades of the Republic. Finally, Cicero’s and Clodius’s competing claims to be the defender of *libertas* illustrates clearly the importance sometimes placed on di-

vine qualities in the staking out of a political stance. Overall, the study of how, and in what contexts, divine qualities were dealt with by the Romans, Clark argues, contributes greatly to an understanding of how various groups answered the questions “who are we?” and “what makes us what we are?”

Clark’s study amply makes its case: it succeeds in integrating divine qualities into our understanding of Roman religious, political, and social life. One is left wishing, however, that there had been an equal emphasis on the unique aspect of divine qualities to match the effort spent on asserting their similarities to other gods worshipped by the Romans. A lot of questions remain unanswered or answered insufficiently. Why does interest in divine qualities seem to peak in certain periods? Why are they prominent in the plays of Plautus, but not so much in the works of Terence? Why do some qualities achieve divine status and others not? Why is it that a much higher proportion than one might expect, approximately one-third, of all recorded prodigies pertain to divine qualities? Why are divine qualities sometimes female and sometimes male? Perhaps most significantly, why did the Romans make gods out of some of the qualities they prized? What does that say about Roman notions of divinity? Clark has shown that this is an area rich for, and worthy of, further study.

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HENNING BÖRM. *Prokop und die Perser: Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike*. (Oriens et Occidens, number 16.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2007. Pp. 382. €68.00.

As an aide-de-camp to the general Belisarius, Procopius of Caesarea was unusually well positioned to chronicle the wars of the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565). This perceptive book, based on the author’s 2006 dissertation at Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, underscores why Procopius’s *Histories* remain essential reading for so many modern historians of late antiquity.

Henning Börm’s study probes the value of Procopius’s *Histories* as a source for understanding Roman relations with the Sasanian Empire (224–642 C.E.). The first three chapters provide a lucid overview of previous scholarship on Procopius, the age of Justinian, and the Sasanian Empire, while the fourth chapter places Procopius’s image of Persia and the Persians within the larger tradition of Greco-Roman ethnography. All of this serves, however, merely as a prelude to the real heart of the book, chapters five and six, in which Börm systematically compares Procopius’s description of the Sasanian Empire and Roman-Sasanian warfare with other Greco-Roman and “Oriental” sources (Börm uses the latter in translation, but adroitly explains key Middle-Persian terms). These comparisons, while yielding few surprises, provide much insight into Procopius’s historical method. The parallels assembled by Börm indicate how well Procopius knew the basic struc-

tures of the Sasanian state. The *Histories*' depiction of the Sasanian monarchy and hereditary aristocracy contains, for instance, remarkably few "demonstrable mistakes or errors" (p. 124). Procopius is especially well versed in Sasanian military affairs, while his grasp of Persian history and geography is more rudimentary. Yet, where Procopius misleads, he tends to do so through omission, rather than glaring errors or polemic. Even his account of Persian religious traditions is fundamentally realistic (pp. 187, 193, 199–200). As a Roman, Procopius pours his fair share of abuse on the Persians as typical "barbarians." Like Herodotus, he often depicts the Persian kings as greedy, cruel, lying, and despotic. But he leavens these attacks with occasional recognition of the positive qualities of individual Persian rulers and a grudging respect for the discipline, courage, and technical skills of the Persian army (p. 250). In a few instances, Procopius's account of Persian affairs seems to convey an implicit critique of Justinian's imperial policies, though Börm is more cautious than Anthony Kaldellis in his willingness to interpret particular episodes and speeches in this light.

Börm saves his boldest and most profound arguments for chapter seven, where he sketches a more nuanced view of Roman-Sasanian relations, emphasizing the role of diplomacy and cultural exchange. Although Rome and Persia were always military rivals, there were also long periods of relative equilibrium between the empires. Börm points, in particular, to the negotiations over the proposed adoption of Kavad's son Khusro by the Emperor Justinian ca. 518. This offer and other cordial exchanges culminated in the signing of the "Treaty of Eternal Peace" in 532, proudly announced by the emperor Justinian in the preface to the *Codex Justinianus* ("pacem cum Persis in aeternum confirmavimus" [p. 329]). Carefully sifting the details of Procopius's account, Börm proposes to identify individual "hawks" and "doves," who appear to have influenced debates over foreign policy at the courts of Ctesiphon and Constantinople. Agathias's account of the Syrian doctor Uranios illustrates the efforts of the Persian king to cultivate admirers among the intelligentsia of Justinian's capital. Attitudes hardened, however, with Khusro's invasion of Syria in 540 and the renewal of full-scale war between the rival empires. Writing in the 550s, Procopius reveals only remnants of the earlier, less negative view of the Sasanians. His *Histories* constitute, for example, the "most important source" for the story that King Yazdgerd I served as the guardian (epitropos) for the child emperor Theodosius II (p. 308). The later classicizing historians who built on Procopius's work—Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylact—evinced, by comparison, "an increasingly hostile view of the Persians" (p. 335).

Börm's study makes few concessions for non-specialist readers. There are no maps or illustrations, and Greek and Latin are quoted without translation. But for serious students of the late antique world, the book is well worth the effort. Börm's command of the secondary literature is broad and deep, and his discursive foot-

notes assiduously explain where his arguments follow, or depart from, previous scholarship. The notes also address numerous instructive side issues, from the deployment of Hunnic contingents in the Sasanian army (p. 332, n. 2) to the ambiguous evidence for Procopius's use of Syriac-speaking informants (p. 150, n. 4). In brief, this is an insightful and meticulous book, which joins a growing body of scholarship documenting the intensity of cross-regional exchanges in the late antique world. Lastly, kudos to Franz Steiner Verlag for publishing a handsome and fairly priced book with no obvious editorial blemishes beyond trivial slips in the bibliography.

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LESTER K. LITTLE, editor. *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750*. New York: Cambridge University Press, with The American Academy in Rome. 2007. Pp. xiv, 360. \$75.00.

In 541 plague entered the Roman Empire at Pelusium in Egypt, quickly affecting Alexandria and reaching Constantinople, the greatest city in the Mediterranean world, in 542; it soon spread west across Europe and east into Sassanid Persia and beyond, recurring in different places for the next two centuries until suddenly disappearing after 750. Contemporary observers, such as Procopius and Evagrius Scholasticus in Greek and John of Ephesus in Syriac (whose account only survives through quotation in later writers), described the characteristic swellings in the groin and other symptoms, as well as the high mortality and arrangements for the disposal of corpses. These reports have traditionally served to identify the "Justinianic" plague (named for the current Roman emperor who himself contracted it but survived) as bubonic, a precursor to the Black Death and the pandemic that struck Hong Kong in 1894. This consensus has recently been challenged, in part because of the impossibility of producing firm medical evidence, but more seriously because of the inevitable rhetorical exaggerations in the literary accounts and the difficulty of finding solid independent evidence in the archaeological record or elsewhere. The most sceptical analysis, published by Jean Durliat in the first volume of *Hommes et richesses* (1989), dissects the different categories of evidence separately, in each case questioning certainties to reduce the assessment of the plague's impact.

The current volume aims to provide a response to Durliat, by assembling the relevant range of expertise on textual and material evidence, comparable historical incidents, and medical advances. In the introduction, editor Lester K. Little surveys the ancient evidence and modern scholarship, and considers the plague's likely effects, including its impact on religious practices. Jo N. Hays then considers what questions historians can ask about past epidemics as well as some of the answers advanced in better-documented cases, thereby suggesting perspectives that deserve to be examined with re-

lation to the Justinianic episode, even though there is little possibility of specific answers. The second section is devoted to the Near East: Michael G. Morony surveys the Syriac accounts, which are our richest source of information on the two centuries of plague events, and Hugh N. Kennedy reviews what archaeological evidence is available to corroborate the literary picture. In section three on the Byzantine Empire, Dionysios Stathakopoulos describes the plague phases from the literary sources, before considering how contemporaries may have perceived this catastrophe and the reasons why they reacted to it in different ways. Peter Sarris complements this with a survey of the non-literary textual material in an attempt to reach beyond the influence of rhetoric to the realities of the plague's impact. The fourth, and longest, section is devoted to the Latin West. It opens with Alain J. Stoclet's study of where people sought help in the face of this terrifying event: from God(s), kings, bishops, and talismans. Next, Michael Kulikowski surveys the Spanish experience, beginning from evidence of three mass graves in Valencia and considering the liturgical responses. Two chapters then review the situation in the British Isles: John Maddicott on the plague in England (reprinted from *Past and Present*, 1997), and Ann Dooley on Ireland. The final section considers "The Challenge of Epidemiology and Molecular Biology." First, Robert Sallares looks at the ecology, evolution, and epidemiology of plague to examine issues such as what caused the animal deaths reported in some sources, how bubonic and pneumonic manifestations of the plague may have interacted, and whether it matters that relatively few rats lived in ancient or medieval homes. In the final chapter Michael McCormick offers an overview of questions which could broaden our understanding of this first pandemic.

This is a rich collection, though the reprinting of Maddicott's article points to one limitation. Several contributors rehearse material that is already available elsewhere: Stathakopoulos presents a digest of his 2004 monograph, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics*; Sarris reworks material he presented in *Continuity and Change* (2002); Stoclet builds on his substantially longer 1999 *Revue historique* article; while Kulikowski covers a little of the archaeological evidence that underpinned *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (2004). There is also, unsurprisingly, nothing new in the various digests of literary evidence. The editor could have combined the useful service of gathering disparate material in a single volume with a more consistent approach to the exploitation of literary evidence and assessment of the plague's impact. Contributors who build from the archaeology (such as Kennedy and Kulikowski) are sensibly cautious but accept substantial mortality, whereas Stathakopoulos admits the impossibility of calculating plague mortality but then assumes, on the basis of John of Ephesus, that there was a major impact on the countryside (p. 114). Maddicott optimistically suggests that there was no more than a temporary population decline in Byzantine territory (p.

213), without defining what is meant by temporary. Morony accepts the evidence about the plague's immediate social and economic consequences (p. 79) while noting that all the accounts originate in a single source, John of Ephesus.

A further question is the extent to which the volume answers the challenge of Durlat. I believe that, in spite of the likely exaggerations in the literary accounts where the rhetoric of disaster narratives will have distorted presentation, the plague was bubonic and had, cumulatively, a serious impact on the Near Eastern and European worlds. Determined sceptics, however, still have escape routes. It is clear that the problems of identifying and handling ancient DNA (p. 294) make it unlikely that there will be a microbiological identification of the plague agent as *Yersinia pestis* that cannot be challenged. Reports of numerous animal deaths contemporary with plague outbreaks are dismissed as coincidence (p. 239), but these invite an alternative explanation for the event and point to inconsistencies in handling the literary evidence. Some contributors ascribe too much to the plague, thereby undermining confidence overall: for example, plague undoubtedly contributed to the Roman Empire's financial difficulties after the 540s (p. 131), but concurrent major warfare on several frontiers was probably a more significant financial factor. A surplus, as Tiberius inherited in 578, could be generated when military activity was curtailed; the notion that the plague emptied the Balkans for the Slavs (pp. 24, 286–287) belittles the evidence both for the Hunnic impact in the fifth century and for continued recruitment potential for military service after 542.

There is no clear answer to the question suggested by the title of whether the plague ended the ancient world, but that accurately reflects the state of our evidence. For all the possibilities of microbiology and archaeology, the literary texts remain in pole position, and they demand an assessment of the crucial question of where accurate reporting ends and the rhetoric of crisis begins. Consideration of the conventions of disaster reporting in different media might have offered interesting comparisons. Overall caution is appropriate. Plague contributed to historical change, but partly through catalyzing developments which were already in progress for other reasons (p. 118); it was also possible for certain areas, for example the early Islamic Near East, to generate evidence which suggests continuing economic expansion. Hays worries about the possible future re-emergence of revisionist accounts of the Justinianic plague (p. 56); I suspect that, in spite of the sensible work collected in this volume, the more minimal interpretations have not yet been banished.

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STEVEN A. EPSTEIN. *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 250. \$55.00.

In his new book, Steven A. Epstein covers a region extending from Egypt to the Mongol territories north of the Black Sea. After briefly reviewing modern theories and criticisms of racism in chapter one, "The Perception of Difference," he then offers a fine analysis of differences, as perceived in the medieval West, in religion, language, and race in the eastern Mediterranean. Blackness and its implications in the Old Testament and in medieval thought are followed by the challenge posed to Dominican and Franciscan friars by their early encounters with the Mongols, whose reports "unsettled received truths." "Mixed relationships flourished on every level, from slavery and commerce to religious conversion and conquest," yet these were hardly "new" (p. 24), considering the *Reconquista* in the Iberian Peninsula and earlier Western trade, including in slaves, in the eastern Mediterranean. Epstein explores the Western perception of the Saracens and Islam and the "mixing" between Christians and Muslims in the Frankish Levant against the background of the latter's fall. Color remained a constant factor in the perception of ethnicity and became a way to justify oppression.

Chapter two, "Mixed Relationships in the Archipelago," mainly based upon notarial records, deals with multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic societies in commercial outposts such as Caffa in the Crimea and Latin-occupied territories such as Chios, Crete, and Cyprus. The ties between master and slave and between merchants often crossed the boundaries of creed and ethnicity. They involved the bridging of linguistic diversity by interpreters. Attention is also paid to mixed marriages. In dealing with Jews, Epstein fails to underscore that they represented a category by themselves. In everyday relations with Christians and others, they were legally and socially segregated and abstained from marrying members of other religious communities, yet they accepted converts in their midst.

Chapter three, "Treaties and Diplomacy," examines in detail the treaties concluded by Genoa and Venice with several powers. It is self-evident that these expressed the perception of opposing parties and the need for compromise and that they led to "mixed relations." The assertion that "commerce with foreign people was viewed as corrupting and a cause of decline was part of the classical inheritance (pagan and monotheistic)" (p. 98) was clearly not an attitude inherited from Rome, Judaism, or early Christianity. Nor does one find any evidence that the treaties required the parties "to put aside, at least temporarily, their own self-regard and claims to purity" (p. 98). The Venetian-Byzantine treaty of 1277 stated that the *gasmouloi* of mixed Venetian-Greek parentage were to be *liberi et franki*, not because some were born to slave mothers and all of them were to be considered Franks (i.e., Latins) but because what was at stake was tax exemption, as enjoyed by Venetian citizens (pp. 109–110). The definition of Genoese or Venetian status by Genoese and Venetian officials, respectively (pp. 101, 109–110, 121, 130, 220 n. 19), was not a small Byzantine concession (p. 101), since it granted decisive authority in that respect

to the maritime powers and opened the way to abuse. The issue was not citizenship, but naturalization of individuals from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and their grouping, together with citizens, under a common "national" label. Epstein does not investigate this topic, although it is highly relevant to the book's central theme.

Chapter four examines several "renegades and opportunists" who crossed political and religious boundaries among Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, whether by choice or by force. Motives and circumstances differed, yet their fate sharpened distinctions between different identities.

Chapter five, "Human and Angelic Faces," dwells upon medieval approaches to physiognomy, the study of physical traits as a reflection of temperament, emotions, and character, and how medieval science shaped perceptions of race, color, and mixed parentage, while in contrast angelology dealt with pure spiritual beings.

Chapters one and five, which investigate clerical and learned approaches to purity, are undoubtedly the most original and persuasive sections of the book. In the other sections, Epstein extensively relies upon Genoese documentation while neglecting much relevant Venetian evidence. These chapters abound in long factual descriptions and colorful vignettes, yet beyond general observations on "mixed relations," a rather loose concept, are rather short on in-depth analysis of the social dynamics involved in multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic encounters. Factual mistakes are especially troubling when they lead to erroneous interpretations. Two of them will suffice. The "*poulains*" in the Frankish Levant were not the offspring of mixed unions (pp. 39, 135) but native Latins, in contrast to Western visitors or recent immigrants. Considering Frankish Cyprus a "colony" and its elite as "French colonial" (p. 80) is misleading.

"Purity lost" is a catchy title. The notion of purity was mainly confined to the medieval religious sphere and learned works, yet by extending it to other areas, Epstein produces a skewed perspective. Purity hardly mattered to the members of social elites, merchants, or those engaged in mixed marital or other unions in the region examined in this study. The subtitle of the book warrants an exploration of major issues that the author overlooked, such as the integration of Greeks within the Latin elite in Frankish Morea and Frankish Cyprus, the function of interpreters at the institutional level in relations between Latin rulers and indigenous communities, the place of offspring of mixed parentage in multi-ethnic societies, and the development of commercial and nautical *linguae francae* in the Mediterranean.

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THOMAS E. BURMAN. *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 317. \$59.95.

The history of European perceptions of Islam in the Middle Ages often makes for dreary reading. The far-fetched distortion of Muslim beliefs by Christian thinkers has been catalogued comprehensively in Norman Daniel's classic study of religious polemic, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (revised ed. 1993). Daniel argues that the shrill slander of these prelates reveals more about Western anxieties in the face of a powerful rival civilization than it does about empirical knowledge of Islam in medieval Europe. Thomas E. Burman's extraordinary book re-evaluates the intellectual engagement of premodern Christians with Muslim beliefs by examining the work of philologists who translated the Qur'ān from Arabic into Latin. As this groundbreaking study argues, the enterprise of translation involved not only an impressive proficiency in Arabic philology, but also a hitherto overlooked recourse to Muslim exegetical traditions. While polemical ends were never completely divorced from Qur'ān translation in this period, Burman finds substantial continuities between the philological preoccupations of medieval and early modern Latin Christian translators and Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani textus universus* (1698), widely considered to be the first serious linguistic study of the Qur'ān in the Western tradition. In this meticulously researched book, which combines philological virtuosity with subtle attention to manuscript codicology, Burman invites us to read over the shoulders of these Qur'ān translators at work and to trace the reception of their translations by their premodern readers.

The book falls neatly into two parts. The first two chapters examine the work of the earliest Latin Christian translators of the Qur'ān, Robert of Ketton (fl. 1136–1157) and Mark of Toledo (fl. 1193–1216), both of whom were active in Spain. These scholars were linguistic mercenaries, who set aside their own interests to translate the Qur'ān for pay at the behest of powerful prelates (Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny and Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo, respectively). While their patrons intended to use their translations for polemical purposes, Burman finds that Robert and Mark approached the Qur'ān primarily as philologists: that is, they were interested above all in unraveling the many lexical and grammatical challenges presented by the difficult text before them. These were intellectuals who, in Burman's words, "grapp[ed] honestly with the text" (p. 20). When they made mistakes, it was due to their own linguistic deficiencies rather than a desire to distort and misrepresent the text of the Qur'ān for polemical or apologetic purposes. Moreover, Burman finds that both Robert and Mark had recourse to the rich tradition of Islamic exegetical commentary when faced with little-known Arabic words and ambiguous allusions. Copies of these commentaries or access to learned Muslims familiar with their contents would not have been difficult to find in Spain in the decades around 1200. This is a remarkable discovery, because it boldly suggests that these twelfth-century translators had much more in common than we have previously supposed both with contemporary Muslim

readers and with later, allegedly more enlightened, European scholars like Marracci.

The second part of the book, four chapters in all, examines the persistence of the polemical frameworks that accompanied these and other Qur'ān translations in their respective manuscript traditions. Glossed by derisive marginalia and bound together with treatises arguing for the mendacity and perversity of Islam, the earliest manuscript of Robert's Latin Qur'ān "thunder[ed] with hostility" (p. 60). This textual framework was intended to guide Latin readers as they read the Qur'ān and thereby control their reception of its contents. Burman offers an impressive survey of reader interactions with surviving manuscripts of Latin Qur'ān translations and their accompanying texts over four centuries. He finds that medieval scholars sometimes updated or augmented these manuscripts to suit new habits of reading. For example, a thirteenth-century pocket Qur'ān created for an itinerant mendicant preacher included a polemically oriented index of words and topics that allowed its owner to locate contentious passages quickly and easily in the field. While copies of Latin Qur'āns almost always traveled with anti-Islamic treatises, Burman charts the gradual replacement of this material in later medieval manuscripts and early printed editions with the study aids of biblical humanists, who toiled with Arabic to improve their understanding of Hebrew and Aramaic and thus further their knowledge of the Old Testament. The slow shift in emphasis from polemical to philological concerns among European Qur'ān readers is most evident in the bilingual edition of Egidio da Viterbo (1518), which brims with extensive exegetical notes from Muslim sources as well as a Latin transliteration of the Arabic text. This book was a textual scholar's research tool par excellence designed specifically to promote an intense philological engagement with the Qur'ān that was not primarily concerned with anti-Islamic textual traditions.

This book is a tour de force of interdisciplinary scholarship that deserves a wide readership among medievalists and Islamicists alike. Burman brings to bear an impressive proficiency in Latin and Arabic that allows him to bridge the gulf between Christian and Islamic textual traditions. In doing so, he reveals a remarkable continuity in Qur'ānic reading practices among Western European translators from the polemically motivated enterprise initiated in the 1140s by Peter the Venerable of Cluny to the philological concerns of Egidio da Viterbo and the biblical humanist movement of the sixteenth century.

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PAULA M. RIEDER. *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100–1500*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. 257. \$69.95.

Paula M. Rieder's learned, careful book examining the ritual reincorporation of postpartum mothers into the parishes of medieval France offers a useful corrective to the broad generalizations about churching, a topic that has become visible only recently. Churching was important in establishing and maintaining boundaries between laity and ecclesiastical authorities, in defining appropriate conduct in marriage and motherhood, and in negotiating the multiple meanings of both the private and the corporate female body. It was the very pervasiveness of churching in the lives of premodern women, its "ordinariness" (p. 171) as Rieder plausibly argues, that probably made it so rarely commented on by medieval sources. It is a tribute to the author's remarkably exhaustive search of ecclesiastical court records, liturgies, sermons, books of hours, and other primary manuscript sources (cf. p. 214, n. 22: "I found only four descriptions of lying-in in over 1,400 letters of remission") that in this book significant chronological and regional differences in the uses of churching become clear for the first time.

The central argument is that medieval French theologians gradually changed their twelfth- and thirteenth-century focus on churching as a control and "obstacle to marital intercourse" (p. 1) to an understanding of churching as a rite that honored properly married matrons. In the process of this honoring, Rieder claims, theologians defined and shaped in complex ways women's powers within a patriarchal order as well as the social boundaries of household and parish. In chapter one, Rieder acknowledges the problematic origins of churching in the West, since "the earliest solid evidence for a Western custom of women staying away from church after childbirth" (p. 22) only appears in Pope Gregory I's famous letter to Augustine of Canterbury reported by Bede in 731. Further, it is only by the second half of the twelfth century that it is certain that churching in France had become routine—perhaps, Rieder suggests, after the incorporation of indigenous Germanic custom into Christian adaptation of Mosaic purity codes (p. 37).

The full picture of churching rituals, laws, and customs only became clear in France by the fifteenth century, by which time churching was clearly understood as a privilege for married matrons, a ritual that "changed a mother back into a wife, creating and recreating the category of the properly married woman" (p. 59). In chapter three, Rieder shows how fifteenth-century clerical authors viewed churching within the context of a far more positive understanding of sex within marriage than had earlier theologians like Peter Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor, who had been preoccupied with the pollution of intercourse and of corrupting postpartum fluids. And in chapter four, in a comparative analysis of eight late medieval churching rituals from northern France, she examines the considerable diversity of local customs concerning, for example, the way the postpartum woman was led into church, where she sat or did not sit, and whether she was offered blessed bread or the priest's stole to kiss.

Chapter five, "Churching and Childbirth," shows how medieval French customs of childbirth and lying-in also varied by class and by region; the exclusion of men from the childbirth room, for example, was a fact of populated neighborhoods, not of widely scattered farmhouses, where husbands were often necessary to assist with childbirth. And, interestingly enough, liturgical manuals from Paris, Rheims, and Châlons-sur-Marne included rubrics for postpartum purification to be performed by the priest in lying-in chambers of women too ill to attend the customary church service.

The role of churching in bourgeois social life is the focus of chapter six ("Churching as a Woman's Rite") and seven ("La Jour de la feste: Churching, Honor, and Social Order"). These final chapters draw rather casually on evidence in books of hours and narratives embedded in letters of remission. Here Rieder is on less sure ground than in earlier chapters and, indeed, sometimes descends into mere speculation ("I think it very likely that churching feasts had some of the bawdy enthusiasm of the *fabliaux*" [p. 153]). The author is a better historian than theorist, literary critic, or art historian. But here, as elsewhere in this book, it is hard to fault Rieder's patience in ransacking all possible kinds of evidence in an effort to write a nearly unwritten history about the display, ceremony, and social performance of the churching of women in late medieval France. Certainly, the book offers a useful model for the kind of painstaking primary research that is needed to fully understand the churching of women in medieval Europe.

GAIL McMURRAY GIBSON
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JASON TALIADOROS. *Law and Theology in Twelfth-Century England: The Works of Master Vacarius (c. 1115/1120-c. 1200)*. (Disputatio, number 10.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2006. Pp. x, 321. \$60.00.

In recent years new studies have appeared about significant figures in twelfth-century intellectual history. Thinking only of books published in English, Bishop Ivo of Chartres, the elusive "Magister A.," Gratian, and Peter Lombard have been accorded monographic attention. Master Vacarius, whom Jason Taliadoros characterizes as "no more than a shadow among the luminaries of the so-called twelfth-century renaissance," can now be added to this array. Yet Vacarius deserves better from historians, and the present volume allows him to step out of the shadows as "teacher, lawyer, bureaucrat, papal judge delegate, theologian, cleric, and writer": in short, as a substantial presence within the twelfth-century renaissance.

Probably born in Lombardy late in the second decade of that century, Vacarius studied Roman law, perhaps at Bologna although no source reveals the exact location and other schools of secular law existed in Italy in the 1130s and 1140s. According to Robert of Torigny, "Master Vacarius" arrived in the household of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury between 1143 and 1149.

An expert in Roman law, he probably also was versed in canon law and Theobald must have engaged his services initially in the complicated rivalry with Bishop Henry of Winchester. Vacarius seemingly was ordained as a priest in England, but in the course of his career he returned several times to the continent. Those sojourns included trips during which Vacarius attended the papal councils at Reims in 1148 under Eugene III, and at Tours in 1163 under Alexander III. His activities took him north in 1159, where he worked in the household of the archbishops of York until his death c. 1200.

Vacarius's career thus was long and fruitful, intersecting with the likes of Archbishop Theobald, John of Salisbury, Thomas Becket, Roger of York, Gilbert Foliot, and Gerald Pucelle. In an intellectual world where boundaries were being drawn among canonists, civilians, and theologians, the corpus of writings attributed to Vacarius includes works that fall into more than one category. As Taliadoros repeatedly notes, and as Vacarius's writing demonstrates, he should be seen as a "lawyer-theologian." But one work stands out above the others. The *Liber pauperum* is a collection of passages from the Justinianic Digest and Code arranged in nine books and meant to introduce the revived study of Roman law into England. It survives in seven complete manuscripts and nineteen fragments. A series of lectures on Justinian's Institutes (*Lectura ad Institutiones*), exists in one manuscript, as does a set of glosses on Gratian's *Decretum*. In addition to these legal works, three others are extant—two shorter writings, one on marriage (*Summa de matrimonio*), and one on Christology (*Tractatus de assumpto homine*), and a longer treatise—refuting the theological errors of Vacarius's onetime friend, Hugo Spersoni of Piacenza (*Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*). With the exception of the glosses on Gratian all of these are available in modern editions.

Following a useful historical survey, slightly marred by confusing Popes Celestine II and Gelasius II (p. 3) and the Third and the Fourth Crusades (p. 8), the book is divided into four chapters. The first centers on the *Liber pauperum* and the teaching of Roman law in the twelfth century, particularly in England (with an eye to Vacarius's role in providing instruction at Oxford). Chapter two is devoted to the law of marriage, taking the *Summa de matrimonio* as the point of departure. The third chapter treats twelfth-century Christology, analyzing the *Tractatus* (with a brief look also at one section of the *Liber contra*), and chapter four deals with "the Spersonist heresy," with particular attention to the sacraments of holy orders, baptism, the Eucharist, and penance. Each chapter is filled with historical, legal, and theological information that not only delineates the views of Vacarius but also deploys them within the framework of important trends and issues of the time. Thus in the first chapter the Romano-canonical *ius commune* provides the context for treating the *Liber pauperum*, and the discussion of marriage law in the second chapter shows Vacarius using the Roman law concept of *traditio* as a heuristic device to analyze the competing Bolognese and Parisian conceptions of mar-

riage. In the third chapter the twelfth-century debates about Christology are situated within the larger context of a series of church councils convened between the 1140s and the 1170s.

Anyone interested in the vibrant intellectual world of the mid- and late twelfth century will find much of value in this book, although the presentation could have been condensed and made less repetitious, and the absence of an index impedes its utility. But the work brims with facts and concepts and is well documented, although a few more titles might have been added here and there for the earlier twelfth century. The case for Vacarius's distinct mix of legal and theological thought is made clearly, and Taliadoros argues that this approach, innovative rather than obsolete, blends pedagogy with a concern for practical pastoral needs. Noteworthy also is the book's striking cover, an illumined initial from the twelfth-century Gratian, MS Ludwig XIV 2, now in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

ROBERT SOMERVILLE
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WILLIAM F. MACLEHOSE. *"A Tender Age": Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. (Gutenberg-e.) Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006.

It is hard to lay some ghosts to rest. After four and a half decades that have seen Philippe Ariès's study of premodern childhood first admired, then reviled, and more recently partly rehabilitated, it remains difficult to embark upon any study of childhood in history without at least invoking this pioneer and stating a position relative to his work. Perhaps, like some other sweeping and controversial historical theses (one thinks of Lawrence Stone on premodern family affectivity, or, for slightly different reasons, Thomas Laqueur on the history of the body), the ultimate value of Ariès's book lies not in the accuracy or faultiness of its empirical claims but as a goad to subsequent studies. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962), to give the work its English title, remains good to think with. Setting aside the merits and demerits of Ariès's account, the questions he raised about whether particular societies held a concept of childhood and what kinds of feelings parents have held for their children remain important topics for historical study.

William F. MacLehose cannot help but be influenced by such questions in his subtle and scholarly study of high medieval discourses on childhood—his concluding sentence states that "the child as a cultural category most certainly existed" in this era—but his work employs a challenging methodology to produce an original contribution. Anxious to avoid the essentialist approaches to medieval childhood adopted by some earlier historians, MacLehose aims to uncover historically specific perceptions. His broad thesis is that high medieval authors saw childhood as a period of exceptional vulnerability in the human life cycle. This fragility or susceptibility manifested itself in various, and some-

times contradictory, theories. Vulnerability was understood by some to be inextricable from innocence; to others, it was a sign of moral weakness. Some viewed a child's open trusting nature as a virtue, while to others it indicated folly and lack of wisdom. The inherent dangers of childhood were thought to be compounded by the threats posed by external factors, in particular mothers, midwives, wet nurses, heretics, Jews, and Muslims. The author argues for a "heightening of social anxiety over children during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," although one wonders how much this perceived increase is an illusion caused by explosion of discourse.

MacLehose employs a clever structure, undertaking four detailed case studies that map onto the chronology of childhood from embryo to neonate, baptized infant, innocent child, and adolescent. His first chapter examines twelfth and thirteenth-century medical literature on pregnancy and parturition, a discourse that positions women's bodies as paradoxically nurturing and hazardous to the child. He moves into a discussion of theological debates within and between orthodox and heterodox circles over the validity of infant baptism and the moral status of the child. The third chapter interrogates the new anti-Jewish narratives of ritual murder, which pit the sinister and bloodthirsty figure of the Jewish father against his blameless, Christ-like child victim. It seems an omission that MacLehose does not refer to Miri Rubin's study of the same subject, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (1999). The fourth case study examines the fifty or so surviving chronicle accounts of the "Children's Crusade" of 1212, and confronts the ambiguity inherent in the child's essential weakness. Was it purity of devotion or foolishness that led to their disastrous expedition, ask the chroniclers?

This approach requires MacLehose to demonstrate expertise in four separate discourses, mastering a wide range of primary sources in Latin and the attendant secondary literature. This is an impressive achievement. It is in some ways, though, a rather cautious work. MacLehose rarely ventures far from his sources and offers only a few thoughts on audience, authorship, and context, although his third chapter does consider uses of ritual murder stories in assisting the growing persecution of Jews. Yet his book is indubitably a valuable contribution, not only to scholarship on medieval childhood but on medical theories of women's bodies, theological debates over baptism, high medieval popular heresy, antisemitic literature, crusade narratives, and the development of affective piety in the high Middle Ages. As an e-book it has certain quirks for those, like me, who prefer the printed page, such as non-continuous page numbers, no index, and denial of the satisfaction of putting the book on a shelf, but the text is searchable, it is easy to switch between text and endnotes, and unlike some other e-books it is quick and easy to print out.

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JENNY ADAMS. *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 252. \$49.95.

The transmission of the game of chess from Indian and Persian roots through Islamic channels to Western Europe has been thoroughly investigated by H. J. R. Murray (*A History of Chess*, 1913), and brought up to date by Richard Eales (*Chess: The History of a Game*, 1985). While the hypothesis that chess originated as a magical ceremony in China has not been generally accepted, it clearly imitated, in its Indian, Persian, and Arabic versions, the tactics of war. The very Sanskrit name—*chaturanga* (which became the Arabic *shatranj* and, ultimately, the Spanish *ajedrez*)—referred to the "four ranks" of the Indian army, and it was as a war game that chess spread both westward from India, and into China. In its transferral to Europe, however, chess underwent a subtle change, with the substitution of a queen for a vizier and bishops for elephants. Chess pieces came to represent the ranks of society as a whole rather than simply those of the army and, in consequence, a straightforward conflict between warring sides was replaced by multiple interactions between different elements in society. It is the symbolic potential of this distinctive character of European chess that is explored in Jenny Adams's book.

After a general introduction discussing the various roles of chess in medieval literature, Adams devotes chapters to texts in Latin, French, and English, respectively. The principal Latin text is Jacobus de Cessolis's *Liber de ludo scachorum* from the thirteenth century. This was a popular book, of which an English version was published by William Caxton in 1483. It told the story of an evil king of Babylon (coincidentally called "Evilmerodach") who was reformed by a philosopher who invented the game of chess in order to teach him how to govern properly. The role of each of the pieces is described individually: not only those of the king, the queen, the bishops (who are the judges), the knights, and the rooks (who are the legates), but also those of the pawns, who are differentiated into farmers, carpenters, notaries, wool workers, merchants, doctors, tavern keepers, custodians of the city, and messengers. In the game of chess, each individual in society can see his or her importance for the well-being of society as a whole. Moreover, since pawns can be converted into a high rank by traversing the whole board, there is room for social mobility. But chess could also show how society can malfunction, which is the main thrust of another thirteenth-century Latin text: *Quaedam moralitas de scaccario*. Adams unfortunately attributes to the pawn's new status as a queen a proclivity to misconduct that, as the Latin passage she quotes indicates, rather is inherent in the pawn's nature of capturing pieces by moving obliquely (p. 44).

In the second chapter Adams turns to the fourteenth-century epic poem, *Les échecs amoureux* (*The Chess of Love*), whose plot turns on games of chess. The poet is

defeated in a game against the lady of his desire and he is advised successively by Cupid and Pallas Athena on how best to play the next chess game. Athena, as one may expect, recommends the contemplative life in preference to a life of pleasure, but, failing that, the poet should follow a life of action playing a part in society. In this case the chess pieces represent not individuals in society but rather human emotions and characteristics (youth, beauty, golden mean, shame, generosity), as explained in detail by the commentary on the poem written by Evrart de Conty in the mid-fifteenth century. An English translation by John Lydgate was made in 1408.

The third chapter of the book is concerned with the English tradition of the chess allegory. This goes back at least to the twelfth century, in which the "exchequer" was described as deriving its name from the chessboard, not so much from the "chequered" appearance of the counting table as because the officers battle out the accounts according to set rules and regulations. Geoffrey Chaucer refers to chess frequently, but it is in other texts related to the Chaucerian corpus, the *Canterbury Interlude* and the *Merchant's Tale of Beryn*, that the most sustained comparisons with chess were made in the context of trade and making money. By the end of the fifteenth century Caxton was publishing his English translation of Cessolis's book under the title *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* as one of the first books that he printed. But Caxton's printing, in a way, marked the beginning of the end of the vogue for dealing with chess as an allegory of society and using it for moral education. Henceforth, the emphasis of publications on chess was on the rules and strategies of the game itself.

This book offers a wealth of information on the role of chess in society in literary contexts. It is very well documented, with extensive quotations from primary sources (the Latin quotations sometimes need a little emendation). Adams demonstrates how central the symbolism of chess was through to at least the end of the fifteenth century—a centrality that has survived in our continuing use of the terms "check," "chequered," "a knight's move," and "pawn" in every day language.

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NICOLE HOCHNER. *Louis XII: Les dérèglements de l'image royale (1498–1515)*. (Epoques.) Seyssel: Champ Vallon. 2006. Pp. 308. €26.00.

Nicole Hochner's interesting and valuable book treats two closely related fields that have risen from neglect into prominence during recent decades: court studies and "image studies." Hochner is concerned in this book with the creation and elaboration of both visual and literary images of Louis XII of France and his immediate entourage by unofficial propagandists loosely associated with his court.

The relatively sparse historiography of Louis XII and his reign has been concerned primarily with the place

Louis occupied in the transition from the limited, consultative monarchy based on traditional Christian and chivalric ideas maintained by his predecessors since the late twelfth century, to the absolutizing, Romanizing form based on classical Roman doctrines characteristic of his successors. Hochner's discussion fits within this tradition but sheds new light on the details of the process. The book is "articulated around two axes," of which the first is political—the need to assert the authority of the king and support his current policies (manifest in works intended to exalt the personality of the king), and the opposite desire on the part of some intellectuals to reject all forms of despotism. The second axis is more broadly cultural: "oscillation" between the attraction of neo-Roman values and a desire to retain the values and symbols peculiar to Christian France. Hochner demonstrates that this shift was not a simple movement of replacement, nor one directed from a single authoritative office or group, but rather a movement of alternation and juxtaposition of images created by leading intellectuals—some promoting traditional ideas, and others their Roman analogues.

The book is arranged in mixed chronological and thematic chapters that treat what Hochner calls the different "facets" of the royal image in Louis XII's reign. The first two chapters deal with the means employed at the beginning of his reign to convert his image from that of a disgraced rebel duke of Orléans to that of a legitimate king concerned to maintain the traditions of royal authority, slightly modified to fit classical notions. They discuss the presentation of Louis as both *preux* (a chivalric concept) and triumphant (a classical one) and, after a lengthy exegesis of his use of the traditional porcupine device of the House of Orléans (again chivalric in its associations), turn to the parallel use of the notion of the king in classical terms as a new Mars and an alter Caesar.

Chapter three discusses the use of neo-Roman symbols of unlimited monarchy, including triumphal versions of the traditional royal entry to cities, and the disputes that led to the abandonment of this practice and the partial rejection of this type of symbolism. Chapter four deals with the promotion of the image of Louis XII as the natural heir of the sainted Louis IX, a model of Christian piety and charity, and as the *rex christianissimus*, the true head of Christendom, especially in the context of his conflict with the contemporary pope. This discussion continues in chapter five with a concentration on certain particular themes: the promotion of an image of the king in a modified neo-Roman (or contemporary Italian) manner as the *roi Magnanime*, the *Clementissimo Re*, and the *Père du peuple*. The last of these images was closely bound up with the ideas of the love that bound the king to his people and the concord that resulted from this—ideas also symbolized by Louis's relationship with his queen, Anne of Brittany.

The next two chapters consider contemporary representations of Louis XII as a constitutional king who shared his power with three classes of "partners." Chapter six deals with the way in which the partnership of the

first two classes—the king's ministers, both real and allegorical, and the people—was represented and justified. Chapter seven does the same for Louis's queen, represented as a sort of alternative king (*autre roi*) who served as an advocate of the people before the throne, and whose heart and soul were both employed as symbols of her loving solicitude.

The argument of each of these chapters is complex but convincing, and is supported by numerous citations, quotations, and visual examples from contemporary sources, the most important of which are represented in the thirty-four figures and analyzed minutely in the text. The uniform density of Hochner's account does not make for easy reading, but her style is clear and elegant, and the interest of the material and the thoroughness and intelligence of her analysis make it a rich and valuable addition to the scholarship on Louis XII and the imagery of French kingship ca. 1500. The book will also be of interest to scholars in the fields of art history, cultural history, and heraldic and emblematic studies, and its impressive bibliography will be useful to those who wish to pursue her sources in different directions.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MIRIAM BODIAN. *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 278. \$35.00.

Most descendants of those Jews who converted during the attacks of 1391 in Spain, on the eve of the 1492 expulsion, and during the forced baptisms a few years later in Portugal reconciled themselves to their new Christian identity or managed to preserve some fragments of Judaism as conversos. But some were caught up by various inquisitions in Iberia or New Spain and became martyrs for their embrace of what they called "the law of Moses." Miriam Bodian's fascinating book takes us into the world of these heroic and tragic figures. The widely varied life experiences of Luis Rodríguez de Carvajal, Diogo D'Asumpção, Francisco Maldonado de Silva, and Lope de Vera y Alarcón, the four martyrs at the core of the book, prevent any overarching synthesis about the motivations or nature of so-called crypto-Jewish martyrdom from the late fifteenth to the early eighteenth centuries.

Bodian's evocative reconstruction of the lives of these men does illustrate how disparate individuals—one was the son of a reconciled converso, while another was a monk with no converso heritage—all presented their new identities in terms of a literalist and direct reading of Scripture. Bodian is careful to point out that some of these men may have been influenced by Protestant ideas that penetrated Iberian culture. But her own readings of the dossiers, drawn from the protracted interrogations of these high-profile targets of the In-

quisition, suggest that they came to their sense of the truth of Mosaic law largely independent of direct Lutheran influence. How then do we make sense of their willingness to engage in a protracted struggle with the Inquisition—a contest that they knew would end in the horrible death of being burned alive in a public spectacle? The experience of the prisons and the attention paid to them by inquisitors (who desperately needed their admissions of guilt and "re-conversion" as victories for the church) may have radicalized the martyrs even further by making them heroic figures in their own eyes. Bodian offers other provocative insights into their motivations: traditional Iberian notions of honor, the influence of alumbado spirituality that emphasized individual enlightenment, and exposure to surrounding Christian models of martyrdom.

One point that Bodian notes throughout, but which she could have emphasized more systematically, is the way in which these martyrs used books, often traditional Catholic texts, in subversive and unintended ways to shape their identity. Lope de Vera, a mid-seventeenth-century scholar at Salamanca with no Jewish ancestry whose connection to Catholicism was broken by a reading of Erasmus, also read the anti-Jewish *Fortalitium fidei* by Alonso de Espina, but only paid attention to the anti-Catholic arguments rather than the traditional responses. Earlier in the seventeenth century, Francisco Maldonado de Silva, a surgeon in Peru who was the son of a converso, claimed that it was upon reading the *Scrutinium scripturarum*, a work by the fourteenth-century baptized Jew Pablo de Santa Maria, that brought him unintentionally closer to scriptural truth. De Silva filtered out the conversionary message and internalized the voice of the Jew who challenged Christian dogma.

Catholic spiritual texts pushed other readers into literalist positions. At the close of the sixteenth century, Diogo D'Asumpção, the monk who embraced the law of Moses, found his growing frustration with his monastic calling reinforced by a work that was supposed to resolve scriptural contradictions. His reading of the work only heightened the apparent contradictions of Catholic dogma and pointed him toward the eternal validity of the law of Moses. Luis Rodríguez de Carvajal, after an initiation into crypto-Judaism when he was fourteen, found spiritual guidance in Catholic devotional works, including the *Espejo de Consolación*—a book that gave crypto-Jews and other responsive readers detailed accounts of the Old Testament biographies. Another book, the *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* by Luís de Granada, quoted in Spanish many passages from the Old Testament, making Scripture immediately available. However, Carvajal used the Scripture for his own purposes. One is reminded here of many Menocchios finding their way among the new print culture of the early modern world.

Bodian frames the case studies with a wide-ranging introduction and conclusion that serve as mini-surveys of the history of Jewish life in Iberia and the crypto-Jewish diaspora. The history of the martyrs is part of

Jewish history, of course, but perhaps that connection should not go unexamined. Bodian asserts "these men, of course, saw themselves as Jewish [emphasis in the original] martyrs. All of the men we will examine declared they were 'dying in the Law of Moses'" (p. 3). This is the only part of Bodian's analysis with which I would quibble. She is so effective in portraying the varied sources of the ideology and motivations of the martyrs that to capture their experiences under the rubric of "Jewish" identity distorts the complicated reality that her book has documented. What made them Jewish in any real sense of the word? They had no experience of rabbinic Judaism and several had no contact with even a living crypto-Judaism. Their allegiance was primarily to a literalist reading of Scripture that gave them an identity in opposition to normative Catholicism. Some may have felt that they were recovering a true Jewish identity, but that was in their terms, not ours. I do not think this is just a semantic disagreement. By insisting on the Jewishness of the martyrs, Bodian risks undermining the significance of her study. The book itself makes it clear why the experience of the crypto-Jewish martyrs is of importance to scholars beyond Jewish historians. These people were at the intersection of many of the great religious currents of the day. They provide us with a window into the dynamic nature of religious identity in the early modern world.

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MOSHE SLUHOVSKY. *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. x, 374. \$45.00.

Fascination with early modern exorcism and possession has witnessed a conjuncture of late. Among recent studies, this one contributes most to our cultural understanding of possession as a form of Catholic spirituality. Moshe Sluhovsky published important interim findings in the *AHR* as "The Devil in the Convent" (2002), which comprises chapter eight of the present work. The subsequent monograph treats the rise of female mysticism and conflicts over the legitimate discernment of good and evil spirits during the seventeenth century.

The author upholds the current historical consensus on possession as an unstable rather than static or simulated expression of personal suffering. Thus, he accepts its contextual social reality, employing a communicative-performative hypothesis, a rapprochement between cultural anthropology and the life sciences. This avoids the extremes of reducing possession to either an arbitrary socio-linguistic construct or a universal biological/psychological state. To come to contemporary terms with possession, his brief introduction structures a tripartite relationship among the divine, the soul, and the body. This, in turn, mirrors the phenomenological triad of demonic possession, "female" mysticism, and spirit discernment as "three interrelated

expressions of the spiritual climate of early modern Europe" (p. 6).

Such broad geographical claims necessarily limit Sluhovsky's methodology. The pan-European dimension largely, though not completely, dictates the use of strategic sources with quasi-universal character. Given the special significance of exorcism in Catholicism, writings by clergy(wo)men provide a reasonably compact corpus of pertinent source materials for coherent analysis. An impressive array of examples is marshalled from throughout Europe, though the author is clearly most at home in France. Naturally, this method raises questions about the overall significance of the discourse, its reception beyond a thin veneer of theologians and nuns, the monolithic character of post-Tridentine Catholicism as a descriptive monad, and representations of possession among Protestants. Nonetheless, Sluhovsky's prudent managerial decision insures the methodological integrity necessary for an exacting critical analysis of Catholic possession and exorcism in relationship to female spirituality.

The physical monograph, true to the tripartite scheme of "possession," "mysticism," and "discernment," is concluded by a fourth part on "intersections." Part one reaches back to the fifteenth century, with official representations of possession characterized as "trivializing." Sluhovsky then correctly identifies a move toward sophisticated official control from the middle of the sixteenth century, notable after famous cases like that of Nicole D'Obry caught the eye of systematic theologians. From the manuals of Girolamo Menghi to the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614, a hodgepodge of practices became officially homogenized as unofficial practitioners found themselves under mounting attack by the forces of sacred hegemony.

It is therefore surprising that part two commences with an intriguing correction to the standard chronology of ecclesiastical control, challenging the notion of clerical anxiety toward female spirituality as a clear signifier of misogynist repression. Sluhovsky instead examines both positive and negative aspects of ecclesiastical involvement in a nuanced fashion. New directions in Franciscan and Dominican spirituality actually paved virgin pathways for interiorized and passive forms of mystical female spirituality. Consequently, interiorized space and acceptable devotional practices had to be redefined in order to domesticate movements like Alumbradismo, Illuminism, and Quietism, as well as the author's novel subcategory of pre-Quietism. Here, a key role is assigned to Francisco de Osuna, since the preferment of some mystical unions with Christ over reason could just as easily lead to crypto-Protestantism or sexual impropriety. Part three notes how quickly both men and women moved into the gray area of discernment in an attempt to intervene in a rapidly developing situation that favored adaptability. Unacceptable interiorized spirituality readily fell under the old rubric of possession, demonic rather than divine in inspiration, but now purely spiritual in nature and hence, harder to detect. Again, part four conjoins all

three elements in that key chapter eight by reassessing the mass possession of nuns at Loudun under the original tripartite scheme of divinity, soul, and body.

Overall, the author's treatment of Catholic spirituality is subtle, providing a studied corrective to the theories of Michel de Certeau, Robert Muchembled, and Michel Foucault. Possession, mysticism, and discernment are refocused through the loop of theology to magnify contemporary perspectives. The prose is skillfully woven and its findings complement and verify other recent assessments of the gender, medical, political, and popular dimensions of early modern possession and exorcism. This book stands out as a meticulous reminder of the need to take theology seriously, especially when dealing with ephemeral qualities like human spirituality.

DAVID LEDERER

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BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 415. \$29.95.

There are two durable myths regarding religious violence and the rise of religious toleration in early modern Europe, both of which are targeted in Benjamin J. Kaplan's masterful new book. The first is that prior to at least the middle of the seventeenth century, Europeans of differing faiths were inevitably at each others' throats, that religious violence was the normal state of affairs. In the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation, religious division automatically produced at best hostility and persecution, and at worst, murder and massacre. The second myth is that this unhappy state of affairs changed over the course of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, when increasingly secular-minded Europeans saw the futility of waging war over religious division, and religious liberty in our modern sense began to take hold as a positive ideal, rather than the simple toleration of heretics because they were too numerous or powerful to be eliminated. It is the first of these myths that attracts most of the author's attention. Most of the book is devoted to describing and analyzing the myriad of ways that Europeans of differing beliefs managed to live together in a society that nevertheless upheld the necessity of religious unity.

Part one, "Obstacles," outlines the forces that made it difficult for people in post-Reformation Europe to coexist with people of different faiths. These were primarily the confessional nature of Christianity in the early modern period, and the equation of the civic and sacral community, the *corpus christianum*. While the medieval church had been rather tolerant of local diversity of practice, reformed churches, whether Protestant or Catholic, imposed a more exacting standard on their members. This "rise of confessionalism" consisted of three elements, all of which conspired to make intolerance and violence more likely: the internalization of church teachings, the drawing of sharp dichot-

omies between the "true faith" and the "heretics," and the insistence on uniformity of faith and practice within the community, whether local or national.

Despite these obstacles to confessional coexistence, Kaplan argues persuasively that religious violence must not be seen as the norm, that "it was neither inevitable nor universal" (p. 98). Although there were powerful incentives toward religious violence, there were also powerful countervailing forces: the rule of law, the desire for stability and order, and the demands of Christian charity. Violence was usually not triggered by the mere existence of a differing faith, but rather by changes to the existing order, or ostentatious or provocative displays of the contrary faith. Neither religious violence nor toleration was an absolute value; rather, whether the "heretics" were slaughtered or tolerated was the product of a contest between a number of different values.

Part two, "Arrangements," explores the multifaceted ways in which diversity of religious practice was exercised in early modern Europe. For a long time, even after the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563, many continued to hope that the fractures of the Reformation could one day be repaired. In the meantime, dissent could be muted through "comprehension," whereby agreement on essentials was to be accompanied by latitude on adiaphora, or "things indifferent." Even when all practical hopes of restoring unity were gone, reunification was usually the justification for toleration of dissent, or "indulgence," as in the Edict of Nantes. Whatever ecclesiastical or political authorities pronounced, however, there were numerous examples of unofficial or practical comprehension at the local level. We see this in the Jacobskerk in Utrecht under pastor Hubert Duifhuis, where Communion was offered to all in attendance without inquiry into inner beliefs. In the German town of Goldenstedt, Catholics and Lutherans worshipped together in a hybrid liturgy from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. In Poland, the Consensus of Sendomir permitted Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren to take Communion in each others' churches without formal unification of the different ecclesiastical institutions. Nevertheless, as confessional boundaries hardened, such comprehensive arrangements became increasingly difficult to justify and maintain. This only postponed the day of reckoning: in the absence of realistic hopes of religious reunification, were there realistic and practical ways that people of different faiths could peacefully coexist? In fact, there were, even within a context that formally proscribed religious diversity.

One such practical arrangement was *Auslauf*: that is, the practice of a dissenting religion in a nearby territory where it was legally permitted. It was graphically displayed in Vienna, where every Sunday thousands of Viennese Protestants passed through the city gates, bound for the estate of Hernals, where Protestant worship was permitted. It is seen also in the various edicts of pacification in France that permitted Huguenot worship outside city walls. Emigration, that is permanent reset-

tlement in a different jurisdiction, was a more radical and permanent version of *Auslauf*. At the core of *Auslauf* was a paradox: at the same time, it both respected and violated borders. It preserved the appearance of sacral community by keeping dissenting practice outside communal boundaries. It demonstrated that most people found dissenting practice tolerable if it occurred outside communal space.

The clandestine church, or *schuilkerk*, was an internal sort of *Auslauf*. Seen most evidently in the Dutch Republic (hence the terminology), where the Calvinist Reformed Church was the official church but membership was not legally required, the *schuilkerk* allowed Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and even Jews to practice their faith more or less freely, as long as certain pretenses were maintained. Thus, these services usually took place in what was purportedly a private dwelling. Although some were rather large, they were built in such a way as not to be visible from the outside. Other conditions might include limiting the number of people who could enter or leave at the same time, or the prohibition of parking vehicles in the street outside, or ringing bells as a summons to worship. Although the term is Dutch in origin, the concept was widely used elsewhere, under different names: mass houses, prayer houses, house chapels, oratories. Wherever employed, the operative principle was similar: a legal fiction that preserved the distinction between public and private worship. It allowed communities to permit dissenting practice while still preserving the ideal of the *corpus christianum*, of sacral unity, if they “looked through their fingers,” as the Dutch expression had it (p. 195). As the author points out (p. 197), it resembled nothing so much as President Bill Clinton’s “Don’t ask, don’t tell” policy regarding gays and lesbians in the military.

Rarer than the *schuilkerk* were the instances of genuine bi- or multiconfessionalism where the balance and strength of the parties was such that maintaining even the pretense of the sacral community was impossible. There was, for example, *simultaneum*, where different faiths shared the use of one church building. One of the more graphic examples was the church of St. Martin in Biberach. From 1548, the building was shared by Lutheran and Catholic congregations, an arrangement manifested physically in the decorations of the nave, and even more curiously, by a large clock that told each group when they had to make way for the other. In some communities, this sort of religious coexistence was extended into the realm of politics, justice, and social relations. In Augsburg, for example, Catholics and Lutherans meticulously observed a series of arrangements that both divided the city into two distinct communities and regulated relations between them. In towns where this sort of parity prevailed, tension and hostility were not absent—indeed the system more or less guaranteed petty squabbling over minor issues—but they were mostly channelled into nonviolent forms. Good fences, it seemed, really did make good neighbors. Although the resulting toleration was far from our ideal, shaped by

Enlightenment notions of liberty of conscience and human rights, it was a form of toleration that worked.

Part three, “Transgressions,” explores the various ways in which the boundaries that made more or less peaceful coexistence possible were blurred and violated. Chief among these were conversion and intermarriage. These issues clearly posed some of the tensions and differences between clergy and laity of all churches. Among laypeople, boundaries between confessions were rather porous and indistinct, a question of good versus better, rather than one of divine versus satanic. Conversions were welcomed warily by clergy, as they not only demonstrated the self-evident “truth” of the convert’s new faith, but at the same time they “threatened to undermine the black-and-white, us-versus-them mentality that clergy propagated” (p. 293). Likewise with intermarriage: clergy were more inclined to fear the potential loss than welcome the potential gain, especially since so many mixed marriages were clearly pro matrimonio.

Most churches and governments were more willing to tolerate the practice of Judaism and Islam in their midst than they were rival Christian sects. In large part, Jews and Muslims were so obviously “other” that they posed no threat to the *corpus Christianum* in the way that rival Christian churches did. Yet, as was often the case with Christian “heretics,” such toleration was extended to the group, rather than the individual. This underlines a fundamental difference between early modern Europe and our own modern Western world. Officially, at any rate, toleration was extended to groups, not individuals. It was not integrationist or assimilationist; the continued existence of the groups tolerated required the maintenance of boundaries. As the author points out, this ambiguity is still present, as Christians, Muslims, and Jews strive to coexist in officially secular societies that require assent to a set of common values.

In the fourth and final section of the book, “Changes,” Kaplan tackles the other durable myth: that at some point in the eighteenth century, under the impulse of secular Enlightened values, educated Europeans came to see religious tolerance as a “Good Thing,” thereby putting an end to a shameful history of persecution and intolerance. On the one hand, Kaplan asserts, secular Enlightened ideals were at best a thin veneer, adopted by only a fragment of the educated elite, and then rather late in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, religious war and violence were by no means absent from the age of the Enlightenment. Although there was definitely a shift in the understanding of religious toleration in the eighteenth century, its true roots lie not in the works of the philosophes but rather in broader societal changes.

It is rare that one reads a scholarly work of history that claims contemporary relevance, and even rarer to find one that makes a compelling claim. This is one such book. In demolishing the first myth about religious toleration in early modern Europe, Kaplan has shown that even in a society that highly prized religious unity, ways were found to accommodate dissent. In demolishing

the second myth, that of Whiggish secularization, Kaplan evokes one of the important questions of our own time: can devout people of different faiths find ways not only not to harm each other, but to deal harmoniously with each other on a day-to-day basis? The re-examined experience of early modern Europe suggests that societies need not abandon religious faith in order to escape religious violence.

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MAGNUS RÜDE. *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Machteuropa (1608–1632): Konfession—Dynastie—kulturelle Ausdrucksformen.* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, series B, number 166.) Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 2007. Pp. li, 324. €29.00.

Historians of the Thirty Years' War will immediately recognize the importance of relations between England and the Palatinate between 1608 and 1632. The war rapidly escalated from an internal Bohemian conflict to an international crisis when Frederick V of the Palatinate accepted the Bohemian crown offered by Protestant rebels. That offer came in part because the rebels thought that Frederick's personal ties to England would help mobilize forces of international Protestantism for their defense. And yet England, unlike the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, or even France, never formally joined the fight against the Habsburgs, much to the consternation of both German Protestants and powerful forces within England itself. This miscalculation by both the Bohemians and Frederick as to English commitment to the German Protestant cause is one of the primary reasons the Thirty Years' War escalated into an international conflict.

Magnus Rüde's Berlin dissertation addresses Frederick's decision to accept the Bohemian crown, but dwells on it much less than one might expect given the centrality of the topic not just to understanding the Thirty Years' War but to explain what happened to the Palatinate in its wake. He argues that Frederick was motivated by a combination of concern for the Protestant faith and desire to raise the status of his dynasty. James was unconvinced that the Bohemian matter represented a threat to the Protestant faith and thought his own dynasty's status would be enhanced by taking on the role of neutral mediator rather than defender of the faith. But what interests Rüde about these positions is less what they tell us about how the Thirty Years' War unfolded than what they tell us about the nature of motivation for action in the international system, what Rüde calls "emerging Great Power Europe."

The book is organized in three sections. The first provides a structural history of the international system at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It considers a wide range of influences on political calculation, from monarchomachic political writings to the formal roles of ambassadors. Rüde identifies three factors influencing decision making: confession, dynasty, and reason of

state. His analysis is presented in alternating sections on English and Palatine institutions. The second section follows the calculations of both English and Palatine diplomacy in four chronological chunks. Again, Rüde divides the presentation into alternating sections on English and Palatine perspectives. The final section focuses on the various "publics," from polemical pamphlets and learned theological treatises to courtly festivities, in which the motives of both England and the Palatinate were discussed.

Rüde's presentation is engaging and thorough. Especially in the introduction, it is studded with a variety of thought-provoking arguments and juxtapositions. But the work does not live up to the ambition of the introduction. For example, one of the author's potentially most powerful assertions is that despite their differences in size England and the Palatinate shared "structural deficits" which led them to have comparable roles in intensifying conflict in the international system. That idea is never sufficiently fleshed out in the rest of the book. And when Rüde does address pivotal events familiar to a wider audience, the explanations come across as flat and conventional. For example, one does not leave the book with fresh insights into the Parliaments of 1621 or 1624 or the Spanish Match, even though these topics are covered in some depth.

Historians interested in the origins of the Thirty Years' War will find much to admire in this book, but it also leaves some questions unexamined. Most notably, Rüde never explains why he chose 1608 and 1632 as the terminal dates for the topic. The "big events" that mark those dates are obvious enough—the formation of the Protestant Union in 1608 and the death of Frederick V in 1632—but there is nothing in the way that Rüde casts his argument that makes those dates particularly significant for understanding relations between the two countries. And while the start date of 1608 is very soft—Rüde gives copious background on events reaching back to the mid-sixteenth century—the end date of 1632 is very hard—we do not even learn how England and the Palatinate responded to Frederick's death. The death of James I and succession of Charles I also pass by in the course of a paragraph. Surely Rüde could have said more about how the deaths of monarchs influenced relations between the two countries.

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HUGH TREVOR-ROPER. *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 438. \$35.00.

This book is like a highly polished ammonite: elegant, complexly patterned, and something of a fossil. Hugh Trevor-Roper drafted the book in the late 1970s, and like many of the books that Theodore de Mayerne planned, Trevor-Roper could not bring himself to complete the work. It remained in draft until his death in 2003. Blair Worden has seen the manuscript into print,

carefully smoothing rough edges but fully preserving the work's integrity.

Mayerne was a physician to kings, first to Henri IV of France, and then, after Henri's assassination, to James I and Charles I of England. Trevor-Roper's deep knowledge of the period illuminates much about Mayerne's life and projects. He embeds Mayerne thoroughly in what he calls the Huguenot International, the cosmopolitan network of French-speaking Protestants who crisscrossed Europe, only fading into quiet when their hopes for political autonomy were dashed with the fall of La Rochelle in 1627. Mayerne was a consummate politician who treated patients on all sides of the multiple confessional divides that fractured Europe. In England, for example, he treated James I, but also Oliver Cromwell, Isaac Casaubon (his good friend), and John Donne. But Mayerne was much more than a doctor. He was a committed Paracelsian alchemist who spent much of his life getting his hands dirty in what we would now call laboratory work, corresponding with like-minded adepts, trading recipes, remedies, and secrets. His manuscript on the technologies of paint and painting remain a key for art historians. He was also, it seems, a diplomat or perhaps, like others of the time, a kind of hybrid diplomat/undercover agent. Both French and English royal masters relied upon Mayerne to convey in conversations that which they cared not to put into writing.

The book is a pleasure to read. Trevor-Roper writes in an almost conversational style, offering the reader pearls such as, "He [Dr. William Butler] also had a reputation for churlishness to maintain, and he was resolved to maintain it" (p. 174); or "Kings' mistresses are commonly devout" (p. 133); or describing the life of a courtier as "delicate, profitable slavery" (p. 5). His insights into the ways that Mayerne's inner life can be glimpsed through his actions afford much to ponder about the nature of religious identity and the ways in which a man like Mayerne adapted (and sometimes did not adapt) to the changing fortunes of French Protestantism. Mayerne, whose father barely escaped death in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, emerges as a man deeply loyal to the faith of his family without, apparently, being driven by profound inner conviction. Trevor-Roper beautifully recreates the social networks that gave meaning to Mayerne's medical and alchemical practices, carefully parsing the ways in which Paracelsian and Protestant commitments became intertwined through networks of friendship.

The book appears dated in one significant way: Trevor-Roper treats the history of medicine as a recondite technical field into which he has no business straying. Perhaps when the book was drafted, such an evaluation was possible. But in the intervening decades, the social history of medicine has flowered in ways that make it no longer desirable to separate Mayerne's medical practice from the rest of his life. Mayerne left very detailed case histories, which have been ably analyzed by Brian Nance, but the richness of Trevor-Roper's social analyses might shed much light on the details of Mayerne's practice. Doctoring was central to May-

erne's identity, and it is a pity Trevor-Roper did not wish to explore it more deeply.

At times, the book has an elegiac feel to it; Trevor-Roper conveys the death of the political hopes of the Huguenots with empathy, clearly valuing the cosmopolitan intellectual circles fostered by the Huguenot diaspora. But Mayerne also looks to the future, embodying many of the forces that profoundly changed the learned medicine of his era: Paracelsiansim, the reintroduction of Hippocratic observation and diagnosis, and the crafting of case histories. His is a fascinating story, and we can be grateful to Worden for conveying Trevor-Roper's account of it into print at last.

MARY E. FISSELL

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FRANZ A. J. SZABO. *The Seven Years War in Europe, 1756–1763*. (Modern Wars in Perspective.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2008. Pp. xxi, 512. \$38.00.

Longman's "Modern Wars in Perspective" series has come a long way since the publication of its first volumes in the early 1990s. Recent contributions to the series are no longer concise textbooks for a student readership but full-blown scholarly publications, voluminous, heavily footnoted, . . . and expensive. While M. S. Anderson needed hardly more than 200 pages for his survey of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), Franz A. J. Szabo's treatment of the Seven Years' War in continental Europe takes up more than 500 pages. With this at times excessively detailed though highly readable study, Szabo fills an important lacuna in historical research and writing on the Seven Years' War, which in recent decades has suffered from a one-sided scholarly concentration on its maritime and colonial aspects.

While the theater of war in western Germany, where Britain-Hanover and its German allies were struggling to hold the superior French forces in check, is not altogether forgotten, Szabo's focus is clearly on the bloody battlefields in Bohemia, Saxony, Silesia, and Brandenburg-Prussia, where, surprisingly, the anti-Prussian coalition failed to overcome Frederick II. It is for the east-central European theater that the author's mastery of the sources and the literature is particularly impressive.

The book leaves little room for criticism, but it is difficult to overlook the author's unconcealed anti-Prussian stance, which even an Austrian reviewer feels bound to qualify as excessive. The purely chronological chapters mixing all theaters of war together are certainly too long. Additional headings and subheadings would have given the book a more articulate structure. Maps illustrating entire campaigns rather than individual battles would perhaps have been useful for a better understanding. Unlike its Prussian counterpart, the Austro-Hungarian army did not produce an official history of the Seven Years' War, but a remarkable number of articles based on Austrian sources were published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in

periodicals such as the Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift or the Mitteilungen des k. (u.) k. Kriegsarchivs. Unfortunately, none of these articles is cited in Szabo's book.

While delivering mainly a synthesis of the published primary sources and the considerable secondary literature, a major achievement in itself, Szabo has also used archival material from the Vienna Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, a byproduct, so to speak, of his life-long Kaunitz studies. However, it is important to emphasize that the great bulk of Austrian archival sources on the Seven Years' War is preserved at the Kriegsarchiv and still awaits closer scrutiny. Pending such a feat, both scholars and students will be most grateful to Szabo for having provided them with a compact and well-written summary of the present state of knowledge.

MICHAEL HOCHEDLINGER
Austrian State Archives

CHARLES W. J. WITHERS. *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 330. \$45.00.

While traveling in the Russian Empire in the 1780s, the American explorer John Ledyard used the term "philosophic geography" in his diary to convey how the criteria of the Enlightenment, especially the indicators of progress and civilization, could be used to interpret the map of the world. In this book, Charles W. J. Withers suggests not so much that the Enlightenment authorized a particular brand of philosophic geography but rather that geography was essential to various facets of the Enlightenment project and is fundamentally relevant to understanding the Enlightenment historically. This book may be usefully read together with the immensely stimulating collection *Geography and Enlightenment* (1999) that Withers coedited with David N. Livingstone.

Withers organizes his new book in three parts, proposing three ways of "thinking geographically" about the Enlightenment: first, locating the Enlightenment in its own geographical contexts; second, addressing the geographical discoveries of the Enlightenment from Carolus Linnaeus and Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis in Lapland to Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and James Cook in Tahiti; and third, considering how the subject or matter of geography was produced, organized, and consumed in the eighteenth century.

Withers takes the collection edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (1981), as a point of departure for considering the national, transnational, and local geographical spaces in which the Enlightenment occurred. Surveying the complex terrains of the Enlightenment, Withers draws on, for instance, the important studies of Paschalis Kitromilides on Iosipos Moisiodax and Lisbet Koerner on Linnaeus in southern and northern Europe, respectively. Withers is interested in "the Enlightenment working geographically over space, as something dy-

namic, mobile, and varied," involving "what I loosely term the Enlightenment's 'traffic'—the mobility of its personnel, ideas, and artifacts" (p. 43). Framed here as "geographical," these issues of traffic and mobility may not seem altogether new to scholars familiar with the work of Robert Darnton, Dena Goodman, Margaret Jacob, and Mary Terrall, all cited by Withers.

Proposing many ways to think of the Enlightenment geographically, Withers addresses the debate about the shape of the earth, the geographical basis of the proto-anthropological study of human difference, and the emergence of the field of "medical geography," the nosological mapping of disease. The author reproduces the title page of Leonhard Ludwig Finke's *Versuch einer allgemeinen medicinisch-praktischen Geographie*, published in Leipzig in 1792, adorned with the image of Asclepius with his serpent-entwined rod, gazing upon a serpent-entwined globe (p. 208). Withers also presents (following the research of Franz Reitinger) the subject of "geo-pornography," or géographie galante, in which sexual impulses or anatomies were represented in cartographical format. One illustration shows "A Map or Chart of the Road of Love," published in 1741, including "Cape Ecstasy" and "Cuckoldom Bay" (p. 215). Another case, considerably more obscene, was Thomas Stretzer's mock-geographical account of "Merryland" in 1740, with its "map" of the female body.

While Withers argues that geography was relevant to the Enlightenment in many diffuse and general ways, some of the most interesting material in the book concerns the very precise matter of how geographical knowledge was taught and publicized in the eighteenth century. Citing the research of John Gascoigne, Withers notes that only a small percentage of scientists could be formally identified as geographers, but that many contributed to the dissemination of geographical knowledge. While at the university level geography was being taught both as a mathematical subject and as an historical subject in the eighteenth century, there were also teachers offering private lessons in geography in urban centers of the Enlightenment from Edinburgh to Philadelphia. On the one hand, Immanuel Kant lectured on geography at the university in Königsberg; on the other hand, map puzzles—"geographical dissections"—were produced for the education of children. Withers notes the importance of Jedidiah Morse's *American Geography* of 1789, which helped to shape early American national consciousness; around the same time, Noah Webster's lexicography stressed the importance of spelling and pronouncing American geographical place names.

The omnipresence of geography in eighteenth-century culture, Withers suggests, is evident from the circulation of such artifacts as maps, globes, and compasses. The cover illustration shows a French painting of a father and son studying the globe together, while the fascinating color plates include an English painting of two children putting together a cartographical puzzle, a portrait of the marquise du Châtelet with a measuring compass, a portrait of Maupertuis with his hand

upon the globe, as if demonstrating its flattened poles, and a Venetian painting by Pietro Longhi titled "The Geography Lesson." Here a young woman holds a measuring compass to a globe, with an atlas splayed open on the floor. Withers suggests that "the globes on display are not instructional-conversational pieces but the swelling breasts of the young woman herself, as the standing instructor's gaze reveals. Here, partially, glimpsed, lies a forbidden 'merryland.' The globe at once material and symbolic is an instrument of secular learning, of Newtonian principles, and an object of private desire" (p. 232). This particular interpretation of the painting is consistent with the whole book's attempt to represent the omnipresence of geographical ways of thinking in the eighteenth century, including the philosophical and metaphorical. At the same time, alongside his attention to the scientific and material aspects of Enlightenment geography, Withers clearly recognizes that sometimes a globe is just a globe.

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THOMAS HIPPLER. *Citizens, Soldiers and National Armies: Military Service in France and Germany, 1789–1830*. (War, History, and Politics.) New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. x, 260. \$149.95.

With historians increasingly examining the relationship between military service and citizenship in different European countries, it is a timely moment for Thomas Hippler's transnational study comparing the very different experiences of France and Prussia in the period dominated by the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Both countries turned from small professional armies complemented by the recruitment of mercenary units in wartime to a system of conscription linking army service to rights of citizenship. Each did so against a backdrop of war when the state was endangered and the call to arms was associated with national liberation. It was a way of channeling or, in the author's words, "appropriating" popular violence, and so redefining the relationship of the individual, the state and the nation (p. 3). That both France and Prussia underwent something of a nationalist awakening in these years gives the comparison plausibility: France through its identification with the revolution and the cause of the sovereign people, Prussia through romanticism and the spread of a German cultural identity. The comparison seems strong, and is supported by official discourses, philosophical and literary texts, and the writings of army officers involved in the conflict. It is reinforced by the history of conscription in the two countries and by their tendency to learn and to borrow from each other ever since the Seven Years' War.

And yet, the circumstances in which the two states opted for conscription were starkly different. France was a revolutionary nation that spoke in the name of its people, whereas Prussia was an autocratic monarchy, its institutions dominated by a landowning Junker elite and infused with a militarist tradition. France declared

its people to be citizens, offered the Rights of Man, and then demanded duties and services from them on the basis of their citizenship. Prussia imposed conscription before rewarding its conscripts with rights derived from their service. Both nations had a history to overcome of periods when militia service was opposed and resisted by large sections of the population or when mercenary regiments were feared by civilians and denounced by pamphleteers as violent and immoral. Public confidence had to be rebuilt after centuries of distrust, and it is striking that many of the intellectual arguments for conscription were about morality and the relationship of the army to society rather than about military effectiveness. It was assumed that citizen-soldiers would identify with their families and civil communities, the communities to which, when the war or campaign was over, they would ineluctably return. In Joseph Servan's writings of 1780 we already see the figure of the soldat-laboureur so beloved of nineteenth-century French military reformers, while in Prussia the claim was repeatedly made that mercenaries were indifferent to the country's goals and did not see their opponent as their enemy.

Both countries embraced an almost philosophical belief in the benefits of conscription. The French stressed the value of a spontaneity and ideological commitment that led men to rush into battle and throw themselves at the enemy—the idealized representation that left traces in French battlefield tactics and in the enduring republican myth of the *levée en masse*. For their part, Prussian military theorists sought to replace French *élan* with strict and repeated drill that would discipline them into a machine-like obedience. Bravery, they argued, could only be acquired "mechanically," and could not be "the effect of an ecstatic identification of the individual with a community but passively cultivated through habit and obedience" (p. 137). By the 1870s in France, following the debacle of the Franco-Prussian War, there were many who agreed.

But Hippler's purpose in this book is not just to trace the intersecting histories of conscription in two neighboring European states, or to investigate the soldier's experience of conscription through letters, diaries, and memoirs. The book's principal claims to originality lie elsewhere, in the examination of the necessary tensions that exist between democracy and authority, and the perceived dangers that a conscript army posed to society as a whole. One of the major debates in both France and Germany was about the longer-term effects of conscription. Should it imply the militarization of society or the socialization of the military? And what role should be given to popular enthusiasm, the right to insurrection that the French had listed among the fundamental rights of man? Prussia was always more resistant to this, seeing it as an invitation to anarchy and disorder. Yet we find traces of it during the Wars of Liberation, especially in the raising of the *Landwehr* by the East Prussian estates. This was not, as Hippler shows, a simple case of popular arming. Rather it should be seen as a compromise "between the insur-

rectional popular arming and partisan war of the Landsturm on the one hand and the standing army on the other" (p. 205).

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PHILIP B. MINEHAN. *Civil War and World War in Europe: Spain, Yugoslavia, and Greece, 1936–1949*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xx, 394. \$75.00.

This work by Philip B. Minehan is one of the most ambitious reconstructions extant of European history between the 1930s and the 1940s. The author provides a comparative analysis of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the ethnic and religious conflicts in Yugoslavia before and during World War II, and the civil war in Greece between communist and anticommunist forces, following the liberation of the country from German occupation (1946–1949). Minehan maintains that the ideological and social conflicts and the open wars that swept these three countries between 1936 and 1949 were manifestations of a broader international war, of which Spain, Greece, and Yugoslavia represented the battlefields.

What was this war? In the author's opinion, the struggle for power between liberal capitalism, Soviet communism, and fascism/Nazism exploded between the 1930s and the 1940s, peaking during World War II (p. 5). In this international conflict, the civil wars that broke out in the three European countries should not be seen as domestic and independent events but as phenomena strongly conditioned by the evolving dynamics of the international situation. In Minehan's estimation, before the 1930s in none of the three countries were the social, economic, and political conditions such as to foment revolutionary change, despite their strong internal tensions. In order to draw this conclusion, the author devotes the first part of his book to reconstructing the societies and state forms of Spain, Greece, and Yugoslavia before World War II.

The description of the economic and social context between the early twentieth century and the 1930s highlights strong similarities between the three countries, all characterized by backward and poor socioeconomic structures and by a great wealth divide between the privileged and the low classes. The situation of the public system was marked by the weakness of the liberal and democratic models, by frequent military coups d'état that aimed to establish authoritarian regimes (Primo De Rivera in Spain in 1923, General Theodoros Pangalos in Greece in 1926), or to strengthen the centralistic absolutism of the monarchic power (King Alexander's coup in Yugoslavia in 1929). All this occurred in contexts characterized by severe ethnic and nationalist unrest (Croats against Serbs in Yugoslavia, Basques and Catalans in Spain). However, despite this destabilizing combination of factors, which seemed to mark (although in different degrees) the three Mediterranean countries in the 1930s, Minehan affirms that neither in Spain, nor in Yugoslavia, nor in Greece was

the pressure for radical change such as to justify the breaking out of revolutionary civil wars so devastating and long-lasting as those that flared up between 1936 and 1949.

What led to the radicalization of domestic conflicts, exasperating their violence and prolonging their duration, was the intervention of external forces, which Minehan identifies with the great powers that at that time were struggling to establish their hegemony in Europe: on one side, Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, on the other side, the USSR, and lastly the liberal powers, such as the United States and Great Britain. Without the support of the German and Italian military forces, as Minehan maintains, the Francoist coup would have exhausted itself, or at least it would not have led to the long and harsh Spanish civil war, which was also fostered by Soviet support as well as by that, much milder, of the democratic countries.

As the author affirms, it is not coincidental that among the main actors responsible for the radicalization of conflicts in Spain, Yugoslavia, and Greece were the communist parties and their militias, increasingly more organized and efficient than their allies and rivals, as the cases of the Communist Fifth Regiment for the defence of Madrid and of ELAS (the Greek People's Liberation Army) amply show. Such forces, in fact, were fighting not only for historical motives, but also on the fuel of external ideological projects unconnected with the class and ethnic conflicts that were shaking Spain, Greece, and Yugoslavia, and which were manipulated according to the schemes of international politics dictated by the Moscow government.

Thus, even the victory or the defeat of revolutionary forces was not determined by the mere equilibrium of internal forces, but by the support of external powers, which decided on Francisco Franco's victory in Spain, Josip Broz Tito's eventual triumph in Yugoslavia, and the final defeat of the attempted communist coup by ELAS in Greece, with the success of the anticommunist repression backed by British troops in 1949 (pp. 246–251). There are no doubts about the importance of such observations on the relevance of international support as the decisive factor of some European revolutionary situations between the two World Wars. In this respect, Minehan's book certainly provides a very stimulating, comprehensive interpretation of the connection between internal events and the developments in the international context of twentieth-century European history.

The book, however, has also questionable aspects, and the author's main argument raises some doubts. In the first place, one can legitimately question the opportunity of schematically comparing the social, economic, and cultural conditions of three countries characterized by extremely different historical developments, as the author himself recognizes (p. 36). Despite a number of similarities concerning the political developments, such deep differences greatly complicate the overall picture; however, they are less stressed and accounted for than they should be, perhaps also due to the

use of limited sources: the bibliography, although extensive (pp. 361–379), is almost entirely in English. Does not the scant attention the author pays to Croatian, Serbian, and Greek sources—except for the Public Record Office documents, that is to say British materials, as such expressing a very partial point of view—lead one to think that not all the possible interpretations and not all the issues at stake have been sufficiently pondered?

MARCO MONDINI
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GERHARD WETTIG. *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939–1953*. (The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. viii, 285. \$85.00.

A distinguished German historian, Gerhard Wettig has written a solid and important study on the Soviet road to the Cold War. His book summarizes archival findings in Moscow and Berlin as well as literature in German and Russian. Wettig disagrees with those who take the United States and Great Britain to task as the initiators of Germany's division and depict Joseph Stalin as a vacillating, indecisive, and even marginal decision maker. The book contributes to the growing consensus that one cannot understand the Cold War's origins without considering Stalin's personality and policies, his intentions and miscalculations. The Kremlin leader is central to the book and Wettig's version of the Cold War. Stalin emerges as a control-obsessed leader, mistrustful of anybody and bent on "forceful territorial expansion" for ideological, but mostly imperial, motives. Stalin "saw himself as a Russian leader who had inherited the tsars' empire and would follow in their footsteps" (pp. 10–11). In 1939–1941, Stalin preferred to deal with Adolf Hitler, who seemed initially willing to share his appetite for aggrandizement. After Hitler's attack on the USSR, when the grand alliance emerged, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins did not oppose Stalin's desire to turn Eastern Europe into a "security belt" to protect the USSR. Stalin soothed U.S. concerns by verbally pledging to respect principles of national independence, non-intervention, and democratic freedom. This, according to Wettig, was just a mask. Stalin's design was from the start the systemic transformation of Eastern Europe. After a brief period of multiparty "people's democracy" to sooth Western fears, Stalinization would follow. Stalin did not anticipate any serious resistance from his temporary capitalist partners, expecting them to be engulfed in internecine struggle and postwar economic problems.

Contrary to recent archival discoveries, Wettig downplays the importance of the Turkish and especially Iranian crises of 1945–1946. For him, the sources of the East-West confrontation lay in Central Europe and in Germany. Stalin, Wettig concludes, did not mind a united Germany, provided that he could control it. He expected that the United States would quickly withdraw

from Europe after the end of the war, but he wanted to maintain the Soviet occupation of Germany for an indefinite period. For that reason, the Soviets rejected the U.S. proposal to demilitarize Germany. Wettig persuasively refutes the "revisionist" thesis that U.S. and British policies were primarily responsible for the division of Germany. He describes in detail how Stalin manipulated German national feelings, dangling the carrot of German unity while trying to expose "the Anglo-Saxon powers" as weak and unable to provide protection to the Germans. The Marshall Plan and the U.S.-British airlift during the Berlin blockade disrupted the Kremlin's expectations. Evidence, carefully collected by Wettig, makes it clear that the Soviet leadership never seriously contemplated the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the creation of "a neutral, democratic" Germany. After Stalin's attempts to thwart West German and West European integration had failed, he allowed East Germany (by then the German Democratic Republic [GDR]) to join Eastern preparations for war against the Western powers. At the same time, the Soviet leadership ratcheted up propaganda of "German unity" and in March 1952 sent diplomatic notes on a German peace treaty to the United States, Great Britain, and France. The notes were carefully written to be rejected. A number of leading German historians still believe that the Western rejection of these notes was a "missed opportunity." Wettig's well-documented refutation of this thesis is a highlight of his book.

The book's weaker aspects include the absence of the author's interpretive voice. Lengthy quotations from Stalin and Soviet documents are often presented as sufficient proof and not followed by historical discussion. Also, surprisingly, the book does not refer to a number of recent studies on Stalin and his decision making that provide nuances and also raise new questions about the nature of the Stalinist regime and society, the limits of Stalin's personal control, and his reliance on various bureaucratic structures and personalities, especially during the last years of his life. In conclusion, Wettig writes that the Kremlin leader "saw maintenance of peace rather than another military conflict as providing for the best possible development of Soviet prosperity and power." If so, why could the Korean War end only after Stalin's death? And why did Stalin's successors have to devise a "new foreign policy" more suitable to the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence"? And what about Stalin's belief in an inevitable world war in the future? The book also should have paid more attention to the reasons why Stalin's empire had already become a fracturing anachronism by the time of his death. All this, of course, does not diminish the author's achievements. The book firmly stands on its evidence and is a nice addition to the field of Cold War studies.

VLADISLAV M. ZUBOK
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JAMES SIMPSON. *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents*. Cambridge:

Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 346. \$27.95.

In this passionately written but flawed book, the author contends the Protestant promotion of unfettered access to Scripture should not be construed as a key element of liberalism. Rather, Protestant reading practice produced "the liberal tradition's principal enemy" (p. 3), fundamentalism, by simultaneously stressing the centrality of the text and ruling out all but a literalist hermeneutic, the toxic effects of which poisoned the atmosphere of the sixteenth century and continue to affect our own.

James Simpson examines two protagonists, William Tyndale and Thomas More, with some reference to Martin Luther and others. He first explores the basics of Protestant theology—faith alone, the abject condition of the sinner before God, predestination—and emphasizes throughout the "dark paradoxes" of the new theology. Scripture commands readers to do the law even though they lack the ability, so they come to hate the text (and themselves) before loving it and accepting grace. Predestination left the impotent sinner groping for signs of his own fate. Violence, both psychological and physical, was the inevitable result of evangelical reading practice, which "looks, in short, pretty bad" (p. 222).

Into this dreary darkness shines the enlightened More, who promoted an alternative reading rooted in communal understanding and unwritten verities. But this environment of trust was undone by impersonal print culture and the literalism of More's enemies. The final act in Simpson's tragedy occurs when More employs the very hermeneutic he despises, a fall from grace he recognizes but seems powerless to stop. Simpson has a gift for mining pithy quotes, and the best in the book is More's lament that "while I clean out the fellow's shit-filled mouth I see my own fingers covered with shit" (p. 51). Thus Simpson explains how More, despite his promotion of tolerance in Utopia and elsewhere, presided over the persecution of Protestants: he became what he hunted.

It is remarkable, given Simpson's focus on Protestant hermeneutical practice, that he has not engaged the recent renaissance of scholarship in that topic. Many reformers drew heavily upon medieval exegesis, although their rhetoric indicated otherwise. In practice they often followed medieval scholars such as Nicholas of Lyra in expanding the literal sense and could be quite creative in dealing with problematic passages. In their interpretations reformers frequently arrived at what should be believed, done, and hoped, that is, the end of the well-known quadriga. At one point Simpson acknowledges this practice but fails to draw out the weighty implications for his argument (the literal sense isn't always the literal sense), choosing instead to fault Protestants for saying one thing and doing another. Simply put, his argument is weakened by taking Luther literally.

A more fundamental flaw lies in Simpson's keen

identification with More and his sharp dislike of Tyndale. Indeed, Simpson embodies the controversy in the course of describing it, and this undermines the book as a work of history. Simpson seems personally disappointed that More's vision was not realized, and he delights in exposing the difficulties of Protestant positions. He appears to know better, at one point noting that "disapproval is little more than idle presentism" (p. 222), but like More is unable to help himself. The reader is left with the need to screen out the force and form of polemical writing in order to gain some sense of the history underneath. Ironically, this criticism is similar to that leveled against the work of Simpson's chief nemesis, David Daniell, author of *William Tyndale: A Biography* (1994) and *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (2003). Daniell, whose hagiographic portrait of Tyndale reviewers have rightly challenged as unbalanced, lauds Tyndale's desire to bring Scripture to the commoners as the fount of liberal culture. Daniell serves as Simpson's chief exhibit of those who narrate this Whiggish view of liberalism. But is such a simplistic view of the roots of liberalism really that common? Apart from Daniell, Simpson frequently retreats to impersonal constructions such as "the liberal tradition's derivation of itself from the sixteenth-century Reformation" (p. 3) or references to unnamed "cultural historians" who are largely "convinced that evangelical emphasis upon the literal sense is simultaneously commonsensical and liberating" (p. 107).

A final concern lies in Simpson's use of the term fundamentalism and its equation with a literalist hermeneutic. To his credit, he recognizes the term is anachronistic but claims the reader's indulgence and hopes the sum of the book will make his case. It does not. The distance between sixteenth-century Europe and twentieth-century America is too great to be ignored. One suspects Simpson wished to make a separate argument about the toxic effects of fundamentalism in contemporary America. (The text on the dust jacket warns "the last wave of fundamentalist reading in the West provoked 150 years of violent upheaval. As we approach a second wave, this powerful book alerts us to our peril.") But this would have required exploring aspects of modernism (e.g., the impact of science) unknown to the sixteenth century.

Simpson positions his work as in keeping with the nuanced revisionism of historians such as Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy. However, for the reasons listed above this book, although clearly argued, does not contribute to the exploration of religion in early modern England.

SCOTT MCGINNIS
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STEFANIA TUTINO. *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625*. (Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. vi, 256. \$99.95.

This important study analyzes the theological and political theories implicit in the intra- and cross-confessional polemical struggles between moderate and hard-line Catholics and Protestants in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Stefania Tutino highlights the questions of whether temporal rulers or spiritual authorities should command the obedience and have jurisdiction over the consciences of citizens, but the scope of her book is wider than this, dealing with religion and politics in early modern England, particularly the proper relationship of church and state. Tutino argues that, after the papal bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, the nature of the supposed papal temporal power and the problematic loyalty of English Catholics were not only central to the English government's relationship with the Catholic minority but also the occasion for explorations, on both sides of the religious divide, of the unity or separateness of the religious and political spheres.

The first three of this book's eight chapters deal with that part of Queen Elizabeth's reign following the 1570 papal bull of excommunication, the political act that dramatically worsened the situation for English Catholics, especially after the subsequent influx of English missionary priests trained in continental seminaries. The first chapter deals with debates between Catholic and Protestant polemicists both before and after the excommunication, which "provoked a dramatic change in the way in which the theoretical question of religious and political authority was to be interpreted" (p. 11). Tutino discusses the pre-1570 controversy between the Benedictine John Feckenham and the Protestant bishop Robert Horne, which centered on the potential usurpation of spiritual authority by a temporal ruler, not on papal claims of temporal authority. In this chapter and in the rest of the study, she discusses Nicholas Sanders's *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* (1571) as the most strongly oppositional definition of how Catholics should relate to a Protestant monarch. The second chapter offers a thorough analysis of the background, international context and political significance of the Jesuit mission, which began in 1580; it focuses on the ideologically hard-line Robert Persons as relentless polemicist and international political activist. Although she offers much evidence of his scheming to overthrow the Elizabethan regime, Tutino sets aside the question of his possible "personal involvement in more or less organized efforts to forcibly dethrone and possibly kill the queen" (p. 40). The third chapter deals with the ongoing conflict between the Jesuits and the secular priests over ways of relating to the Elizabethan government, especially during the Archpriest controversy, when the "Appellants," who petitioned the pope not to appoint the Jesuit-backed George Blackwell as the supreme English ecclesiastical authority, hoped to exchange political loyalty to the English monarch for toleration. Tutino's analysis of the writings and actions of the Appellants is good, though she does not address the question of their political manipulation by the government. The new factor she incorporates into her account

is that of the opposition to Jesuit intransigence by some Benedictine polemicists, such as William Gifford and Thomas Preston.

Chapters four through eight deal with the Jacobean era, focusing on the changed situation produced by James's more irenic approach to religious difference and his wish to distinguish loyal from disloyal Catholics, implicit in the Oath of Allegiance formulated in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, which made the rejection of direct or indirect papal temporal power the litmus test of loyalty. Tutino closely examines the texts that were at the center of the international controversy stimulated by the oath, which produced both accommodationist and intransigent political stances on both sides of the confessional divide. In this case, and throughout the study, one of the strengths of Tutino's carefully researched book is its close attention to those Latin texts that opened specifically English polemical struggles to a learned continental readership. She has particularly good discussions of the militantly anti-Catholic Andrew Willet's (constantly expanding) *Synopsis Papismi* (1592–1634) and Robert Bellarmine's series of writings on papal authority and the issues raised by the oath, setting them against the approaches of more moderate Protestant and Catholic writers such as Lancelot Andrewes and William Barclay. In discussing the oath, however, Tutino might have been more suspicious of the insertion in it of the theological terms "impious and heretical" as a religio-political trap set with the help of ex-Jesuit Christopher Perkins, who assisted in the formulation of the oath's language.

In arguing, in her conclusion, that Bellarmine "identified the core of the problem in the jurisdiction of the consciences, rather than the bodies" (p. 223), Tutino underscores the topic announced in the title of her study, the relationship of "law" and "conscience," but the religio-political conflicts she has described are part of a grander narrative that has led ultimately, by way of John Locke and other theorists, to conceptions of the separation of church and state that made possible the "liberty of conscience" demanded by some early modern Catholics and Protestants, as well as the broad form of religious toleration they could only imperfectly imagine.

ARTHUR F. MAROTTI
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JOHN McCafferty. *The Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian Reforms, 1633–1641*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 268. \$99.00.

At the heart of this book lies the problem of what exactly the Church of Ireland was or should have been. An Irish institution officially established in a milieu of Anglicization in the sixteenth century, the church labored in the early seventeenth to forge a distinctive identity for itself, while avoiding complete autonomy from Canterbury. The iconic figure of James Ussher, a great

scholar of Gaelic sources who eschewed the use of the Irish language in the church over which he presided as primate, emerges in this monograph by John McCafferty as a marginal and ambivalent figure, occasionally using his brilliance to galvanize opinion, but more frequently absenting himself from the center of decision making in the church in Dublin.

While Ussher may have embodied in his primacy a church that was not at ease with itself, McCafferty demonstrates convincingly that the real leadership role of reconstruction and reform within the Church of Ireland in the 1630s lay with John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, and, later, briefly archbishop of Armagh under the Restoration. Crucially, Bramhall, a Yorkshire man, was a protégé of the two figureheads of Charles I's personal rule in state and church: Thomas Wentworth, lord deputy of Ireland, and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. For the first time since the Reformation in the previous century, the state was fully at the service of the church in Ireland in helping to build a national institution, and Bramhall became the chief agent and facilitator of that program. The three-way correspondence among Laud, Wentworth, and Bramhall is expertly used here, first to diagnose the many ills of the Church of Ireland in the early 1630s, and then to record progress in the improvement of the temporal and spiritual state of the dioceses of Ireland down to 1640–1641. And certainly there was a pervasive malaise spreading throughout the institution. It was served by an absentee, pluralist, or ill-educated clergy, sparsely resourced by meager income squeezed from lay elites who had colluded in the stripping of its assets, and heavily outgunned in many places in terms of spiritual zeal by the agents of the resurgent Roman church.

Wentworth aspired to integrate the spiritual and secular domains in his drive toward confessionalization, and Bramhall, as his clerical enforcer, achieved pretty signal success on the church side. Utilizing a battery of carefully calibrated powers and agencies, the bishop of Derry (as he was from 1634) devoted great energy to getting lay impropiators to reach compromises concerning the enjoyment of church lands, as he believed that a properly financed ecclesiastical infrastructure was a *sine qua non* of a functioning pastorate. The latter was bolstered by the application of the English articles of religion and a set of canons for the Irish church, which, as shown here, were skilfully elaborated to take account of local predilections while enshrining the norms of the English establishment. Also deployed was the court of High Commission, of which Bramhall was the most active member, disciplining recalcitrant clergy and monitoring Catholic recusancy and perceived Protestant nonconformity, the latter to be found increasingly in the northeast of Ireland among Scottish migrants.

By the late 1630s, Bramhall could report progress to Laud on many fronts. A cadre of selected bishops was setting the pace in the spiritual and civil administration of their sees, significant tracts of church land had been recovered from lay possession, and the dignity of An-

glican worship was being upheld through the appointment of key decanal and clerical personnel. Remarkably, the church courts aspired to settle disputes among the Roman Catholic clergy, the promise of a *via media* being held out to the politically influential Old English recusant elite.

Skilfully interweaving the story of the last years of Bramhall's first Irish career with events in the wider British context, McCafferty shows how, once the mutually supportive nexus of Laud, Wentworth, and Bramhall crumbled, the advances made in the 1630s ran into the sand. Bramhall escaped impeachment in the wake of his patrons' executions, but his settlements and bargains were reversed in a hail of ill-will directed toward a perceived agent of arbitrary ecclesiastical government. McCafferty does adumbrate a legacy from these years of reconstruction in terms of creedal and canonical certitude that contributed to an Irish Anglican identity, but the aspiration to a fully inclusive national church was never revived for the Church of Ireland. Undoubtedly Bramhall and Wentworth antagonized the key constituencies of the landholding Protestant elite, the reluctant bishops and clergy, and the disaffected Old English, as McCafferty indicates. But the longer-term failure may have lain in the irresolution as to the extent to which the Church of Ireland should fully embrace its Irish heritage, while acknowledging strong English and Scottish cultural and spiritual influences. The elegantly stated argument of this book has reverberations way beyond the span of its coverage.

COLM LENNON

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

JOHN COFFEY. *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 337. \$105.00.

Edmund Calamy called John Goodwin "a man by himself," isolated in his uniqueness, a member of the godly but in most respects a rebel against almost every tenet of godly reform. Certainly his early years gave no hint of his future radicalism. Born in 1594, Goodwin went up to Queen's College, Cambridge, in the years when John Davenant left to become Bishop of Salisbury and John Preston was called away to Emmanuel. As a fellow, he apparently immersed himself in the traditional course of clerical study. He was clearly already a noted preacher as well as scholar when Roger Townsend presented him to the curacy of the family living at East Rainham, a move spurred by Goodwin's marriage, which necessitated his leaving his fellowship. In 1633 his reputation was such that he was invited to accept the vicarage of St. Stephen Coleman Street, one of the few livings whose rectory was owned by the parish. St. Stephen's was already known as a hotbed of radical Puritanism—Goodwin's predecessor was John Davenport. It was from St. Stephen's that Goodwin would win his reputation among Presbyterians as "The Grand Heretick of England."

It was there, as John Coffey demonstrates, that Goodwin, an erstwhile disciple of Preston's style of orthodox godliness, was driven to increasingly radical positions, not so much by events, although the events of the 1630s and 1640s certainly played their part, but by what he saw was the logic and necessities of a correct understanding of the Reformed tradition. Initially this movement was manifest in his arguments with his fellow godly over the doctrine of justification. If mankind is justified by faith alone, and if faith is a consequence of a free gift of unmerited grace, then the whole "preparationist" thrust of contemporary Puritanism was mistaken. It followed that justification need not be preceded by a period of humiliation for one's failure to fulfill the law: justification was a free gift of a loving God for his creation. Goodwin went on to deny that justification involved the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the justified, which Goodwin argued ran the danger of antinomianism. Rather, justification was a consequence of forgiveness of sins and of God's love for those who believed. While Coffey argues that such speculations were still within the bounds of orthodox Puritanism, they did contain the seeds of Goodwin's later Arminianism, which represented a sharp break with orthodoxy as the godly then understood it.

The early 1640s saw Goodwin move in increasingly radical directions. Like a minority of the godly preachers, Goodwin became convinced that true reformation required a covenanted or gathered church, a move which split his congregation and led to a two-year period in which he was sequestered from his living. Gathered churches were, for Goodwin, patterned after the apostolic model. He saw the civil war in providential and apocalyptic terms as a war to secure England's political and religious liberty. The hostility of the Presbyterian majority in the Westminster Assembly and the consequent attempt to reign in the uncensored press led Goodwin to join with John Milton, William Walwyn, and Roger Williams in 1644 in defense of religious liberty and a free press. Having split with the Presbyterian majority, he then broke with the Independent minority over his growing conviction that predestinarian Calvinism was contrary to reason and scripture. If God loved his creation, if the incarnation was indicative of a loving forgiveness, if a saving faith was available to all, then it was unreasonable as well as unscriptural to suppose that the vast majority of believers were predestined to damnation. Only a tyrannical God would impose conditions which the majority of his subjects could not fulfill. Goodwin had long quoted Hugo Grotius with approval; he now immersed himself in Arminian thought, although he insisted that such tenets rested not on the authority of the Arminians but on scripture and the Church Fathers. He supported regicide, the Commonwealth, and the Cromwellian Protectorate until the latter imposed a new state church. Yet despite his radical stance on so many of the issues of his time, Goodwin never saw himself as outside the community of the godly. "Many shared," Coffey insists, "his congregationalism, tolerationism, Arminianism, and republican-

ism, though few," Coffey admits, "combined them all at once" (p. 291).

Coffey presents a rich narrative and analysis of what are now obscure theological controversies in which he is evidently completely at home; he does justice to the thought of Goodwin's opponents, whom he treats with equal sympathy and understanding, and situates these debates in the politics of the times. Goodwin was hardly typical, but in Coffey's hands he illuminates an age. This is a model study.

PAUL S. SEAVER
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ARIEL HESSAYON. *"Gold Tried in the Fire": The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. xvii, 469. \$89.95.

This is an extraordinary book about an extraordinary figure. Thomas Totney, better known by his divinely bestowed name TheaurauJohn Tany, achieved notoriety in December 1654 by bursting into the House of Commons and slashing about wildly with his sword, with apparently homicidal intent. Many contemporaries thought he was deranged, and most readers will see little reason to dissent. Yet his writings reflect a mind grappling with a mass of arcane learning, and moulding it into an original shape. Ariel Hessayon sets out to unravel that mental world in a work which he describes as neither biography nor conventional history. Its closest parallel is probably Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* (1976), which explored the similarly idiosyncratic mental world of an Italian miller.

The bare facts of Totney's/Tany's life, which Hessayon has recovered with immense skill, are laid out clearly. Born in 1608, the son of a small farmer, he was apprenticed to a London goldsmith and then worked as one himself before taking over his father's farm in Cambridgeshire in 1638. He appears to have served briefly with the parliamentary forces under Cromwell early in the civil war but by the later 1640s was back in London. In November 1649 he experienced a powerful vision or visitation in which God gave him a new name and role. Preaching and publishing several tracts, he soon came to the notice of the authorities, and in August 1651 he was convicted of blasphemy at the Old Bailey, and gaoled in Newgate. In the winter of 1652-1653 Tany underwent another religious experience, proclaiming himself High Priest of the Jews and announcing a mission to restore them to the Holy Land. By this stage he had abandoned his trade and family, and was living in a tent near Lambeth, where he provoked a disturbance by publicly burning his Bible. In 1656 Tany crossed to the Netherlands, perhaps to gather the Jews of Amsterdam, and was apparently drowned while returning to England three years later.

The heart of Hessayon's book lies not in this strange story but in making sense of Tany's religious effusions and identifying their possible sources. The first is

achieved by creating a “composite text,” a summary of Tany’s ideas expressed almost wholly in his own words. For Tany the fall was man’s separation from light, the resurrection its recovery through Christ within; there was no local place of hell, but a millennial age of heaven on earth would shortly begin with the restoration of the Jews (identified by faith not birth). Though Tany acknowledged few sources, other than scripture and the spirit, Hessayon identifies many of the intellectual currents on which he may have drawn, and many of the radicals with whom he came into contact, such as the Behmenist John Pordage. At several points Tany’s ideas strongly recall Gerrard Winstanley and Abiezer Coppe, and it is striking that his visitation came, like theirs, in 1649, the regicidal year when many radicals felt their old world crumbling. Tany’s interests were wide-ranging, and Hessayon takes us in detail through the diverse worlds of alchemy, angelology, astrology, Behmenism (perhaps the most important), heraldry, Hermeticism, millenarianism, numerology, Paracelsianism, and many more. He is scrupulous in identifying what influence can be documented, and what (far more) remains speculative. Tany himself almost disappears from the text for considerable periods. Hessayon gives equal attention to Tany’s bizarre claims to the thrones of England, France, Rome, Naples, and Jerusalem, and to the “viscounty” of Northumberland. These obsessions sit rather uneasily with Tany’s commitment to a gospel of the poor, though he honored it by giving away almost all his worldly possessions. Perhaps, as suggested here, Tany found a common thread in the idea of recovering lost birthrights, both his own and those of the poor laboring under the Norman Yoke.

What is missing from the book, and it is a serious omission, is any adequate explanation of why Tany should be considered significant today. His ideas remain elusive and confused, and Hessayon provides no evidence to suggest that he attracted many followers or readers. Tany does show how a “humble” artisan might fashion a complex and sometimes sophisticated theology of his own, and unlike Ginzburg’s Italian miller we can glimpse the ingredients with which his mind was wrestling. More generally, the book builds on the recent work of David Como in exploring the “religion of the ‘hotter sort’ of Protestants lower down the social scale” (p. 16). Hessayon begins and ends his study with Walter Benjamin’s remark that “Nothing that has taken place should be lost to history” (pp. 21, 394). But in laying before us at such length almost everything that can be recovered of Tany’s world, and leaving readers to decide its significance, the book demonstrates some of the problems inherent in Benjamin’s worthy dictum.

BERNARD CAPP
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FLORENE S. MEMEGALOS. *George Goring (1608–1657): Caroline Courtier and Royalist General*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. x, 392. \$99.95.

In the vast scholarly literature on the English Revolution, historians have generally paid much more attention to the Parliamentarians than to the Royalists. Whereas the former were associated in the Whig and Marxist interpretations of seventeenth-century English history with the forces of progress, the latter emerged as—in the classic words of W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman’s *1066 and All That* (1930)—“wrong but romantic.” In much of the historiography of this period, the Royalists have often been portrayed as the backward-looking exponents of a doomed cause, and it is only recently that their political and religious attitudes, and the nature of their activities during the Civil Wars, have begun to receive the close examination that they deserve. One indication of this longstanding historiographical inequality is that there have so far been many more biographies of prominent Parliamentarians than of leading Royalists. Florene S. Memegalos’s book on George Goring is therefore particularly welcome as a significant step toward redressing this imbalance.

Goring provides a very good example of how new archival research can help to revise received accounts of key individuals. He has traditionally been portrayed as a typical Royalist “swordsmen”—an example of what one contemporary pamphlet called a “swearing, roaring, whoring Cavalier”—who drank heavily, readily sought military solutions to political problems, and was driven primarily by his own self-interest. Memegalos shows that, ironically, this negative image of Goring owed at least as much to the sniping of a fellow Royalist, Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon, in his influential *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1641), as it did to the attacks of Parliamentarians. However, Hyde’s critical references to Goring need to be set in the context of their consistently bad relations over many years and are more than tinged with personal animus and self-justification.

By contrast, Goring emerges from this study as a much more complex and interesting figure than hitherto realized. Memegalos has made a very careful and thorough job of reconstructing Goring’s life from a wide range of primary sources, many of them in manuscript, and the result is a plausible and nuanced portrait. This is in no way a whitewash, but it does present a persuasive and broadly sympathetic interpretation of Goring as someone whose deep loyalty to the crown was not incompatible with the pursuit of his own ambitions and political interests. The book’s central theme—that he remained fundamentally a crown supporter, even if this allegiance was at times (for example in 1641–1642) tempered by calculations of self-preservation and self-interest—is convincing and sits comfortably with the surviving evidence.

The core of the book consists of a detailed account of Goring’s role as a military leader during the first Civil War, and especially during the years 1644–1645. Indeed, nearly half of the text (163 out of a total of 367 pages) is devoted to those two years. These sections clearly delineate Goring’s activities while also sketching in the broader military and political developments of

the period. The importance of Goring's contribution is set against the deleterious effects of factional divisions within the Royalist leadership as well as Charles I's failure to resolve these problems and to adjudicate effectively between competing lines of advice. The book thus sheds plenty of light not only on Goring's military career but also on the nature and shortcomings of the Royalist war effort and the reasons for the king's eventual defeat.

The book is generally better at evoking Goring's genial and energetic personality than at reconstructing his political and religious attitudes, and more specific analysis of his ideas, and how far these motivated him, would have enhanced Memegalos's account still further. But overall the book is an impressive achievement and an important addition to the growing literature on mid-seventeenth-century Royalism. The book also shows the real value of the biographical approach. Biography has often tended to be looked down upon as the poor cousin of other kinds of history but in fact by using the life of one key figure to illuminate the wider history of a period it has much of value to offer, especially where, as in Goring's case, so much relevant archival material still survives. The quality of this book demonstrates not only the value of such biographical studies but also the need for more of them in the future. There are many other Royalists who would benefit from similar treatment and who are still awaiting their biographer.

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PATRICK LITTLE and DAVID L. SMITH. *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 338. \$99.00.

The title of this important book proclaims its concern with both the institutional aspects and workings of Parliament in the period 1653 to 1659 and with the changing and highly charged political context in which Parliament functioned. Historiographically the starting point is Hugh Trevor-Roper's celebrated 1956 article on "Oliver Cromwell and His Parliaments," which dismissed the Lord Protector as an inept failure in his handling of his various parliaments; Cromwell was a man who had simply not sufficiently studied the rules of the game as it had been played out since the days of Queen Elizabeth I. Roger Howell's attack on this thesis (1988) is well known. It drew attention to the inadequacies of a straight comparison between the very different circumstances of the 1650s and the Elizabethan age, an argument that subsequent work on late sixteenth-century parliaments has amply confirmed. In the last twenty years other historians—among them Christopher Durston, Peter Gaunt, Ivan Roots, and Austin Woolrych—have added grist to the mill by revisiting different aspects of the parliamentary politics of the

Cromwellian years. Additionally a number of recent doctoral theses have concentrated on this period, one of them by Patrick Little, co-author of the volume now under review. Little's particular specialty is the Irish dimension of Cromwellian politics. It is a specialty displayed to good effect in the present volume—chapter twelve, on Irish and Scottish affairs, is one of the best in the book—and it neatly complements the contributions by David L. Smith. Smith is chiefly responsible for seven chapters and Little for the remaining six. The result is a more or less seamless web, and a book that makes a significant contribution to mid-seventeenth-century studies. It is an astonishing fact, for example, that we have here (in Appendix 2) the first full printed text of one of the paper constitutions of this period (the Remonstrance of February 23, 1657). Good use is made of the available parliamentary diaries but with the wise recognition that these are not a prototype of the later Hansard record.

A judicious appraisal of the different, and competing, paper constitutions of these years is one of the achievements of this volume. Others include a re-examination of electoral influence, the use of the power of exclusion exercised by the Council in the first two parliaments after 1653, Parliament's involvement in law reform, religion, taxation, Irish and Scottish affairs, and foreign policy. The shifting fortunes and rivalries of the different parliamentary factions—the Court Party, the Civilian Interest, the Army Interest, Presbyterians, Commonwealthmen, and Crypto-Royalists—come into prominence and help the reader make sense of the eventual military coup of April 1659, which terminated the Protectorate. This coup, as the authors remind us, needs to be seen as one further episode in the troubled relations between Parliament and Army since the mid 1640s—Pride's Purge, the trial and execution of Charles I, had been others—and one that underlined Richard Cromwell's failure to go on walking the tightrope between the two; never the "Army's man" in the same sense as his father, his attempt to build an alternative power base with the Presbyterians and country gentry had not proceeded far enough before the Army intervened.

Thoughtful reappraisals of the two Protectors—Oliver and Richard—form a necessary part of this volume. Oliver comes across here as a less remote figure than Trevor-Roper and others contended but certainly intransigent, especially on the question of religious reform and his unswerving vision of Parliament as God's instrument. Richard, less bound by religion than his father and less scrupulous, according to this account "may have been the shrewder politician" (p. 300). Nonetheless his calculated risk of constructing an alternative power base that would allow him to defy the Army did not pay off. As well as these political portraits of the Protectors the supporting roles of others, such as Secretary John Thurloe and Lord Broghill, are re-examined, and causes celebres like the James Nayler case are given a fresh airing. (It is an oddity, however, produced by the arrangement of the book, that we get an account

of Naylor's punishment before any discussion of his offense.)

This book indeed fills a gap and makes Trevor-Roper's account virtually obsolete. Both Protectors and their parliaments appear here in a new light and a convincing case is made about the increasing political stability of the later 1650s. Perhaps, as these authors suggest, the Army coup of 1659 is best seen as a jittery pre-emptive strike against an institution getting stronger rather than an emboldened response to its weakness?

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PETER MARSHALL. *Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 323. \$25.00.

Peter Marshall writes a story of intertwined deaths: one, a man of power; the other, an elderly woman in a small village. The book opens with the deathbed scene of Mother Susan Leakey; the mortality of John Atherton, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and son-in-law to Susan Leakey, follows soon enough. Yet the deaths of the book's two eponymous subjects are never quite fixed and firm, and Marshall provides a deft analysis of how the two were reimagined in successive generations.

Atherton, the only Anglican bishop ever to be executed for a homosexual act, entered into the stream of history. Marshall meticulously chronicles how accounts of his 1640 death on the gallows continually evolved over the ensuing centuries. Sometimes Bishop Atherton was the subject of homiletics, sometimes fodder for sensationalist pamphlets. By contrast, the quiet 1634 death of Susan Leakey took an alternative path, entering into the realm of folklore: she lived on as a ghost revealing shameful secrets. The book traces several successive incarnations of these two figures within their own realms of memorialization, while also demonstrating how the two traditions intersected at different moments.

A public death always is fodder for highly ideological interpretations; this is particularly true when the deceased is a powerful man convicted of a sensationalist crime. In the case of Bishop Atherton's hanging, several other complicating factors rendered the case even more worthy of note. He was an English clergyman in Ireland, pledged to the service of a state church that had an uneasy relationship with the local population. Though dedicated to religion, he was executed for a crime that was deemed a singular impiety by contemporaries: sodomy, the "crime against nature." And lastly, gossip and speculation had long attended his past. For six years earlier, Atherton's mother-in-law Susan Leakey had returned from the grave, soon after her expiry, in order to request a family member to convey a secret message to the bishop. The mystery that surrounded this spectral communication implied that its contents were monitory in nature, concerned with some lurid crime. Indeed,

there long had been rumors that the bishop had had affairs, perhaps incestuous; that there had been a child, perhaps a victim of cruel infanticide; and that Atherton had escaped investigation by gaining a comfortable seclusion in Ireland.

The unveiling of a foreign bishop's hypocrisy, and the attendant possibilities for *schadenfreude*, would seem to have guaranteed a great deal of coverage in the Irish press. Yet the story remained confined to the back pages, upstaged by the build-up to Civil War. Fifty years later, however, the bishop's memory suddenly was resurrected. The apologetic *Woeful Death of a Penitent Sinner* presented him as an Anglican martyr going meekly to his death. In the next generation Atherton still was remembered, though in divergent ways: one 1710 broadside advertised the story by suggesting he had committed indecent acts with a cow; while a rejoinder to the latter claimed he was totally innocent, "more sinned against than sinning." The divergent meaning associated with Atherton persisted well into the twentieth century, when he sometimes was written out of histories of the Irish Church, only to appear on gay history websites as a victim of sexual intolerance.

Meanwhile, the other figure in Marshall's story, Susan Leakey, lived on in various folk guises: as a ghost, as a murderous revenant who throttles her grandson, as a hag portending storms at sea, and, of course, as a bearer of secrets about her son-in-law. Her first entry into the written record was a county commission's investigation into claims that she had appeared post mortem with a warning for Atherton. Afterwards, however, her role in this drama was downplayed. *The Woeful Death of a Penitent Sinner* steadfastly ignored the ghost of Susan Leakey, for instance. And by the time a text did unfold the rumors about Mother Leakey's connection to the bishop—the eighteenth-century Apparition Evidence—the evidence of ghosts and specters was coming to be considered old-fashioned superstition.

Marshall's reconstruction of the ever-changing figures of John Atherton and Susan Leakey is written in a clear, accessible style. While the casual reader may at times find the level of detail a bit overwhelming, the broader import of the book is fascinating. Though the author modestly situates his work as an old-fashioned narrative history, the book constitutes an exemplary investigation into two interrelated issues. First, it shows the multifarious ways in which dead human beings come to be endowed with meaning by later generations; second, it interrogates the seemingly simple boundary between formal history and informal folk story. Both kinds of account, it appears, are adaptable to the needs of the moment and the intentions of the teller.

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GUY BEINER. *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory*. (History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 466. \$49.95.

To compose a good book it is vital for the author to enjoy writing it; Guy Beiner clearly found pleasure in his task and this he successfully conveys to the reader, even if his tome is sometimes needlessly tendentious. Beiner considers the means by which particular events are passed down by successive generations to create a living or near-living social memory. In 1798, as part of what was a wider rebellion and revolutionary ferment, France dispatched an expeditionary force to Ireland. It landed in the west of the island and after a short advance was forced to surrender. While the French soldiers were treated as prisoners of war and allowed to return home, their Irish allies were less fortunate, and many were hanged as rebels. The most famous captive, Wolfe Tone, though in French uniform, escaped execution by committing suicide. The French invasion has occupied a fairly minor though colorful place in Ireland's national past, but Beiner gives its study fresh impetus by showing the ways this incident survived in the memories of different western Irish communities until comparatively recently; his is a useful counterpoise to the officially sponsored commemorations of the 1798 rebellion and representations of it by conventional historians.

The author has combed the sources, notably folklore, poetry, songs, ballads, and oral traditions associated with the rebellion. Beiner's consideration of accruals over time to the original remembrance is illuminating, if scarcely surprising, and forms the real heart of the book. He shows that subsequent generations invested the story with their own needs, pointing out that "apart from recalling the actual past, folk history was also preoccupied with imaginary frameworks of time that contemplated what could have happened and speculated on what may yet happen in the future" (p. 133). Also, he examines some countercultural examples, such as loyalist songs, noting that the oral traditions of Protestants and parties that were loyal to the British crown in 1798 were not collected systematically. By nature "triumphalist, loyalist songs and ballads were generally considered offensive by collectors of folklore in the newly independent Ireland" (pp. 101–102). Here then is an object lesson about the frailty of sources.

The book has three broad functions: to explain the role of the French invasion and its collapse; to reflect on the subsequent character of historical memory and the factors influencing this; and, perhaps most important, to bring to the attention of traditional historians the treasure-trove of resources available in the annals of folklore. The first is not Beiner's main thrust and there are more satisfactory accounts of the invasion and its aftermath. His treatment of how folk memory persisted and was reshaped by successive generations in differing localities bristles with insight about the place and nature of oral evidence. He offers a compelling description of the survival of traditions associated with the memory of the year of the French, the decline of these particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, and the subsequent revival of interest. Beiner is less assured when explaining why, after so long and in the midst of a revolution

in historical writing, preservation of long-standing folk memories and traditions dissipated. Many of the usual reasons for a shift in historical fashion seem irrelevant in the case of folk history. However, it is the third focus—discussion of the dynamics of folklore—that gives this book its vitality.

As fascinating and at moments original as Beiner's reflections are, they are not entirely new. He acknowledges a huge debt to the work undertaken in the 1930s by professional and amateur contributors under the aegis of the Irish Folklore Commission and also the labors of Richard Hayes. His observation that historians have tended to ignore this resource is true up to a point, but more than four decades ago George-Denis Zimmermann pioneered the use of political street ballads to show how these expressed popular imagery; more recently Jim Mac Laughlin has assessed how the chief cultural and political entrepreneurs, the clergy, with the aid of schoolteachers, invested the entire Irish landscape with Catholic nationalist symbolism. Mac Laughlin maintained that in this environment, nationalism sprang forth out of the country's socioeconomic and ethnic geography. Gary Owens, too, has considered the interaction of politics and public display in a largely preliterate age of the 1830s and 1840s. Thus, the lacuna is not quite as complete as Beiner maintains, although he is correct to point out the comparative neglect of folklore as source material.

Beiner makes an excellent case for the potential utility of folklore, though he himself does not expend much energy connecting this resource with the wider concerns of political narrative or issues animating social, economic, and other areas of modern Irish history.

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DAVID HOWARTH. *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations between Britain and Spain, 1770–1870*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 244. \$85.00.

David Howarth's book is of interest because its subject, the cultural relations between Britain and Spain in the period from 1770 to 1870, has been largely ignored by other historians. No doubt, the main reason for this neglect is that Spain dropped out of British popular consciousness in that period, not least because it did not play a major role in British wars. Although the Peninsular War against Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1814) was fought in Spain with some help from Spanish soldiers, the enemy was France and the victory was Britain's. In addition, during the period under consideration, the two countries had moved far apart in significant ways. Great Britain, influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, went through the economic and social upheaval of the first industrial revolution and began the process of building a democracy; by 1870 it had achieved unprecedented wealth, internal stability, and world power status. Spain, by contrast, resisted internal

pressure for modernization and remained tied to the traditional institutions of an absolute monarchy, the Catholic Church, a landed aristocracy, and a struggling peasantry. A protracted civil war over the succession to the throne and an ongoing nationalist conflict involving the Basque Provinces and Catalonia preoccupied successive nineteenth-century monarchs and increased the country's isolation from world affairs. As a result, Spain lost most of its Central and South American colonies, just when Britain was expanding its empire to cover three-fifths of the world's surface. Once Spain was no longer a military or imperial threat, most Victorians ceased to be aware of its existence. If they thought of Spain at all, it was to remember how, in 1588, a divine (and Protestant) providence in the form of bad weather in the English Channel had helped the British Navy destroy the formidable Spanish Armada.

In this book, Howarth argues that even as Britain and Spain diverged in almost every area, and the general British public had no reason to be aware of the Iberian peninsula, some members of the British intellectual and aristocratic elite became interested in historic Spain as a model of political, religious, or artistic values that they either admired or deplored. The theme of the book is that whether they were enlightened thinkers, romantic poets or politicians, ambassadors or army colonels, loyal or renegade Catholics, historians or artists, the men who looked to Spain did so not because they were interested in understanding its culture on its own terms, but as a way of promoting British values. In this way, they confirmed their own beliefs or furthered their own ambitions. Although Howarth finds that in general, British conservatives who hated the French Revolution and wanted to preserve traditional values tended to glorify the Spanish past, while liberals and Protestants associated Spain with the Inquisition, a repressive government, and an outdated economy, he avoids the pitfall of categorizing these men by emphasizing their diversity and individuality within these broad categories. In the case of the Enlightenment thinkers, Sir William Robertson, a Scot, wrote a book lauding the sixteenth-century Spanish king, Charles V, because he saw him as an early advocate of such enlightened ideas as religious tolerance, international cooperation, extensive trade, and urban life. In contrast, Robertson's more famous contemporary and fellow Scot, Adam Smith, in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), criticized the Spanish monarchs and aristocratic landowners for clinging to mercantilism, regulating and restricting trade and hoarding gold instead of using it to promote economic growth.

Robertson and Smith are two of more than thirty mostly British upper-class men (there are two Americans and one woman, Harriet Martineau) whom Howarth introduces in the book in mini-biographies to demonstrate his contention that they supported or rejected Spanish Catholicism, politics, history, or art for reasons that had more to do with their own and British interests than with Spain. There are drawbacks to this large cast of characters, especially when they are men-

tioned in different chapters with only their last names. The compensation for the reader is that Howarth uses an impressive range of contemporary private correspondence to bring them alive, faults and all. A good example is Sir George de Lacy Evans, who had a military career until after the Battle of Waterloo, when he became MP for Westminster before going to Spain to lead the British Legion in the Carlist Wars. Howarth introduces Sir George as "an astonishing man whose ambition and capacity for self-delusion were on a positively heroic scale," and then adds the view of George William Frederick Villiers, earl of Clarendon, that Evans was a man of "mighty intentions and small performance" (p. 50). Although Howarth, when presenting his subjects, relies on contemporary opinion, he also makes some vivid and acerbic comments of his own, especially about those whom he finds particularly arrogant and blind in their views of Spain. He describes a visit to Spain that Lord Holland made with Charles James Fox in these terms: "Their attitude was a kind of political imperialism of such a condescending degree as would be matched fifty years later in the religious sphere, with the dispatch of the Victorian missionaries to the Hottentots of Africa" (p. 32).

A large section of Howarth's book focuses on Spanish art and the upper-class Britons who either wrote about it, collected it, or used it as the inspiration for their own paintings. Howarth argues that these men perhaps more than any others, created an awareness of Spain by bringing Spanish art to British galleries at a time when middle-class Victorians were eager for culture and fiscally able to enter the art market. In this section, too, there are a multitude of characters including Sir William Stirling Maxwell, a prosperous landowner and MP who became the foremost authority on Spanish art without ever "getting dust on his cuffs" in an archive, and Richard Ford, a British archconservative who hated everything about France, admired Golden Age Spain, and introduced the works of Velazquez to the British public. Then there is David Roberts, the artist who took an entrepreneurial approach to his task of painting, carefully selecting Spanish subjects that would appeal to middle-class Victorians. In keeping with his theme, Howarth concludes that artists, as well as collectors, went to Spain with a preconception of what they wanted based on the tastes of their British clients. His parting words summarize the argument made throughout the book: "The invention of Spain was a confirmation of prejudice, never a broadening of the mind" (p. 226).

Although Howarth's book focuses on the cultural connections between Britain and Spain that have not been as fully explored before, it is also a reminder of the continued power and influence of the British aristocracy in the Victorian age. While entrepreneurs were making money, they had clearly not penetrated the traditional areas of elite control: Parliament, the Foreign Office, diplomatic circles, the upper ranks of the army, and the arts. Indeed, although Britain had modernized while Spain had not, the British aristocracy would have

had much in common with its Spanish counterpart, particularly in the period when Spain was a powerful nation. Howarth's argument that British elite males were often arrogant and always self-interested in their attitude toward Spanish culture could probably be aptly applied to Spanish, French, or American elites in their cultural relations with weaker nations when at the apex of their power.

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RICHARD B. SHER. *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 815. \$40.00.

Scholars of print culture in the late eighteenth century will find Richard B. Sher's encyclopedic study of the Enlightenment and the book trade an invaluable resource. The work runs to more than 800 pages in total, and there is no question that this is an authoritative and rich account of the ways in which the Scottish publishing industry both arose from and helped to disseminate internationally the core values of the Enlightenment—values that Sher argues included cosmopolitanism, sympathy, sociality, and an aesthetic intellectualism (pp. 16–17).

The scope of the project ranges from a series of informative and corrective readings of David Hume's cultural influence (recurring over the course of several chapters) to detailed biographies and business analyses of various publishers and publishing cartels working in Scotland, London, and postcolonial America. The arguments of the book are reinforced by nearly a hundred pages of extensively researched and cross-referenced appendices that provide a remarkably comprehensive view of publishing culture during the second half of the eighteenth century. However, despite claims that the study "has been written for a general readership" (p. xv), the likely audience for this book remains keen specialists and researchers.

The central argument of the project and its intervention into contemporary studies of book culture is laid out in the introductory chapter. While researchers working in authorship and publishing studies have embraced Michel Foucault's formulation of the "author function" and have generated a richly detailed picture of the ways in which the name of the author functioned as a "mode of categorizing books" (p. 7), Sher wants to argue that this "authorial bias" (p. 25) needs to be counterbalanced with an account of the "publisher function" (p. 7). Along the way, he takes up competing theories of the Enlightenment as a unified cultural movement (finally suggesting that it "may be perceived as a grand symphony with multiple variations," [p. 15]); argues that the Scottish Enlightenment "was one of those variations" (p. 18); explores the idea that British book history has been biased toward literature over science (p. 10); and offers an extended review of William St. Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004),

which he contends is not sufficiently historical in its method (p. 29).

The remainder of the study is divided into three larger sections, with the first section comprised of three chapters focusing on the role of Scottish authors in "composing" the British Enlightenment. The first chapter begins with a discussion of Hume, whom Sher argues was broadly exemplary in actively "repackaging himself as an author" (p. 46) when choosing to publish his *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1700) in a range of book formats (p. 50). The first chapter also takes up Horace Walpole and Tobias Smollett as secondary case studies.

Chapter two offers an overview of the authorial classes in late eighteenth-century Scotland, based on statistical and archival evidence about gender, social class, education, organizational affiliation, and professional training captured in the appendices. There is an extended discussion of authorial portraits published during the period, and the section on the complexities of anonymous publication (pp. 148–162) is particularly strong. The essential point throughout is to emphasize the "fundamentally urban character of the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. 114) and its book culture.

Chapter three takes up the question of how these authors made a living and considers the role that publishers played in "providing authors with the social support system that was formerly supplied by aristocratic patrons" (p. 199). The discussion focuses on the conflict between this patronage and the entrepreneurial motivations publishers necessarily maintained in an era characterized by "the commercialization of literature" (p. 197). Also considered are other modes of patronage, including government sources, aristocratic largess, and direct modes of payment and profit.

The second section of the book focuses on Scottish book culture in London and Edinburgh from the publishing and trade side of the equation. The central argument is that there was a Scottish London-Edinburgh publishing axis dominated by about a dozen publishing firms (p. 271), and, in a series of detailed biographical sketches, Sher traces the history of these businesses, with a particular eye toward the ways in which they came into conflict with London-based publishers over issues of reprinting, copyright, and cartel. What emerges is a picture of Scottish trade publishing as a tightly knit coterie of families and fellow countrymen (p. 304).

The third section of the book goes beyond locating the Scottish Enlightenment in London and examines how the reprinting, piracy, and dissemination of books by Scottish authors and publishers in Ireland and in the United States helped to internationalize Enlightenment values and to construct a contemporary perception of late eighteenth-century Scotland as one of Europe's most dynamic literary and intellectual climates.

All told, this book is a remarkable feat of scholarship, and scholars will find in it a wealth of historical information and reference material. And, at the same time, Sher presents a compelling reassessment of the rela-

tionship between book history and the production of both national culture and cosmopolitan (and often transatlantic) exchanges. It is not a light read, and readers may find themselves occasionally bogged down in minutiae, but it is a book that amply rewards serious study.

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TILAR J. MAZZEO. *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 236. \$55.00.

In this complex study, Tilar J. Mazzeo parses the Romantic era understanding of plagiarism, arguing that only by examining what the Romantics themselves said about plagiarism may we know it in this distinct historical context. In part, Mazzeo's work suggests that our conceptions of Romantic ideas of originality and sole authorship have informed our own definition of plagiarism, even blinding us to how the Romantics conceived of it.

According to Mazzeo, Romantic period authors typically absolved a writer of plagiarism if four factors were present: acknowledgment of the source material, either actual or assumed because it could easily be recognized; improvement of the source, particularly in the sense of creating a seamless whole of the borrowed original and the new material; familiarity such that any educated reader would recognize the text; and unconsciousness, not in the Freudian sense but in the sense of a lack of intentionality. The contemporary understanding of plagiarism differs markedly from that of the Romantics: For instance, for the Romantics, borrowing what we now might refer to as style, tone, or voice would have been conceived as plagiarism while the copying of a text word for word might not.

Mazzeo takes up Samuel Taylor Coleridge as a special case because he has so often been the target of plagiarism charges while others, equally culpable, have escaped notice. In large part, Thomas De Quincey can be held responsible for Coleridge's reputation as a plagiarist: the four essays he published in 1834 detailed Coleridge's sources and attempted an analysis of his culpability. Interestingly, De Quincey assumed that unconscious plagiarism was the province of any educated writer. Since it was impossible to prevent, it became a defense against culpability. In Coleridge's case, De Quincey argued, only certain instances of plagiarism were unconscious; in other instances, Coleridge borrowed knowingly and thus was guilty of culpable plagiarism. Mazzeo demonstrates though that Coleridge's understanding of the unconscious was quite different than De Quincey's, engaging the idea of habit as a way of understanding certain acts that may seem to be done intentionally as unconscious. Mazzeo's reading of *Christabel's* (1800) evocation of plagiarism and unconscious volition complicates these ideas, suggesting that for Coleridge plagiarism was associated both with the

inhabiting of a sympathetic text and with enchantment or a trance-like state.

Mazzeo departs from Coleridge to discuss what we might think of as the limit cases, texts that were either construed as private such as journals and letters or, on the other hand, those so much in public circulation—ballads, legends, and folktales—that they could not be thought to be owned by anyone. Unfortunately, rather than clarifying the concept, these limit cases suggest not only the politicization that drove so many plagiarism cases, but the many contending definitions of plagiarism that made it so easy to launch an attack against a rival. Here Mazzeo argues that genre rather than gender offers the compelling explanation for the frequency with which male authors borrowed from women authors and yet were held blameless. For instance, since journalistic writing was considered less important than formal poetry, Coleridge's borrowing from Mary Robinson seemed not to be construed as plagiarism.

Matters become even less reducible to Mazzeo's schema in her discussion of William Wordsworth's feud with George Gordon, Lord Byron over the latter's aesthetic plagiarism. What Wordsworth seemed to object to in Byron's work was a theft of "tone" rather than actual words. From Wordsworth's perspective, Byron may have been entitled to the use of a Wordsworthian tone or voice, but only if he somehow improved on it. This attitude coincides with Wordsworth's definition of the poet as a laborer, one constantly at work in the Lockean sense, creating an ownership interest through improving on something once thought to be common property. Byron's understanding of the appropriate use of source material seems much less restrictive. For him poetry was a collaborative affair, all poems inevitably derived from multiple sources and subjectivities.

In her discussion of Percy Bysshe Shelley, one poet notable for having escaped charges of plagiarism, Mazzeo offers further evidence of the aesthetic context for Romantic concerns about plagiarism. Mazzeo notes that Mary Shelley, like many of her peers, saw coherence and unification as classical, not Romantic, values. A Romantic poet should produce original poetry, not combine previous sources into a coherent whole. Meanwhile Percy argued for poetry as a combinatory process, one that called into question the very notion of consciousness as private. In her reading of *Alastor* (1815) Mazzeo suggests that Percy Shelley critiqued Wordsworth's notion of individualized authorship as a refusal to accept the concept of community and cultural responsibility.

Finally, in what may be the most interesting section of the book, Mazzeo argues that the rhetoric around plagiarism mirrored other larger social and cultural discussions. For instance, Wordsworth's accusation that Byron was "poaching on my manor" suggests both a class distinction and reversal as Byron's status was clearly higher than Wordsworth's. Moreover, the recasting of plagiarism concerns in language more familiar to the enclosure controversies of the period suggests parallels between literary property and landed prop-

erty. Mazzeo's discussion of Wordsworth's understanding of class and its relationship to literary property and of how this played out in the copyright debates of the 1830s and 1840s is complex and fascinating. Wordsworth's class-based analysis of plagiarism becomes even more interesting in the context of the working-class poets Mazzeo discusses: Ann Yearsley and John Clare. Plagiarism charges against these poets mixed aesthetic critiques with critiques of their class and status, suggesting that critiques seemingly aesthetic in nature were sometimes used to exclude lower or working-class poets from the Romantic canon.

While Mazzeo's work may seem at times to offer a rather arbitrary, one-size-fits-all schema, the book is far more complex, more provocative, and more intelligent than this impression might suggest. In the end, given the complexity of Mazzeo's argumentation and the variety of her sources, one can only conclude that Romantic authors held widely divergent views about the morality and aesthetics of copying and of what we might call influence. These views were not held consistently across different situations or throughout individual life spans. Gender, genre, and economics caused wide swings in the ideas expressed by various individual authors, so wide that it is almost impossible to press their views into one template. Perhaps the most that one can say is that the four elements Mazzeo delineates—acknowledgement, improvement, familiarity, and unconsciousness—were all in play during the period, although deployed differently under differing circumstances and for different purposes. Certainly, Mazzeo's work demonstrates that the Romantic era had a far richer, less reductive, and more complex understanding of both originality and plagiarism than our own "Turnitin.com" culture exhibits today.

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FRANKIE MORRIS. *Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons, and Illustrations of Tenniel*. (Victorian Literature and Culture Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 405. \$65.00.

Although Sir John Tenniel's name is not very familiar today, many know his art. His weekly cartoons produced for *Punch* during the last forty years of the nineteenth century illustrate many a history text, and some have become iconic, such as "Dropping the Pilot" (1890), which depicts dismissed German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck leaving the German ship of state. Further, his illustrations for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* remain familiar to a wide audience. Yet despite his prominence, few historical studies of Tenniel's life and work have appeared. Several short biographies describing his art were published after his death in 1914; more recent scholarly works include Rodney K. Engen, *Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight* (1991) and Roger Simpson, *Sir John Tenniel: Aspects of His Work* (1994). But Engen's analysis tells us little of Tenniel's life or the cultural and

social contexts that shaped it, and Simpson's study focuses primarily on Tenniel's earlier career and its relationship to contemporary artistic movements. Thus, Frankie Morris's wide-ranging study is a welcome addition as it firmly places Tenniel's life and work into the Victorian context.

Morris's work is divided into two parts: the initial third of the book provides an overview of Tenniel's life, while the remainder thematically analyzes his art. Born in 1820 in an artistic family, Tenniel's boyhood training was as an artist. While he worked as a book illustrator in the 1840s, he nevertheless intended to become a "serious" artist, and received a commission to do one of the frescoes in the newly rebuilt Houses of Parliament. His book illustration brought him to the attention of Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch*, who needed a new cartoonist. Coming on staff in 1850, Tenniel succeeded John Leech as *Punch's* chief political artist in 1862, and continued in that role for nearly forty years. He was knighted in 1893, the first artist so honored for work that was mainly done in black and white, and his retirement eight years later was marked by a public dinner attended by the era's foremost social, literary, artistic, and political figures.

While these aspects of Tenniel's public life are readily available, information about his private life has been more elusive. He apparently left no journals, and his letters are scattered in various collections. In an impressive job of historical reconstruction using a wide range of printed and manuscript sources from Tenniel, his friends, colleagues, and contemporaries, Morris fills in the bare outline of Tenniel's life to reveal a staunch friend, a well-respected and beloved colleague, and a talented amateur actor with an engaging sense of humor.

Morris includes two brief chapters on Tenniel's technique and style, providing crucial but often overlooked explanations of the technical difficulties and formative influences of nineteenth-century cartooning. The remainder of the book is divided between an analysis of the Alice illustrations and Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons. This division seems somewhat uneven; the Alice books contributed to Tenniel's reputation but were only a fraction of his work and contemporary fame; without question, the *Punch* contributions had the greatest impact during his lifetime. Thus, the six chapters that analyze the context of the Alice illustrations in terms of their relationship to pantomime, toys, gothic and grotesque taste, and social caricature seem somewhat out of place and rather repetitious. The detailed discussion also assumes that the reader is intimately familiar with the Alice books; fuller explanations and identifications would have been useful for those of us who have not read them since childhood.

Morris's final five chapters, which provide a thematic analysis of Tenniel's *Punch* illustrations, are more successful. Exhibiting an extensive knowledge of fifty years of *Punch* cartoons, Morris begins by discussing the cultural influences that shaped Tenniel's work: his artistic training, contemporary theater, and the Victorian so-

cial and political scene. A detailed discussion follows of how the *Punch* staff created the idea for each week's main caricature, and how Tenniel's execution of it often created a more ambiguous image than the staff had envisioned. In individual chapters, Morris assesses Tenniel's corpus of work on expanding Victorian democracy, Irish affairs, and images of the United States. In each of these, Morris shows a detailed knowledge of the cartoons, although something of their impact is lost for the reader by putting the captions into the text rather than along side the illustrations as they were originally printed.

This is a very well-researched and generally well-written examination of Tenniel's work and the social and political context in which it was produced. With fifty-five pages of notes, over 200 illustrations, and a guide to Tenniel's unsigned *Punch* cartoons, scholars in a variety of fields, including later nineteenth-century British social, cultural, and political history, as well as art and literature, will find this a welcome addition.

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BERNARD LIGHTMAN. *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 545. \$45.00.

RALPH O'CONNOR. *The Earth on Show: Fossils and the Poetics of Popular Science, 1802–1856*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 541. \$45.00.

Bernard Lightman and Ralph O'Connor both provide major contributions to the study of popular science in nineteenth-century Britain. Covering opposite halves of the century, the two books are read profitably together. Both further undermine the adequacy of the "diffusion" model of popularization, demonstrating that popular science did not passively translate specialist knowledge for mass audiences. Both stress the importance of literary and visual culture, whether polite or popular, in creating appealing narratives of nature for new audiences. Both position popular science writing in relation to the world of publishing and print culture.

Lightman offers by far the fullest and most comprehensive account of the popularization of science in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century yet to be undertaken, and his study revises our understanding of Victorian popular science in significant ways. Examining in considerable depth more than thirty of the period's most prolific and influential popularizers, many of whom have received little or no prior attention from historians, Lightman compellingly demonstrates that the emergence of the professional scientist created a golden age of popularization, as publishers eagerly sought out writers able to communicate with the broader audience made accessible by revolutions in print culture. Not practitioners themselves, many of these popularizers resisted in various ways the agendas

and authority of the scientific elite, particularly those like Thomas Henry Huxley who were claiming for professional scientists the sole right to speak for and about science to the public. Indeed, in a radical and convincing re-interpretation, Lightman argues that Huxley, often regarded as the period's greatest popularizer, was reluctantly driven into the field by the success of popularizers whose motives were at odds with his own, was compelled to adopt many of the same narrative and rhetorical strategies he decried in these popularizers, and was successful in displacing them only to a limited degree.

Lightman identifies four main groups of popularizers: Anglican clergy, women, "showmen of science," and the promulgators of the "evolutionary epic." While clergymen were largely driven out of scientific societies and institutions in this period, they remained prominent and widely-read as popularizers to the end of the century, and their writings were steeped in the discourse of divine design even if they did not offer the formal philosophical arguments of natural theology. Many readers thus encountered evolutionary thought not from Charles Darwin or Huxley, but from popularizers who challenged it or quietly incorporated it into their "theologies of nature."

With female popularizers Lightman charts the revision of the domestic and dialogic "maternal tradition" so popular in the first half of the century but largely abandoned by 1850. Building on the work of Barbara T. Gates, Ann B. Shteir, and others, Lightman shows that women sought to expand their audience despite the opposition of practitioners and the daunting example of Mary Somerville, whose mathematical acumen and *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences* (1834) had marked her in the previous generation as the rule-proving exception. While earning a living through popular science writing was always precarious for both men and women, numerous female popularizers successfully adopted or adapted the techniques of their male contemporaries, and many challenged, frequently under a deferential facade, both scientific naturalism and the authority of practitioners. By the end of the century, some female popularizers like Alice Bodington and Agnes Mary Clerke were even emboldened to attempt the kind of synoptic review that had been Somerville's hallmark.

Turning to the scientific showmen, Lightman examines popular science in oral and visual culture using the cases of J. G. Wood and J. H. Pepper, the manager of London's Royal Polytechnic Institution, a gallery of practical science. Both men were successful lecturers who understood the importance of visual spectacle and display in attracting and holding a general audience. With Wood, Lightman demonstrates how that understanding translated into the vibrant visual illustrations of Wood's books. With Pepper, Lightman explores the tension between Pepper's need to draw crowds, his belief in the knowledge-making capability of public science, and his desire not to alienate the elite professionals. In a later chapter, a fascinating extended case study

of the astronomer Richard Proctor and his popular science periodical *Knowledge* (1881) shows the dangers and difficulties, even for a respected scientist, in resisting his fellow professionals' monopolistic claims to determine scientific knowledge.

While those popularizers who deployed the "evolutionary epic"—a cosmic narrative of change and development encompassing multiple sciences—were more apt to endorse the agenda of scientific naturalism, they, too, managed to maintain their independence, and in some prominent cases like that of Arabella Buckley were capable of casting the evolutionary epic as a religious or spiritualist narrative. Examples like Buckley, Proctor, and Clerke all show that the boundary between professional and popular science was still contested in the century's final decades.

O'Connor's book can be read as a prequel to Lightman's, with geology emerging as the century's first popular science through the development of literary forms and narrative techniques exploited by Lightman's writers. O'Connor attributes geology's rising popularity in early nineteenth-century Britain to its incorporation of spectacle and imagination. This is more surprising than it sounds, for at its 1807 founding the Geological Society of London had repudiated speculative Enlightenment "theories of the earth" in favor of a sober, empirical, "just the rocks, ma'am" science. "Building the Story," the first part of O'Connor's book, thus takes as its starting point the 1802 display in London of a virtually complete mammoth skeleton, which for O'Connor launches efforts to reimagine lost geological worlds. Initially, elite geologists were wary of being seen as akin to commercial showmen, and so their use of spectacular language was sparing, confined to their own circles, and leavened with reassurances of geology's compatibility with morality and religion. Once this language had been successfully vetted among themselves, however, it came into much fuller public use in the 1820s. William Buckland is the crucial figure here, and O'Connor challenges with considerable success the modern view of Buckland as a self-aggrandizing buffoon desperately attempting to find geological evidence for the Noachian deluge. Buckland's showmanship, O'Connor argues, was calculated and shrewd, and his famous diluvialist interpretations of the fossil evidence at Kirkdale Cave were in fact part of his efforts to establish the authority of old-earth geologists against their Biblical literalist counterparts. As new fossil finds made possible more detailed narratives of an old earth inhabited by extinct monsters, however, the scriptural geologists appropriated and packaged them for the public in their own frameworks, aggressively and successfully utilizing verbal and visual rhetorics of spectacular display. As with Huxley later in the century, Charles Lyell and his geological colleagues were forced to write more frequently and consciously for a broader audience, and to adopt a similar emphasis on visual spectacle. O'Connor thus interprets Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–1833) not as an important theoretical text in the history of geology, but as the publication cru-

cial to the development of visually oriented narrative techniques in geological writing for a popular audience, techniques that have remained a staple of representations of the earth and its pre-human inhabitants to the present day.

In part two, "Staging the Show," O'Connor shifts from a chronological to a thematic approach. By the early 1830s, the imaginative and spectacular techniques of popular geological writing—comparisons of geology with romance, descriptions of huge monsters, allusions to folklore, insertions of devotional rhapsodies and poetic excerpts, as well as vivid restorations of the past—were well established. These techniques were now employed more frequently and were developed in a more extensive, assured, and sophisticated fashion as old- and young-earth geologists competed in an era of exploding print culture to capture the public imagination and promote their respective versions of earth history. Much of O'Connor's attention in this part is directed toward the convincing demonstration of the importance of urban visual culture, particularly the theater and the panorama and diorama, for popular geology. Using the apocalyptic paintings of John Martin and the poetry of Lord Byron and John Milton, O'Connor himself paints a rich, complex picture of the visual and textual contexts in which geological writing resonated and was received in early Victorian London. This part of the book culminates with a study of the Scottish stonemason-turned-geological-writer Hugh Miller, whose works provide the most accomplished examples of many of these techniques and whose early death in 1856 marks the endpoint of O'Connor's book.

Unlike Lightman, O'Connor is mainly working in well-charted territory, building on, adding depth to, and occasionally challenging the work of Martin J. S. Rudwick, Nicolaas A. Rupke, James A. Secord, Michael Shortland, and Noah Heringman. And his approach is at times self-consciously traditional: he is often more interested in texts than in books, in the intentions of his authors than in the reactions of their audiences, in literary forms than in scientific content. But for O'Connor even more so than for Lightman, understanding popular science writing in relation to literary history is essential for a full understanding of its reception by audiences for whom the imaginative, the poetic, and the literary were part of, not cordoned off from, the scientific, the religious, the political, and the educational. O'Connor could be speaking for Lightman as well when he writes that "Exploring the uses of narrative devices and literary forms in the production of scientific knowledge offers historians a powerful conceptual tool for understanding the rise of public science" (p. 451). Each of these books bears out that claim.

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MARIANNE SOMMER. *Bones and Ochre: The Curious Afterlife of the Red Lady of Paviland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 398. \$39.95.

In 1823, William Buckland (1784–1856), Oxford's first reader in geology, found a headless skeleton in Paviland Cave, in southern Wales. Found with ornaments, it was pronounced female; stained with ochre, it was named the "Red Lady" and presumed to have been a "witch and scarlet woman" (p. 74). Buckland, an Anglican clergyman, like other Oxbridge dons of his era, was concerned that geology not be "perverted to Purposes of a tendency dangerous to the Interests of Revealed Religion" (p. 89). He wrote one of the Bridgewater Treatises, which reconciled science and religion for early Victorian Britons, and believed that geology revealed God's intention: Britain's wealth in iron, coal, and limestone denoted its destiny to be the richest and most powerful of nations (thus, geology's religious and practical aspects were joined). Buckland's interpretation of the Red Lady suited his faith: she represented a relatively recent past, postdiluvian but pre-Roman Britain, and had lived as did "modern uncivilized races of men" (p. 112). The different interpretations of the Red Lady that followed his were indices to changing understandings of human history.

In 1882, the Red Lady became a fossil. She was the first known specimen of the human type named Cro-Magnon after the place where it was identified in 1868. Dated to Paleolithic times, Cro-Magnons figured in the long chronology of human development that became conventional scientific wisdom in the latter part of the nineteenth century, heralded by (but not a simple function of) the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. In the years following Buckland's death, scientists took a range of positions he would have found repugnant. They debated whether predominant human types in Europe were superior peoples who had migrated there and displaced earlier inhabitants (a view consistent with the polygenist doctrine of separate origins for human varieties), or were varieties of a single human stock (a view compatible with the monogenist doctrine that could be reconciled with both Darwinian evolutionism and biblical accounts).

Changing paleoanthropological opinions were exemplified by those of William Johnson Sollas (1849–1936), who occupied Oxford's chair of paleontology and mineralogy from 1897 until his death. With his re-examination of the Red Lady (the subject of his 1913 Huxley Memorial Lecture), she became a man. A student of Thomas Henry Huxley, Sollas initially followed him in understanding human evolution in linear terms; when the Neanderthal type was identified, they argued that it was not a separate species, as some then asserted (and many do now), but an early human, and that a descendant of an early Neanderthal type was still extant—the Aboriginal Australian. But Sollas also believed that progressive evolution meant the geographical displacement of inferior human types by superior invaders (as was supposedly exemplified by the fates of doomed Australian populations). Consistent with an emphasis on migration as the source of progressive change was the view that human evolution took the form of a branching tree, which he came to accept. Sollas's in-

tellectual shifts led to revisions in his *Ancient Hunters and Their Modern Representatives* (1911, 1915, 1924), and its success demonstrated that his ideas had considerable popular appeal. By 1924, the Red Lady was the "ancestor of modern Europeans marked by a beautiful physique, high intelligence, and a refined mind. . . . [The Cro-Magnon species] had been the cause of extinction of the Neanderthal species, by now seen as different and rather brutish" (p. 217). Sollas's conjectural history suited an imperialist and nationalist era.

How is the (still male) Red Lady understood today? Once, he was among the paleontological finds that established the antiquity of human habitation of Britain (and the investigative skills of British scientists) in international politico/scientific competition; now, he may be the special cultural heritage of Wales. Welsh museums have demanded that the Oxford University Museum repatriate his bones ("not until the Elgin Marbles go back to Greece," was one response [p. 254]). A study of the Paviland Cave site, conducted by an international team and published in 2000 under the title *Paviland Cave and the 'Red Lady': A Definitive Report*, is meant to be the last word on Red Lady's scientific significance. Reading Marianne Sommer's book, one is struck by interpretative continuities justified by new methods. The remains still date to the Paleolithic and are of a male in his late twenties, whose DNA indicates that he was an ancestor of contemporary Europeans. Moreover, Buckland's belief that Paviland Cave was a site for performance of magical rites (which Sollas echoed) has found recent adherents, who understand prehistoric humans' behavior as analogous (though not identical) to rituals of modern hunting peoples. Red Lady data are adduced in recent disputes as well as sustained ones. According to the Oxford geneticist Brian Sykes, they are consistent with the arguments that modern humans' ancestors first emerged in equatorial Africa and migrated everywhere from there (contrary to the "multi-regional" hypothesis of multiple origins for humankind), and that human invaders of Europe from Africa displaced (not bred with) Neanderthals. But Sommer's well-researched and enlightening study suggests that fragmentary evidence such as that found in Paviland Cave can support diverse culture-bound interpretations.

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MARCUS ACKROYD et al. *Advancing with the Army: Medicine, the Professions, and Social Mobility in the British Isles, 1790–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 393. \$120.00.

At the core of this book is a relational database populated with the biographical details of 454 surgeons who entered the British Army Medical Service between 1772 and 1833. Most of them joined up during the French and Napoleonic wars and, between 1816 and 1818, filled out a form devised by Sir James McGrigor, the recently appointed director-general of the medical

service, to gather information on the educational backgrounds and professional experience of the men enrolled in his small empire. New entrants also completed the form, resulting in a substantial manuscript collection in the British National Archives from which the authors of this book took every third form to create their sample. Marcus Ackroyd, Laurence Brockliss, Michael Moss, Kate Retford, and John Stevenson assiduously worked to check both the veracity of the details that each surgeon provided and to add information culled from numerous military files, directories, institutional and family histories, biographical collections, bibliographies, probate documents, and genealogical websites. All this labor served the overarching goal articulated in this multi-authored volume: to tease out patterns of educational, social, economic, and geographic mobility that characterized the lower to middling ranks of medical practitioners who sought adventure, experience and, indeed, advancement through military service.

In chapters devoted to assessing the cohort's social backgrounds, education, service careers, civilian livelihoods, extended families, wealth at death, and publications, the authors present the data culled from their prosopographical research. To be sure, there are plenty of graphs and tables that summarize the cohort's collective profile, from places of birth, ages of entry into service, number of medical subjects that the practitioners studied, and places of postings to places of death, size of estates, and occupations of sons, sons-in-law, and grandsons. The authors quite consciously and effectively worked to balance quantitative narration with telling details about individual surgeons' educations, families and careers. The surgeons who left the largest footprints in the historical record not surprisingly tended to be those with relatively literate family backgrounds (with senior male relatives in medicine, the church, law, or among the minor gentry) or those who succeeded in public and private livelihoods, including McGrigor himself. The numbers, in turn, successfully counter the perennial problem of generalizing from a handful of richly documented case studies. When discussing the wealth of their cohort, for example, with careful caveats about the limitations of probate valuations, the authors can draw confident conclusions about the estates of forty percent (181 of 454) of their subjects. A hefty proportion of army surgeons did well for themselves and their families, yet at least an equal number did not leave enough to warrant probate and hence passed in much more modest circumstances. It is the constant presence of those absent from university matriculation lists, probate calendars, and library catalogs that gives this volume its substantial value.

The authors expertly weave their analysis of their army surgeons' cohort into the hefty literature on the changing and mutable status of the middling sorts—the ever elusive middle class(es)—in nineteenth-century Britain. Their work nuances quite a few major studies, including those by Harold Perkin, Penny Corfield, William D. Rubinstein, and Leonore Davidoff and Cath-

erine Hall, as it explores the multiple factors that contributed to launching and sustaining army surgeons as respectable men. Such factors were equally at play in the shifting terrain discussed by historians of the medical profession in Britain, including Irving Loudon, Anne Digby, and M. Jeanne Peterson. In this book, the intersections of education, family networks, friendships, patronage, merit, even learning to dine properly in officers' mess are laid out to underscore the complexity of "social mobility" in the transformation from Hanoverian to Victorian society. Nor is empire overlooked, as some in the army surgeons' cohort served in British outposts and drew the webs of family and profession across the globe.

This book demonstrates the power of what the authors call a "paradigm shift . . . in social history" (p. 324), a shift that is emerging with the remarkable expansion of internet access to archival collections, historical databases and on-line family histories. Historians can now effectively tap into the enthusiasm of genealogists who are rapidly turning private connections into public networks, creating new densities of historical data. This book should inspire others to reinvigorate prosopographical research that takes on the ways that family connections—or disconnections—shape patterns of occupation, wealth, and changing national identities. The five authors of this volume must be congratulated, as well, for having produced a complex text in which multiple voices achieved such a readable, harmonious blending.

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ROWAN STRONG. *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 323. \$90.00.

From the opening of the eighteenth century, according to Rowan Strong in this broad-ranging study, the Church of England articulated a sustained concern with empire. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), founded in 1701, generated, especially through its annual sermons, a discourse that mingled imperial with missionary themes. The result was the construction of an English-British imperial identity based on the traditional ideology of the Christian nation. The Society took North America as its mission field for much of the eighteenth century, sending there no fewer than 309 missionaries by 1783. A bond with successful commerce was perceived from the start: in 1704 a preacher urged English merchants "to join the Cause of Religion with that of Trade" (p. 67). But there was more emphasis on other themes. The author shows, against many earlier understandings of the SPG, that the Society saw its work as being directed not just to colonists but also to indigenous people. There was some tension between the idea that Native Americans deserved to hear the Christian message because of the humanity they shared with those who already enjoyed its

blessings and the notion, arising during the 1730s, that before the people of the New World could respond to the gospel they had to be civilized. The conviction of a "common humanity" stressed what made the evangelized similar to Europeans; the supposition that civilization must precede the gospel emphasized what made them different. Slavery complicated the issue. The SPG, as the result of a legacy, maintained plantations in Barbados where the slaves bore the word "Society" branded on their chests; yet, from as early as 1766, the annual preachers denounced the evils of the slave trade.

The perception of the recipients of its mission as deprived and inferior was accentuated, Strong argues, when, in the wake of the American Revolution, the SPG turned part of its attention to India. The Church Missionary Society (CMS), formed by Evangelicals in 1799, equally shared a lack of sensitivity to Indian civilization, with its parliamentary spokesman, William Wilberforce, branding Hinduism "a grand abomination" (p. 161). The views about empire of the traditionalist "Orthodox" party supporting the SPG and those of the Evangelicals of the CMS were, perhaps surprisingly, hard to distinguish. A much sharper contrast arose when, after the reform of Parliament in 1832, the state became far less likely to promote the established church abroad. In 1841 there was created a Colonial Bishops Fund to raise money for the work of the Church of England in the colonies. The result was what Strong calls "a new imperial paradigm" (p. 218), according to which the church recognized that it must become self-supporting and claimed a corresponding capacity for self-government under active bishops and provincial synods. The early days of Australia and New Zealand witnessed a transition from the older paradigm of a tight state/church nexus to the new one of enhanced episcopal authority. Whereas there was a brief and abortive effort to found an established Church of England in New South Wales between 1826 and 1829, New Zealand from 1841, soon after the beginnings of settlement, had its own bishop who deprecated any aspiration for state support. The apparatus of empire was now to be kept at arm's length.

The book, as its author insists, takes only the public views of the church as its subject, and so its exclusive use of published sources, omitting all manuscript records, is entirely legitimate. There is, however, no consideration of the parallel between the tendency toward ecclesiastical autonomy at the end of the period and the contemporary move toward colonial self-government. Nor do Canada and South Africa receive attention, even though it was in the Church of the Province of South Africa where the tension between the two paradigms was most acutely felt, leading eventually to schism.

Nevertheless, Strong does establish several new perspectives. His demonstration of SPG concern for the evangelization of indigenous peoples will lead to a reformulation of the chronology of Christian missions, for British participation in the Protestant missionary movement has normally been seen as starting at the end of

the eighteenth century, not its beginning. Strong lays bare the nature of the imperial preoccupations of the SPG, whose spokesmen insisted on the Church of England as the bond of empire. Yet they did not entirely share the outlook of their contemporaries, for their premises were distinctly theological. Nor were they uncritical of empire, for they chafed under its legal restraints. These points are made with admirable clarity, and, partly because of a valuable historiographical introduction, students will find the book as accessible as it is useful. We now understand the relationship of church, state, and empire much better.

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DUNCAN BELL. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 321. \$45.00.

In this illuminating contribution to British political thought Duncan Bell analyzes the intense debate over the future of the empire that took place during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. The focus of that discussion was the closer union of the United Kingdom with the settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Supporters argued that only by closer union could the British both offset the growing political, strategic, and economic challenges emanating from such newly emergent powers as the United States, Germany, and Russia and contribute to the general stability of world order. Such ideas were not new, but they had not been taken very seriously in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their new appeal owed much to the technological advances that had shrunk time and space and fundamentally altered the perception of what was possible. A political union in some supraparliamentary form across oceans and continents now seemed feasible with the advent of the telegraph and the steamship.

The majority of those engaged in the discussion were not political theorists capable of sustained logical debate. Many were journalists or former colonial politicians while a few were polemicists who simply enjoyed displaying their literary powers. Consequently, the material that Bell has had to work with is often not particularly sophisticated but illogical, confused, and contradictory—albeit fueled by passion and concern. Much of it is to be found in the plethora of periodicals that served as the primary vehicles of intellectual exchange in the Victorian era, and it requires diligence, patience, and a discerning eye to take the full measure of such sources.

Bell is fully up to the task. In ten tightly argued chapters he explores the various perspectives and languages of his protagonists. The book is not a narrative of the push for colonial unity, nor a history of the imperial federation movement, nor an analysis of the appeal of federalism, but an in-depth appraisal of a theoretical discourse. Bell initially surveys the key concerns that stirred apprehension, emphasizing how emigration had

obliged many imperial observers to re-evaluate the concepts of "home" and "abroad."

He then explores the impact new technologies had on the perception of political limits before turning to an analysis of the increasing appeal of a federal solution and to the ways by which the empire could be construed as a state. Two chapters are devoted to John Robert Seeley and Goldwin Smith, the former "the intellectual figurehead of Greater Britain" (p. 29) and the latter the coruscating skeptic of any form of closer union of the United Kingdom with the settler colonies. Surprisingly, Bell concludes that the men shared a common goal: a global Anglo-Saxon community. This was, of course, a basic precept of many of those engaged in the debate. They believed fervently that a global British imperial state would be a positive good for the world. It would bring needed international stability and insure the moral and political education of the non-settler empire, while its democratic constitution would set an enviable example. Racist and xenophobic assumptions were pervasive in the literature.

Bell concludes his analysis by pointing to the similarities of the late nineteenth-century debate over imperial union to that over globalization today. He warns against grandiose fantasies that will only lead people back to the "dangerous orbit of empire" (p. 272). Bell brings enviable rigor and analytic power to the dissection and appraisal of this material. In a work of great subtlety and nuance he provides a fresh perspective on an important but neglected debate. In doing so he contributes significantly not only to British imperial and domestic history but also to a deeper understanding of British political thinking in the late nineteenth century. It will be difficult in the future for historians of British political thought to ignore the imperial dimension.

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FRANK TRENTMANN. *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption, and Civil Society in Modern Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 450. \$50.00.

This book examines the decline of free trade in Britain. Frank Trentmann wants us to read his work as a tract for our times and states repeatedly that current debates about globalization are lacking in historical perspective. He attempts to clarify the issues and strike a blow against ignorance.

In its heyday during the Edwardian period, free trade was a deeply rooted democratic culture, central to public life and national identity and resting not just on economic ideas but also on emotional appeal, inspiring rhetoric, excitement, events, entertainment, advertising, instruction, and inclusive campaigns that drew in people of all sorts. Free trade was "ubiquitous . . . spilling over into the most ordinary and intimate aspects of private as well as public life" (p. 133). It was strong enough to withstand the pressure of protectionism, to which other trading nations had succumbed, and Brit-

ain was, uniquely, the home of the proud and prosperous citizen-consumer for whom free trade meant liberty, rights, and peace.

Free trade was undermined by World War I. This was not simply the result of economic problems or the power of vested interests; free trade lost its popular appeal as politics, morals, and philosophy were transformed. The shock and disruption of war led people to change their minds. Free trade had not delivered all that was expected domestically (fairness and plenty) and internationally (peace), and the upshot was an expectation that the state would do more to provide for the people's welfare and regulate economic activity. Here was "a new social democratic politics of rights and social service" (p. 220). Producers and consumers would never be the same again: "cheapness, competition, and the magic of ownership were being pushed aside by a new fascination with stability, coordination and combination" (p. 330). Free trade was no longer the dominant creed. This erosion of status was already clear by the time Britain adopted protection in the 1930s, and since the 1930s it has continued. Many people now regard free trade as the tool of selfish states and corporations that wish further to exploit developing nations.

This is a fascinating book, wide ranging, detailed, well organized, and written in an engaging style. It is not without its problems, however, and readers might be left wondering whether the book lives up to its billing. Why all the fuss? Is today's controversy over globalization really so similar to the debate about free trade in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain? Probably not: the contexts differ too much. There is a danger when historians are tempted to elide the differences between past and present. The agenda of relevance becomes a form of intellectual entrapment.

Trentmann's book is good on the end of the story, but not so good on the beginning. The genesis of free trade between the 1770s and 1840s might have been explored in greater depth. Some readers will also think that the primacy of free trade as an issue in the early twentieth century has been exaggerated: were not Ireland, women, labor, pensions, education, the House of Lords, and defense spending also "central"? Trentmann thinks that we need "a human history of Free Trade" (p. 14) with people, values, ideas, passions, and prejudices brought back into the picture, but it is not clear that they were ever removed. He considers his work to be a new history of politics. He wants to get away from the "standard history of political ideas" (p. 19) and treat politics as a process, with conflicts, rituals, discourses, and changing practices. This is not new either. As for the effort to correct a tendency among other writers to overrationalize free trade, stressing its emotional, social, interactive, symbolic, collective and cultural aspects—well, again, this has already been done (for the era of the Anti-Corn Law League, for instance).

Still, it would be wrong to consider this book a failure. It does explain why free trade lost its ethical, cultural, political, social, and economic centrality during and after World War I, and why freedom of trade and social

justice—or “commerce and caring” (p. 359)—have become separated in the public mind.

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SANDRA STANLEY HOLTON. *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780–1930*. (Women’s and Gender History.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xiii, 288. Cloth \$110.00, paper \$33.95.

Probably no sect so relatively small in numbers has attracted more scholarly attention than the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers. The past four decades have seen an outpouring of work on seventeenth-century Quaker women, who draw scholars because of their prolific writing, their almost unique public roles, and their outspoken defense of a public role for women in religious life. Since the 1980s, increasing attention has been devoted to Quaker women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not only for these reasons but also because of their central roles in humanitarian reform crusades against slavery and for female equality on both sides of the Atlantic. Sandra Stanley Holton’s book is a welcome, readable, incisive contribution to this scholarship.

Holton focuses on a group of Quaker women in the north and west of England, around Rochdale, Newcastle upon Tyne, Bristol, and Street. Their link came through the 1839 marriage of John Bright, the future MP and cabinet member who was then a Lancashire cotton manufacturer drawing attention for his advocacy of repeal of the Corn Laws, and Elizabeth Priestman, a member of a large Quaker family in Newcastle. Both the Bright and Priestman clans were accustomed to family and public leadership roles for women; John Bright’s maternal aunt Margaret Woods and Elizabeth Priestman’s mother Rachel were well-known recorded Quaker ministers who traveled extensively in that role. The Bright marriage would be short-lived. Two years after their wedding, and a year after the birth of their only child, Helen, in 1840, Elizabeth Priestman Bright died of tuberculosis.

Helen Bright provides Holton with her focus. Her mother’s death left Helen in the care of maternal aunts. When John Bright remarried a few years later, Helen found her stepmother uncongenial, and so spent as much time with relatives as in her father’s household. Unlike a growing number of Victorian Quakers, she married another Friend, a Somerset shoe manufacturer, William Clark, and so spent the rest of her life in Street. She remained close to her father and to Bright and Priestman relatives, however. More important for the historian’s purposes, Helen Bright Clark, building on the efforts of her grandmother Priestman and several aunts, consciously set out to create an archive of several generations of family documents, especially those created by women in the Bright and Priestman families. This archive, now preserved in Street, is a resource that Holton exploits skillfully.

Holton concludes that “Material of the kind collected in the Clark Archive allows the possibility of exploring the play of public and private in the lives of individuals” (p. 226). She begins with the argument that standard analytical categories of “public” and “private” for understanding women’s history are too blunt, that women in the Bright-Priestman-Clark connection existed in both worlds. Holton offers several areas that she feels need revision in this regard. In the case of Helen Bright Clark’s aunts, for example, spinsterhood offered “positive possibilities” (p. 226). “Decades before new opportunities in higher education and the professions arose in the latter part of the nineteenth century, middle-class spinsters might, albeit often with a struggle, lead independent and satisfying lives despite their limited economic opportunities” (p. 226). Holton finds that in these families, women shared significantly, although usually not equally, with men in familial wealth, and that unwritten understandings of obligations to female relatives were often as important as formal wills and settlements. The Bright-Priestman-Clark women, Holton concludes, possessed considerable business acumen, and even as domestic and business spheres became separate, continued to influence family enterprises.

Holton also makes a convincing case for an interconnection of the familial and the philanthropic. Extensive intermarriage among Quaker families reinforced the sense of community that Quaker regulations had shaped. These familial networks, in turn, often proved useful in forming networks of humanitarian reformers. Holton paints an easy progression from Quaker ministry to antislavery to crusading against the Corn Laws to “social purity” to, finally, women’s suffrage.

Although Quaker identity and issues are central to Holton’s work, this is a book focused on questions in women’s history rather than church or religious history, although it certainly makes a contribution there. While Holton mentions controversies among Friends such as the Hicksite or Beaconite separations, what Thomas Kennedy has called the “liberal Quaker renaissance” of 1890–1920 falls outside her purview. Holton does a good job of answering the questions she uses this striking group of women to pose. But there are others that their lives could help answer, and this extraordinary archive certainly has not had its last use.

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KATE FISHER. *Birth Control, Sex and Marriage in Britain, 1918–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 294. \$90.00.

By the 1980s, historians finally recognized that women were important parties to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century European fertility decline. A new generation of historians criticized their predecessors for labeling contraception a “family” decision, made by “couples” existing in an unexamined “black box.” They argued that Britain’s changing fertility rates of the

1910s and afterward were indications of improvement in women's public and private battle to control their bodies in new social circumstances. Kate Fisher's stimulating book sternly takes both new and old approaches to task.

Fisher's offensive is launched, along with full use of other primary and secondary sources, from a database of 193 detailed oral histories of women and men—presumably all heterosexual—from South Wales, Oxford, Hertfordshire, and Blackburn. They were born between 1899 and 1931, and most were widows or widowers when interviewed. A study of this kind was called for some years ago by Simon Szreter, who saw these generations as key to understanding the fertility decline in Britain and who was involved with Fisher's project. Fisher anticipates some of the objections to these interviews: that the interlocutors were an atypical group in their willingness to talk about sexual issues, that they might not have been truthful or accurate in their accounts, and that they might not be a representative national sample. Compensating for these weaknesses is the length, detail, and to some extent the geographical and class range of the interviews, as well as the several interviewers' notable attention to the speakers' narrative form—hesitations, giggles, silences, embarrassment, or fluency. The materials gathered in this study are, I would point out, among the few new British sources on which one can base any rethinking of these subjects. They supplement older materials that have been picked over many times, and that are also partial: birth control advocates' correspondence, accounts by medical providers, the observations of middle-class observers from different sexual cultures, and autobiographical accounts with hints on sex.

Fisher, first of all, attacks the concept of a distinct and easily characterized period of demographic "transition," a move from a culture of non-contracepting "fatalism" to one of conscious and calculated choices of method and family size. She argues instead that lower birthrates were the product of the widespread but seldom articulated, mainly traditional, and not particularly reliable methods of preventing conception: principally withdrawal, supplemented by condoms, abstinence, and abortion. "Fatalism" about the possibility of pregnancy is not the polar opposite of calculation, Fisher believes. These married subjects, women and men alike, accepted fate and chance as participants in their reproductive lives along with planning. The chance of a pregnancy migrated in and out of a couple's reproductive practices, and was tolerated more or less based on the number of children they already had, the woman's health, power relations between wife and husband, and the interventions of others (parents, neighbors, and medical personnel).

The book's most striking claim is that the fertility transition, especially among working class people, was not a female-led movement and does not show the development of more companionate marriages, new attitudes toward sexuality, or a greater acknowledgement of women's rights and needs. Fisher believes that the

nineteenth century's rigid separation between male and female household spheres, although mitigated after World War I, was maintained through the 1950s. Her interviews show that contraception and sexuality, far from being matters of couples' considered decisions, were very seldom discussed at all and especially not by women. The study's interviewers, who included Fisher herself, quickly noticed their women subjects' awkwardness in talking about sex. This discomfort with naming sexual processes is illustrated in cinematic form in filmmaker Mike Leigh's tongue-tied 1950s abortionist Vera Drake, who was unable—or refused—to name any of the body parts with which she regularly dealt or to refer to her practices as "abortion." Women seldom inserted their desires into the sexual arena and often could not even formulate them. The matter of preventing conception was universally considered a male responsibility in this sample of interviewees, a skill that men could take pride in, one of the duties as well as privileges of the breadwinner. Men were the ones who individually and collectively could talk and think about sex. Thus, Fisher argues, it was predominantly male initiatives and male-controlled methods—condoms or withdrawal—that fueled the fertility decline in early twentieth-century Britain (an argument very similar to that of anthropologists Peter and Jane Schneider in their long-term study of Sicily).

Fisher's arresting claim is built on a very basic insight that is brushed aside by many demographers and historians: that birth control, before the arrival of the pill in the 1960s, was experienced as an aspect of sex rather than of childbearing or parenting. Women might be the mothers but were often inhibited from taking a role in contraceptive decisions by a crippling sexual ignorance, and by the conviction that displaying any sexual knowledge or interest would compromise their respectability. Thus considerable numbers of the study's women interlocutors had been not only uncomplaining but also very grateful to their husbands for solely taking on the responsibility and initiative for birth control. Female-controlled methods—abortion, caps, spermicidal pessaries—appear among these interviewees to have been rare and unpopular (p. 128, fig. 1), all the more so because abortion was illegal and the others were messy and especially awkward in households without bathrooms or privacy. The result: relatively small numbers of women chose the devices which were most effective and over which they themselves had the most control; many who did so used them only for short periods.

This impressive and thought-provoking book does leave room for doubt. For one thing, woman-initiated birth control was not negligible in her materials. Those determined women, about thirty percent of Fisher's sample, who sought out diaphragms and pessaries at some point in their reproductive lives could have accounted for a significant piece of the fertility decline. And rates for another female-initiated fertility control method, abortion, were increasing nationally as fertility declined. Also not incorporated into Fisher's model of male leadership in contraception are the women (not in

the interview group) who lived outside of sexual respectability. Single sexually active women—flappers and their successors—were surely more likely than conventionally married women to take contraception into their own hands. Londoners also may have adopted the more reliable “female” methods in greater numbers as fertility rates in its poorest boroughs declined so rapidly in the early twentieth century. Finally, an issue that Fisher could probably illuminate through her research is the question of the moment—after four or so children—at which one or both members of a couple took on contraception with new earnestness, the point demographers have called “starting to stop.” Interwar medical personnel in Britain were struck by the desperation with which even timid and acquiescent women mobilized to find out how to stop having babies.

Fisher’s book wisely does not address itself to the “causes” of the fertility decline, which in this context would mean knowing why the husbands of early twentieth-century Britain were determined to have smaller families and often renounced their fathers’ “a man must have his pleasure” attitude. This new deconstruction of the “black box” of the couple, however, has brought fresh insight into the ways in which women and men connected sex to children.

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JOHN BELCHEM. *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800–1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 364. \$29.95.

Britain, since at least the time of Daniel Defoe, has been celebrated as a thriving hybrid society. The influx of Irish people into England, Scotland, and Wales in modern times has been the largest element in the rich intermixtures. Many families in modern Britain will have more than a tincture of Irish blood, although the reverse is less likely and Ireland is notoriously unwelcoming to immigrants. Of all the cities of England, Liverpool has been the most Irish. For more than a century it was the great distributor of the Irish diaspora, and the city itself retained many Irish migrants.

John Belchem, already much published in Liverpool history, devotes his energies to the Catholic Irish presence, coolly defining away the twenty-five percent of the Irish who were Protestant since they were not “ethnologically distinctive” (p. xii). Irish people, rich and poor, constituted a third of Liverpool’s population in 1900. Belchem’s deeply documented study will appeal beyond Hibernophiles to students of modern cities containing very large and often unruly minorities in their midst. Liverpool was an early example of rapid urban in-migration serving both the needs of the city and equally the needs of Ireland. Belchem is well versed in current theories of globalization and ethnicity; he concentrates on the “essential” Irish identity and its preservation. He advertises his book as an “evidence-based multi-generational study of migrant communities” (p. 23).

Naturally enough Belchem’s focus emphasizes the elements of adversity and animosity between the Irish and the rest of Liverpool society, discounting the simple truth that most of the city’s population were migrants too, many from further distances. The Irish were located disproportionately in the lower echelons; they labored under disadvantages, one of which—their lower levels of literacy—Belchem seems not to take into account. There were recurrent tensions that erupted into serious disorder, riots, and sectarian campaigns across the entire period. In 1836 Liverpool’s head constable bemoaned the behavior of incoming Catholic and Protestant Irish: “these silly people” who imported “the absurd enmities which disgraced and degraded them at home” (pp. 8–9). In 1848 there were reportedly more than thirty secret Irish clubs in Liverpool, “each capable of assembling 2000 to 4000 armed men, unannounced on the streets” (p. 159).

The Catholic Irish of Liverpool, in Belchem’s sympathetic account, devised necessary strategies for survival in an alien and threatening world. They formulated “their own versions of Irishness, an ethnic affiliation which performed at first protective and defensive functions against disadvantage, disability and discrimination, but then became increasingly assertive” (p. 28). This overarching thesis determines the shape of the book to demonstrate the self-proclaiming consciousness of the Catholic Irish. Facing adversity, the Irish reinforced their solidarity. Thus in the slums they lived in a world of “collective mutuality” (p. 96), turned away from the “condescending censoriousness” (p. 91) of the city’s Protestant elders; the poor created their own welfare system, aided by the Catholic Church. The evidence is densely packed, often drawn from newspapers whose polemics Belchem retails with enthusiasm. There is much testimony about the resilience of the “memories and images of dear Old Ireland” (p. 239) together with convincing documentation of the extraordinary array of institutions devoted to the maintenance of Irish identity. Some Irish in Liverpool advocated the pursuit of respectability and assimilation, but they lost the struggle to those whose mission was “not making the Irish British but keeping the Irish Catholic” (p. 124).

The story encompasses Liverpool’s entanglements in the politics of Home Rule and the subsequent struggles. The sense of grievance and exile among Liverpool’s Irish was voiced in 1903 by T. P. O’Connor who spoke of “the tragedy of the Irish who had left Ireland, and not those who remained” (p. 151). There were internecine divisions in their ranks and, as Belchem notes, surprising allegiance to the empire even while the British government was roundly blamed for all Irish woes including the continuing emigration that drew them to Liverpool. “A very bad feeling exists among the Irish,” reported a policeman in 1865 (p. 157), and it was sustained by transatlantic reinforcements of every variety. Mutual fear was well brewed, and Belchem regards local attitudes to the Irish as “pejorative,” “denigratory stereotyping,” caricaturing, stigmatizing, and racializ-

ing (pp. 10, 200), despite Irish efforts to disabuse the English "of their ridiculous ideas of Irish character" (p. 202). Sometimes alarmism in Liverpool "reached staggering new heights" (p. 172).

Evidence of pre-industrial and sectarian crowd behavior suggests that Liverpool was virtually ungovernable at many times across this long period, a city riven by dispute and danger. Belchem also examines wider manifestations of Irishness: cultural nationalism in the theater, journalism, sport, clubs and associations, and the Gaelic language, all pitted against "Saxon materialism and vulgarity" (p. 206). Popular culture was a form of Irish "ethno-sectarian resource mobilization" (p. 216) and clearly wallowed in racial stereotypes of its own sort. After the Great War there was a resurgence of nationalist fervor and significant underground involvement in the Irish struggles: Belchem reports important insider documentation of the contributions of Liverpool's "Irish Ghetto" (p. 288). After the equivocal political resolution of the Irish question in the 1920s, local energies turned to the construction of that great symbol of Catholic Liverpool, its slowly rising cathedral. But the Irish were still regarded as "somewhat inflammable" by the chief constable as late as 1929. In the 1930s the "self-sustaining, self-sufficient ethno-sectarian enclave" (p. 320) was dissolving, although there remained continuing suspicion of heavy Irish immigration.

Belchem makes much of the "Scouse" melting pot (p. 322), yet his book is devoted to Irish separateness over many decades. Although strongly documented, there is surprisingly little direct testimony from the Liverpool Irish. More explication of the workings of Liverpool's labor market would have helped to clarify its magnetic attraction, as well as the factors that impeded the dispersal of the Irish out of the city's clutches. The city of Liverpool was exposed to all the hazards and challenges of explosive urban growth and uncontrolled immigration. By concentrating on the plight and strategies of the Irish, Belchem distracts attention from the larger question of how such an urban agglomeration was able to function at all under such pressure, which was evidently compounded by the incompatible mass of Irish in its midst. Despite all its faults, the Irish stayed on in Liverpool and kept on coming. Oddly, Belchem's stimulating account tends to reinforce many of the stereotypes that he nobly set out to erase.

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TIM BROOKS. *British Propaganda to France, 1940–1944: Machinery, Method and Message*. (International Communications.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 233. \$80.00.

Tim Brooks has produced a well-researched study of the British wartime propaganda effort to France and, in doing so, fills a gap in the historiography of World War II. As France and Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939, it was realized in Britain that because

of the development of radio, propaganda would play an unprecedented wartime role. In late June 1940, the permanent head of the French Foreign Ministry, Alexis Léger, accompanied by his British counterpart, paid a visit to Winston Churchill. Léger insisted that one of the ways in which the British might influence the French was the "clever use of the press and wireless." Léger believed that "English broadcasting was more heard in France than was French broadcasting." This discussion adumbrated an attitude toward broadcasting whose impact would take on an ever increasing importance as the occupation of France wore on. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) "alone could be expected to provide news from untainted sources." Léger urged caution, however: the BBC "must be sympathetic [to the French] and avoid recrimination" (John Colville, *Fringes of Power: 10 Downing Street Diaries, 1939–1955* [1985], pp. 173–174). These words characterize the approach of the BBC toward France for the rest of the war with regard to the dissemination of "white" propaganda ("black" propaganda, covered in chapter five of this book, was deliberately subversive, as it purported to come from within enemy territory and included broadcasting from clandestine radio stations).

The propaganda story is a complex one to relate, complicated by the diverse nature of the agencies in place as France fell. Brooks organizes his task in five chapters. The story begins with a discussion of the "Machinery" of propaganda. Agencies were underdeveloped at the outbreak of war, and carried a legacy from World War I. The war in 1940 was a different affair. Interagency rivalries also slowed things down at first. Improvisation and rapid reconfiguration characterized the activities of agencies with interests in propaganda: the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information, the Political Intelligence Department, Department EH, the SIS and the BBC were all involved, and later the Special Operations Executive (SOE) was formed in order to "set Europe ablaze." Once the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) formally took over in September 1941, propaganda became more efficiently organized.

The second chapter examines "Method." Propaganda to occupied Europe, including France, consisted of leaflet airdrops and radio broadcasts. Regarding the former, Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris (the head of Bomber Command) believed that "the only thing achieved was largely to supply the Continent's requirements of toilet paper for the five long years of war" (p. xvii). Nevertheless a great deal of money and effort was expended to drop leaflets, or "Nickels," as airmen called them, over occupied France. A payload of leaflets would be dropped by hand through an aircraft's flare tubes. The first operation consisted of 5.4 million leaflets, equal to 13 tons, dropped by ten Whitley bombers each taking 1.3 tons. At least 676 million leaflets were dropped over France between July 1940 and September 1944. Aircraft ranges, and the fact that flights were carried out by Operational Training Units (OTUs), meant that most drops were carried out over

northern and central France. Meteorological and seasonal factors impinged on accuracy rates.

The chapter on "Message" contains intriguing insights into the thinking of those prosecuting the propaganda war. The principles underlying "white" propaganda to France—that is, spreading accurate news to keep populations informed when their own media were controlled by the occupiers—was to "bear a close relation to the strategic possibilities. [The] immediate task is to prevent French morale from slipping back further by providing a running propaganda commentary on the progress of the war, by exposing German methods in the occupied territory and by explaining the results of the policy of capitulation" (p. 67). Thus leaflet drops and BBC broadcasts closely followed unfolding campaigns in the war, to make the German "yoke" more intolerable to the French and to bolster increasing confidence in an Allied victory. Brooks illustrates the content of the "message" by reference to the abundant collections of the *Courrier de l'Air* and other materials in the keeping of the Royal Air Force Museum, the Imperial War Museum, as well as in collections of local French Resistance museums.

As for "Reaction," again Brooks has meticulously checked the archival record to assess how propaganda was orchestrated and how it impacted on populations. Leaflets, once dropped, and broadcasts, once heard, were further circulated within France through copying, or by word of mouth. Manifestly there was a "knock-on" effect. A collectors' market even developed for leaflets. Evidence showed that the audience was willing to take risks to listen to London—despite the sometimes extraordinary efforts made by the occupiers to jam reception—by ever more ingenious means. Listening was clearly a risk worth taking when it produced accurate knowledge about the progress of the war, or when the audience received reassurances that sooner or later, Allied troops would be landing. And with Paris just liberated, one free Frenchman felt able to report that the BBC had "played a major role in shaping French resistance. It has in fact entered the gateway of French history" (p. 160). This book tells a fascinating story authoritatively and convincingly.

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IAN S. WOOD. *Crimes of Loyalty: A History of the UDA*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 398. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$28.00.

How much do we need to know about Ulster Loyalists? It remains true that we know much less about them than about Republicans. The republican political party Sinn Féin, aided by its centenary celebrations, has recently been examined in depth, while the main republican military group, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), has generated a steady flow of studies, many of them on a large scale. Historically, Loyalists had a bad press by comparison. They were (and in their own view

remain) far less adept at putting their own case. Their motives were routinely portrayed by their many critics as a mix of sectarian bigotry and economic discrimination. David Miller produced a perceptive historical interpretation of political loyalism, but the murderous violence of groups like the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA) in the late 1960s tended rather to generate sensational denunciations like Martin Dillon's *The Dirty War: Covert Strategies and Tactics Used in Political Conflicts* (1999). As Ian S. Wood notes in his introduction, it was not until the publication of the young Scottish social worker Sarah Nelson's remarkable study *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders: Protestant Political, Paramilitary, and Community Groups, and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (1984) that any outsider made a real attempt to grasp the sense of insecurity that underlay the aggressive triumphalism of their street displays and the ruthlessness of their terrorist actions. Wood's book is certainly the most substantial study yet made of the attitudes of those whose (in their own favored phrase) "only crime was loyalty." In 2002 Wood produced *God, Guns, and Ulster: A History of Loyalist Paramilitaries*, a marvellous collection of photographs with a short accompanying text. Its main flaws, from an academic standpoint, were that it provided no source citations and had no index. His new book certainly remedies these defects and adds a chronology and a useful list of brief biographies. It is densely packed with information, much of it the direct product of the author's own interviews with UDA members over the years. It is so dense, indeed, that some of the clarity of the earlier work is lost. Take the issue of "collusion" between the loyalists and the British security forces. In his 2002 work, Wood suggested that "if collusion was as structured a policy as [republicans] claim, sanctioned at the very highest levels of government, the six small counties of Northern Ireland would hold infinitely more IRA graves." No such judgments are on offer in the new book, and the word "collusion" does not appear in the index. The alarming "Force Research Unit" is only indirectly mentioned. Nor is Wood keen to go beyond reporting the views of his respondents. These are usually well worth hearing, especially those of his favorite UDA man Sammy Duddy (who is also a published poet and a former drag artiste—"the Dolly Parton of Belfast"—under the name Samantha). But they often cry out for analysis, as for instance the declaration of Johnny ("Mad Dog") Adair to the author: "The politicians fucked up. They should have sorted it all out in 1967 and 1968. Was that my fault? I grew up in the middle of a war against my own people. What else was I going to do? I took the war right to them fuckers in the IRA and they knew it" (p. 298). Wood offers no comment on the many questionable assumptions packed into this outburst. (The word "war," for instance, mirrors republican rather than unionist usage.) Readers may suspect that he is not unsympathetic to its underlying logic: he describes the loyalists as "an essentially decent community" and the UDA as being "drawn inexorably down a road which would lead it to take hun-

dreds of lives" (pp. vi, 13). Better this, perhaps, than that he should play inquisitor in the manner of Peter Taylor. One may agree with Owen Dudley Edwards's pre-publication review of this book that "the force of moral judgment lies in the scarcity with which it is used." It is not moral so much as scientific assessment that sometimes seems missing here, as for instance in Wood's inconclusive discussion of the applicability of the concept of pro-state terrorism to the actions of UDA fighters. He skirts essential questions, like whether they should be labelled terrorists or paramilitaries—whatever that means—activists, gunmen, thugs or guerrillas? These concepts can be powerful analytical tools, but they are left unused here. Still, this book provides a mass of original material on which other analysts will gratefully draw.

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MICHAEL P. BREEN. *Law, City, and King: Legal Culture, Municipal Politics and State Formation in Early Modern Dijon*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe, number 6.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 307. \$75.00.

The fluctuating political fortunes of the legal elite of the Burgundian city of Dijon between 1595 and 1715 form the primary focus of this meticulously researched monograph. From this perspective, Michael P. Breen engages with current historiographical debates regarding the development of absolute monarchy and its effect on local autonomy, the role of the law and the judiciary in early modern states, and the development of the public sphere. The author demonstrates how the culture and loyalties of urban notables in the seventeenth century were affected by the erosion of their local influence and effective power, and how a naturally conservative social group could become radicalized. In the long run, Breen portrays the French monarchy as, in effect, responsible for its own downfall through its alienation of such groups.

After a wide-ranging historiographical introduction that establishes the wider context and objectives of the study, Breen reconstructs the milieu of the Dijonnais *avocats*, the second tier of trained legal officials, with whom he is principally concerned. He explores their shared culture and sense of identity, and their relationship with the crown as well as with local bodies, such as the *parlement* and the *bailliage*. Thereafter come three chronologically-organized chapters that detail the various phases of the *avocats*' political journey from dominance of the town hall to marginalization from all aspects of governance. The *avocats*' role as legal defenders of the city's privileges and their reliance on the protection of Burgundy's governor, the prince of Condé, are emphasized. Thus, Condé's subsequent disgrace during and after the Fronde (1650–1660) left the political position of the *avocats* vulnerable to challenge. Royal control of affairs tightened through increased interference in elections to municipal office and greater

supervision by the provincial intendant. Condé's restitution did not alter but rather strengthened this trend, and by 1668 the number of *échevins* or aldermen had been reduced from twenty to six. This drastic change curtailed any residual degree of municipal autonomy. The *avocats* elected to serve in the town hall had previously acted as intermediaries between Dijon's citizens and the crown, but their reduction meant the assertion of the governor and his agents in this role. As the number of elected posts was reduced so was the autonomy of the municipality vis-à-vis the crown. Traditions of resistance to unpopular policies that threatened the town's privileges collapsed, the few remaining officials were handpicked by the crown, and the royal governor and the intendant now directed affairs on the king's behalf. This erosion of local control was completed in 1692, when all posts were put up for sale, restricting them to those with the necessary wealth and political connections.

Breen reminds us that this was a common experience in French towns during the reign of Louis XIV, and Dijon held out longer than many. Nevertheless, the decline in the political opportunities open to them galvanized local *avocats* to reconsider their relationship with the monarchy. Breen demonstrates this through a study of their legal culture and political thought as expressed in the royal entry ceremonies for king and governor and the revival of customary law. Much in their approach was deeply conservative, looking back to a time when the constitutional limits on the exercise of royal authority in the duchy of Burgundy were clear and promoted a reciprocal view of the relationship between king and province. The contrast between historical representation and present reality made for a pointed critique, but the utopian texts of the later part of Louis XIV's reign, which Breen discusses, were much more openly subversive. He argues that they ultimately fed into the active political dissent of the eighteenth century.

Breen's monograph is a good example of how a local study can broaden our knowledge of and test traditional hypotheses, in this case regarding the role of legal elites and municipal autonomy as not only victims of but also challengers to the increasing weight of royal governance. The author makes effective use of detailed case studies to support his points while always reminding us of the wider national and European context for the processes he describes. Breen offers a corrective for revisionist studies that he feels have gone too far in suggesting the benefit of the increased power of the French monarchy for local governing elites. For his *avocats* at least, the royal stranglehold on local affairs was detrimental both to their personal ambitions and to their sense of the public good. Breen's book is thoroughly researched and effectively argued, presenting a persuasive case study of center and periphery relations during a dynamic phase in the development of the French state.

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ELENA RUSSO. *Styles of Enlightenment: Taste, Politics, and Authorship in Eighteenth-Century France*. (Parallax: Re-visions of Culture and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 346. \$55.00.

A lament for the loss of the “broad-minded,” convivial, responsive, playful Enlightenment pervades this book. Elena Russo roots for the version emanating from seventeenth-century civility (or *honnêteté*, or *galanterie*, or any other name scholars have attached to it), which she terms the *goût moderne*, and moves to the early decades of the eighteenth century. As one might expect, Pierre de Marivaux embodies this spirit (along with Montesquieu) while its detractors are none other than the “*philosophes*.” The term is thrown about rather loosely but *philosophe* is shorthand for those like Voltaire, Jean le Rond d’Alembert, and Denis Diderot who came to reject what they deemed frivolous approaches to language and representation and attacked all those who practiced literary or artistic esprit as irredeemable and dangerous lightweights. By the 1750s the battle lines had not only been drawn but the troops mustered into action as the philosophical camp launched its attacks against the decadence of the age. The *philosophes* then passed the torch to younger critics such as Sebastien Mercier and revolutionary orators.

The dispute was hence internal to the Enlightenment, as Russo points out, and revolved around types of discourse. Turn-of-the-century Moderns, building on the salon culture already in place, used literary and artistic genres to scrutinize social interactions, probe the construction of the outer self (and its repercussions on the inner self) and artificiality itself. They claimed no overarching insights, interested rather in the contingent nature of phenomena and life’s fleeting pleasures. Their art presumed the public’s powers of judgment as well as their appreciation of technique and virtuosity.

Such positions came under attack from a new brand of Moderns, philosophers who tried not just to dissect but also to change society. They rejected their less utopian contemporaries’ take on human nature, determined to recapture an untarnished human essence. Their means were, Russo argues, anything but modern: they sought to recover ancient or even primitive *élan* in order to move, improve, and radically transform audiences.

Hence, rather than viewing the public as active participants in an open-ended process of interpretation or as connoisseurs of stylistic prowess, the new *philosophes* supposed (or rather dreamed) that such audiences were malleable and hence passive recipients of the emotions and messages artists meant to convey. While this approach embraced sensationalism, presuming that all humans responded in the same way to the same stimuli, it also entailed a reconfiguration of rhetorical modes and the codification of artistic genres. The *philosophes* did not innovate, favoring the separation of genres over mixtures they conflated with the unruliness of the *goût moderne*. Rejecting as obsessively narcissistic (or, in the parlance of the times, an excess of *amour-propre*) the

parsing of moods and stylistic innovations of Marivaux’s ilk, they meant to inject certainties and instill moral lessons.

In this version, then, two projects collided: one founded on the is and the other on the ought and hence utterly at cross-purposes. Language itself was at issue. Supporters of *goût moderne* toyed with the confusions of human communication. The *philosophes* demanded transparency and self-evidence in their language, art, and science. Both groups, interestingly, addressed the ineffable, although Russo associates belief in intuition and *je ne sais quoi* with the *goût moderne*, while the philosophical enterprise is coupled with the sublime. The *philosophes*’ “sublime” enabled them to transcend the narrowness of the present, reach for the skies, and construct an ideal future where the public would receive their teachings. The contested terrain was therefore the “indescribable,” the irreducible force that animated art and touched a hidden nerve in mankind. The sublime remains one of the thorniest concepts thrown up by the eighteenth century as multiple strands emerged after the 1674 publication of Nicolas Boileau’s translation of Pseudo-Longinus’s treatise. Contemporaries would have been taught the old rhetorical sublime as elevating discourse, but new versions equated the concept with both the mot juste and nonverbal responses. I would therefore be tempted to see an overlap between notions of *je ne sais quoi* and the sublime, rather than as shorthand for antithetical approaches.

Diderot, as ever, proves difficult to place. In the end, Russo sets him within the philosophical camp. She deems pivotal his yearning for an “authenticity” that did not exist in the the *goût moderne* and his project to create a new public, especially in his theater, shorn of its reason and ready to absorb new wisdom. For Russo there lies the failure of preachy eighteenth-century dramaturgy: too intent on teaching moral lessons, it presumed too readily that the audience would absorb by osmosis whatever was in front of them and hence see the error of their ways, including their misguided tastes. But audiences proved more savvy and recalcitrant. They continued to enjoy all genres, seeking amusement at the fairs where the old *goût moderne* and its ironic and playful incarnation in the form of pantomimes and satires drew large crowds. Similarly, the private theaters of the well-to-do continued to enact light social comedies whatever the “official” strictures against them.

The *philosophes* meant to break with the practices of the salon that had blossomed into a cosmopolitan model of wit and conversation and replace it with a “virile” culture freed from the “influence of women” and the “effeminate genres” they promoted. Their project therefore culminated, in the oft-told story, in the revolutionary theater and in the creation of a canon that dismissed the products of the *goût moderne* as immoral (“rococo” becoming the generic dismissive term). Despite all such efforts, Russo concludes, the *goût moderne* survived in the literary realm whereas high-minded philosophical plays have faded from memory.

Despite their wickedness, one might come away feeling sorry for the delusional *philosophes*, for they were not just engaged in a battle against an external enemy or even their friends, but with their own psyches. The *philosophes* Russo cites, especially Voltaire and Diderot, wrote satires and enjoyed frivolities, saw the human condition as multistranded, and had to convince themselves that they must abandon such views in order to improve and change humanity. In combatting the *goût moderne*, therefore, they were denying their very humanity.

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HUGH BROGAN. *Alexis de Tocqueville: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. 724. \$35.00.

In the English-speaking world, the last decades have seen a remarkable Tocquevillian renaissance. Four new translations of *Democracy in America* have been published in the past eight years (a fifth one, the translation of Eduardo Nolla's critical edition, is on the way), along with numerous exegeses of Tocqueville's works. Nonetheless, in spite of his current popularity, Tocqueville remains a notoriously difficult subject for his interpreters and the field of Tocqueville studies is a veritable labyrinth, full of traps and hazards. Because his complex personality defies our black-and-white categories, we are often at a loss when trying to characterize his "true" beliefs. A veteran in this field, Hugh Brogan is aware of the mines and paradoxes facing any interpreter of Tocqueville's life and works. His new biography offers us a timely opportunity to reacquire ourselves with Tocqueville's complex personality. Informative without being pedantic or overwhelming, Brogan's book reads like a novel, weaving aspects of Tocqueville's private life into a grand narrative about the ideas and actions of Tocqueville. The figure that emerges from these pages is that of a thinker who brought passion and commitment to whatever he undertook and did not limit himself to merely recording the past or explaining the present but sought to awaken his readers and inspired them to fight against all forms of despotism.

While Brogan uses both published works and correspondence to comment on all of Tocqueville's major writings, he seems to have a particular appreciation for Tocqueville's *Recollections* and goes as far as to claim that "without it, Tocqueville's oeuvre would be infinitely less fascinating, for only in this book does he take the stage himself" (p. 488). This is an odd claim given the fact that after all this book was written by a disappointed and fatigued man at a point in time when his political career, in which he had invested so much, was about to end miserably. Because he seems to like the *Recollections* so much, and in spite of the occasional words of praise for *Democracy in America*, Brogan does not successfully convey to his readers why the latter is truly a masterpiece and deserves its classic status. It is telling that Brogan, who argues that *Democracy in*

America is "a profoundly political book" (p. 372), does not seem to be particularly impressed by its more philosophical second volume, which, he claims, is allegedly "shaped as much by personal neurosis as by logic and observation" (p. 361). Yet, it is there that the voice of the political philosopher seeking to understand how modern democracy changes human condition prevails over that of the sociological observer obsessed with faithfully recording mere facts. While Brogan's book may not render full justice to the originality of Tocqueville's political philosophy and his ambitious new science of politics, it succeeds in shedding fresh light on Tocqueville's private life. His childless marriage to Mary Motley is a case in point. Tocqueville loved his wife and took serious risks when marrying her against the wishes of his aristocratic family. They exchanged many affectionate letters and enjoyed spending quiet evenings in front of the fireplace in their chateau in Normandy, reading to each other from old books. Yet, at the same time, as Brogan reminds us, Tocqueville was a man of many passions and was far from being a model of marital fidelity. Brogan's account of the last few years of Tocqueville's life depicts a weakened man desperately fighting for his life, at the mercy of incompetent doctors who often subjected him to painful and ultimately ineffective treatments. During all this time, Tocqueville courageously struggled to complete the second volume of *The Old Regime and the Revolution* and hoped that his health would eventually be restored.

Brogan does not claim to have written the definitive biography of Tocqueville and he is right to think so. Much more can be said, for example, about Tocqueville's passion for ideas (that must not be confounded with a psychological inclination), his views on religion, and his parliamentary career. Brogan is right to remind us that Tocqueville's analysis of modern democracy was not devoid of serious shortcomings. Commenting on Tocqueville's conception of politics in *Democracy in America* or his critique of the system of *scrutin de liste* in France in 1851, Brogan claims that Tocqueville never fully understood the fundamental nature of modern politics, based on elections and political parties. "At bottom," he writes, "[Tocqueville] refused to admit that free, democratic politics is impossible without organized parties" (p. 512).

It is therefore surprising to learn that Brogan regards Tocqueville as one of his "oldest and dearest friends" (p. 693), because he does not seem to have a particular affinity for Tocqueville's aristocratic and theoretical sensibility or his paradoxical moderation. Some Tocquevillian scholars would be inclined to disagree with Brogan's claims that the enduring vitality of Tocqueville's books lies above all in the fascination of Tocqueville himself and that the accuracy of his conclusions is of limited importance. It would be difficult to account for Tocqueville's current star status if many of his conclusions about the evolution of democracy were simply inaccurate or obsolete.

As Tocqueville himself confessed in a letter to Louis de Kergorlay, his true value lies above all in works of

mind, and he is worth more in his thoughts than in his deeds. This point deserved a much clearer emphasis in Brogan's book.

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MUNRO PRICE. *The Perilous Crown: France between Revolutions, 1814–1848*. London: Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xv, 462. £20.00.

Munro Price's earlier book, *The Road from Versailles: Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the Fall of the French Monarchy* (2002), was distinguished by lively writing and careful reading of sources. By using primary documents previously unexplored, Price was able to say something new and important on the secret diplomacy of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. He has accomplished a similar feat with his latest work, but he has not really written a history of France, as the title might lead one to believe. Unlike Robert Tomb's history of France (to which Price frequently refers), this book says very little about economic life, intellectual currents, artistic expression, or social history.

This engaging work is really a dual biography of Louis-Philippe and his sister Adélaïde. Based on the underutilized Orléans family papers in the Archives Nationales, as well as papers in private hands that had not previously been consulted, Price illuminates many aspects of Louis-Philippe's rise to power and his style of governing. His most important discovery is the importance of Adélaïde, described as "the most powerful Frenchwoman of the nineteenth century" (p. 6). Adélaïde's bold decisions ensured her brother's accession to power in 1830, and during the July Monarchy she served behind the scenes as a major adviser to Louis-Philippe. She talked to people with whom he did not want to negotiate directly or openly and cultivated the support of prominent politicians in France (often through their mistresses). Every evening the two siblings met for several hours to discuss affairs. Her correspondence with the French ambassadors in Great Britain allowed the king to have a channel of communication that bypassed the ministry of foreign affairs and buttressed Louis-Philippe's view of the constitutional monarchy as conferring a special role for the king in war and diplomacy. Her illness and death in December 1847 left her brother without her essential advice on difficult decisions that had allowed him to weather so many storms. The Revolution of 1848 began less than two months after her death.

One of the strengths of this book is to show how much the Orléans family and those around it were shaped by the traumatic events of the French Revolution. Their father, the famous Philippe Egalité, had perished during the French Revolution, and the brother and sister had spent years in exile. The members of this family, including Louis-Philippe's wife and their many children, emerge in this work as distinct individuals. The tragic death of their oldest son in a carriage accident is

movingly told. Adélaïde's devotion to her brother was total. Louis-Philippe may have been rather vain (he wore toupées), but he was a skillful politician who genuinely strove to reign as a constitutional monarch. Price believes that the key to his political philosophy was that he never tried to sustain in office a ministry that had lost the confidence of the Chamber. Had Louis-Philippe been willing to accept reforms in the electoral system in the late 1840s, he would probably not have fallen from power. The Revolution of 1848, Price argues, was far from inevitable. The key to the different outcomes of reform in France and Great Britain was that in 1832 "in Britain a ministry with a parliamentary majority supported reform; in France it did not" (p. 322). Louis-Philippe would not accept François Guizot's offer to resign to make way for a reforming ministry because he believed that would undermine the constitutional system. Guizot still enjoyed the support of the majority of the legislature, and the king refused to bow "to demonstrations with no other authority than the pleasure of those who participate in them" (p. 323). The fall of Louis-Philippe in 1848 occurred because of blunders, Price argues. By the 1840s constitutional monarchy was quite successful and its neglect in the historical literature is unwarranted.

Although Price has carefully sorted out the rumors and conflicting interpretations of Louis-Philippe's actions, his desire to let the king and his sister "recount their own experiences in their own words" (p. 7) sometimes results in putting the king's motives in the most favorable light. For example, Price's account of the falling out of the king and the Marquis de Lafayette places all of the blame on Lafayette, even suggesting at one point that Lafayette's actions were treasonous. Yet, Price does not refer to Lafayette's memoirs or give Lafayette's interpretation of matters. Price praises Louis-Philippe's political skills in dealing with Lafayette and Jacques Laffite, but does not give their views that the king had treated them with ingratitude after their support had saved his throne in the face of hostile demonstrations.

This book provides a rich picture of the complex political groups and the individuals who made up the royal government. Price has put politics back at the center of national life where it surely belongs and highlighted a period that deserves more attention from historians. This book is enlightening, readable, and deserves to be widely read.

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MARY DEWHURST LEWIS. *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and the Limits of Universalism in France, 1918–1940*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 361. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

As anyone who has followed the recent discord over the new Paris museum of immigration history knows, immigration is one of the hottest of hot-button topics, both intellectually and politically, in France today.

Mary Dewhurst Lewis's important new study is one of the latest texts to explore the history of immigration in modern France. Like historians and scholars of gender, race, and colonialism, Lewis uses the study of modern immigration to challenge the ideology of republican universalism, arguing that in fact the dividing line between citizens and foreigners was much more malleable than analysts of France have often assumed. Moreover, Lewis challenges what she sees as the tendency of historians of immigration to focus on state policy by also focusing on strategies used by individual immigrants to achieve their goals in France. This dual approach lies at the heart of her emphasis upon immigrant rights, both granted by French authorities and won by immigrants themselves. Ultimately, Lewis uses the question of immigration to explore the ways in which state authority and identity in France arose from a series of negotiations on many different levels: personal, local, national, and international.

In approaching the history of immigration in interwar France, Lewis concentrates on two cities and four periods of time. Like many other social historians of France, she eschews Paris-centrism to study two important provincial urban areas, Lyons and Marseilles. Both cities, the second and third largest in the country, were major industrial centers with a strong tradition of receiving immigrants. This comparative focus enables Lewis to paint a rich portrait of local political cultures, showing how local politicians and businessmen as well as immigrants developed and implemented policies that often ran counter to the laws and aims of the national government. For example, in Marseilles the efforts of the national government to restrict immigration during the Depression collided not only with the desires of local employers to retain a source of low-wage labor but also powerful patronage traditions in local politics. Lewis structures her analysis around four major themes: the beginning of immigration policy in the 1920s, the challenge of social rights during the Depression, new policies based on family connections, and the impact of the onset of World War II. In general, she shows how the relationship between the need for labor and the nature of the immigrants changed over time: from the idea that a work contract should enable residency in France, French immigration regimes gradually evolved to the converse policy that successful integration into French family and community life should grant foreigners the right to work in France.

Lewis concentrates on people who came to France from other European countries looking for work, but she also pays attention to two other groups: colonial migrants and refugees. To do so is to expand traditional approaches to immigration in useful ways; indeed, one might also consider another large group of foreigners in interwar France in this context, namely tourists. Lewis shows how members of both groups, in particular German-Jewish refugees and colonial subjects from North Africa, were often denied both employment and social benefits because they did not conform to the image of workers useful to the French economy. Both

groups' lack of civil rights, often in contrast to other immigrants, underscored the importance not only of citizenship but also of integration into French familial and cultural norms.

The ability of immigrants to argue successfully for social rights based on their conformity to these norms highlights the importance of culture, and the fact that French identity was ultimately not just a matter of state certification. A greater attention to questions of immigrant culture would have made this an even richer book. Lewis discusses immigrants' negotiations with public authorities extensively, but ultimately this remains a book about public policy rather than one about the immigrant experience as a whole. Immigrants are rarely allowed to speak for themselves here, in spite of the existence of a large body of written testimonies by foreigners in interwar France. The discussion of racial difference, affecting all these categories of migrants in different ways, could also use more elaboration. Moreover, North Africans were not the only colonial subjects in France: Marseilles in particular had a small but noteworthy population of African dockworkers during this period.

All this is to underscore that histories of immigration touch on a variety of fascinating issues, not all of which can be covered in one study. Lewis has written a fine book about France's conflicted dealings with its own history of immigration, and has shown how and why the issue is so central to any understanding of that nation's history as a whole.

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SETH D. ARMUS. *French Anti-Americanism (1930–1948): Critical Moments in a Complex History*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. x, 179. \$60.00.

Numerous scholars and writers have ventured to explain French anti-Americanism, which has a long history as well as contemporary relevance. Seth D. Armus's book is a focused and valuable contribution to understanding this complex phenomenon.

Like Richard Kuisel and Philippe Roger, Armus views anti-Americanism as fundamentally about internal French concerns and national identity. And like Roger, Armus understands anti-Americanism as a narrative or discourse comprised of reiterated tropes, more than a response to specific policies or actions by the United States. Armus challenges the proposition that French anti-Americanism is political and usually associated with left-wing intellectuals. He asserts forcibly that it is a cultural phenomenon, and one that also has a historical right-wing affiliation. His case rests on a careful analysis of several conservative intellectuals of the 1930s who are often referred to as "non-conformists" because they sought a non-ideological "third way" for the future of France that was neither Marxist nor fascist. Indeed, Armus contends that anti-Americanism "was their world-view" (p. 6); it transcended their own,

sometimes contradictory political positions and appealed to adherents at both ends of the political spectrum.

In separate chapters Armus examines the writings and lives of these non-conformist intellectuals to illuminate their common quest for French spiritual renewal at a time—the 1930s—when the cultural and economic power of the United States was ascendant. He finds in all of their works shared critiques of America and Americans as materialistic, Puritanical, conformist, spiritually bereft, overly mechanized, aggressively capitalistic, and utterly lacking in human qualities and moral values. For Robert Aron and Arnaud Dandieu, America was a moral threat to civilization and humanity largely due to its mechanistic and abstract capitalism. Their solution was a counterrevolution to humanize individuals through economic planning and mandatory public service. Another spiritual revolutionary was Emmanuel Mounier, the founder and editor of the influential Catholic periodical *Esprit*. While other scholars have debated over Mounier's political transformation from interwar fascist sympathizer to post-World War II Marxist, Armus contends that his anti-liberal anti-Americanism aligned him with conservatives and fascists leading up to and during World War II, but that it was the political context of French renewal that shifted leftward after the war and accommodated Mounier's consistent anti-Americanism. In yet another chapter Armus re-examines the work of the Catholic traditionalist Georges Bernanos. In contrast to Mounier, Bernanos felt betrayed by Spanish fascism and German Nazism because they were too modern and mechanistic, and he became a Nazi resister during World War II. According to Armus, only anti-Americanism remained for Bernanos to express his anti-modern quest for spiritual rejuvenation.

Armus addresses numerous other nonconformist writers and the different political positions with which their anti-Americanism aligned them. An important part of this analysis is the link between anti-Americanism and antisemitism that is paramount in Armus's presentation of the work of Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, a less familiar writer who rose to prominence on the staff of the right-wing newspaper *Je Suis Partout*. In minute detail Armus charts the development of Cousteau's garden-variety anti-Americanism to virulent, Nazi-like antisemitism through the French author's assertion of Jewish domination in American sports, politics, and crime. According to Armus, Cousteau blamed his personal failure to establish a professional life in the United States on American immorality. For Cousteau, since Jews succeeded in the New World, they embodied or furthered this fundamental feature of American life. Here Armus engages with other scholars on the timing and nature of *Je Suis Partout*'s fascism and eventual collaboration, asserting a leading role for Cousteau in this trajectory through his anti-Americanism and antisemitism. The culmination of this position appeared in Cousteau's book, *L'Amérique juive* (*Jewish America*) in 1942, in which he blames the American Civil War for

destroying any potential value of the United States by freeing blacks and allowing Jews to "colonize" America through "democracy." Armus is intent upon arguing that Cousteau, like other non-conformists of his time, objected to America on spiritual, not political, grounds, despite Cousteau's own contrary claims, and the prominence of democracy in Cousteau's representation of the downfall of America.

Although this book is clearly focused on intellectuals and elite discourse, the issue of popular influence arises (p. 9), as it does in other works on anti-Americanism. This is a tough nut to crack, and other scholars (for example, Roger and Jacques Rupnik and Muriel Humbertjean) have noted that French popular opinion is generally more favorable to the United States than are French intellectuals. Armus suggests in the conclusion that the persistence of "classic" anti-American arguments over the last eighty years is proof that the ideas of 1930s non-conformists have become a tradition in French thought. Still, taken as a whole, the French relationship to the United States or Americanness is ambivalent and multifaceted. A minor but distracting problem with this book (which has nothing to do with the rigorous scholarship) is the number of typographical errors, and I hope that the copy sent for this review was the only one in which the text was inserted upside down and backward into the book cover.

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ALBERT S. KOTOWSKI. *Zwischen Staatsräson und Vaterlandsliebe: Die Polnische Fraktion im Deutschen Reichstag 1871–1918*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 150.) Dusseldorf: Droste. 2007. Pp. 225. €38.00.

This book surveys the political activity of the coalition of Polish representatives in the German Reichstag from 1871 to 1918, analyzing their efforts in relation to the historical development of the German Empire in general and the German-Polish nationality conflict in particular.

The first two chapters supply valuable background information. Chapter one summarizes the course of ethnic relations in the Prussian East from the late eighteenth century to World War I. Chapter two explains the parliamentary system in the German Empire and the vacillating fortunes of Polish candidates in Reichstag elections. The heart of Albert S. Kotowski's study unfolds in the next three chapters, which treat the internal debates and concerted actions of the Polish faction in three periods: 1871 to 1894, 1894 to 1914, and 1914 to 1918. Kotowski concludes with a brief summary of his argument.

Kotowski illustrates how members of the Polish faction were united in their desire for an independent Polish state but divided in terms of the tactics best suited to advance that goal. More conservative members were inclined to demonstrate loyalty to Germany and to work constructively with other German factions and parties,

believing that Polish ambitions would require German cooperation. The “democratic” wing of the faction believed that only a confrontational stance toward Germany would produce results. Despite this deep fissure in its ranks, the Polish faction maintained a unified front within the Reichstag. Recognizing that they were but a small minority within the Reichstag and that disunity would undermine what little influence they had to exercise, members of the Polish faction honored rules designed to guarantee solidarity. No member was allowed to cast a vote that was contrary to majority opinion.

Kotowski details the evolution of the Polish faction and its politics. While its members were drawn almost exclusively from the noble elite in the first decades of its existence, the faction came to be dominated by bourgeois professionals in the early twentieth century. This gradual shift in composition was linked to rising demands among the Polish-speaking electorate for a more aggressive pursuit of Polish interests in the Reichstag. Noble members of the faction tended to be more conservative politically and inclined toward cooperative engagement with Germany’s ruling establishment. The failure of their conciliatory policies to bring concrete results (specifically the repeal of anti-Polish legislation) was heavily criticized in the Polish-language press and led to the election of men of humbler birth and more radical politics.

Overall the Polish faction failed to have much impact within the Reichstag. For a brief time in the early 1890s its votes helped the ruling coalition pass controversial legislation; otherwise it languished in the ranks of the minority. Its most important achievement, Kotowski argues, was to use the Reichstag as a podium from which to protest against the injustice of German policies toward the Polish minority. As the speeches made by Poles on the floor of the Reichstag entered the public record, the “Polish question” was brought to the attention of the international community, and Poles living in Germany, Russia, and Austria were encouraged to defend their national interests.

Kotowski’s volume represents a modest but valuable addition to the literature on the German-Polish nationality conflict. An extensive literature exists concerning this conflict, but very few works devote more than a passing reference to the role played by the Polish faction in the Reichstag. With this study Kotowski ably demonstrates the range of political opinion that existed within Germany’s Polish minority and the challenges Poles faced as they sought to advance their interests.

Although his sympathy for the Polish faction is plain, Kotowski offers objective analysis that is grounded on an impressive array of primary sources. His principal resource is the vast collection of stenographic reports from Reichstag deliberations, which he supplements with archival materials from government agencies, memoirs of Reichstag members, and other data. The author displays a solid command of the Polish and German literature relevant to his subject.

While Kotowski details how the faction was scruti-

nized by Polish society and influenced Polish political opinion, unfortunately he neglects a related avenue of inquiry: the degree to which the faction also resonated in German society and shaped German views of Poles. It is also regrettable that the author does not devote more space to exploring the inner lives of individual members of the Polish faction and the rivalries and esprit de corps that animated their ranks. Although the volume is focused on a relatively small circle of politicians, none of them emerge as memorable characters. In fact, the most nuanced and compelling portrait to be found in these pages is that of Otto von Bismarck.

Minor criticisms aside, this book is a significant work of scholarship that merits the careful attention of historians interested in Polish-German relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

ROBERT E. ALVIS

Saint Meinrad School of Theology

BENJAMIN ZIEMANN. *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914–1923*. Translated by ALEX SKINNER. (The Legacy of the Great War.) New York: Berg. 2007. Pp. xiii, 302. Cloth \$105.00, paper \$32.95.

Benjamin Ziemann’s monograph, a translation of his doctoral dissertation, which was published in German in 1997, was one of the first works to examine popular public opinion in Germany in World War I. It is a superb work. Berg is to be congratulated for translating this work and making it available to a broader audience.

Strongly influenced by the work of scholars such as Bernd Ulrich, Ziemann examines the everyday war experience of both the population at home and the soldiers at the front, using as his primary source the war letters written to and from soldiers. Such a study requires a local focus. Ziemann chose to concentrate on rural Bavaria, and on how rural Bavarians coped with an extended period of warfare. It was a wise decision, in part because of the strength of the archival materials (the Bavarian archives largely came through the war intact), in part because the specific Bavarian experience—neither Prussian nor Protestant—allows us to see a number of developments through a very interesting prism.

This book enriches our understanding of many diverse aspects of the war experience. Ziemann shows that the links between the “home front” and military front were very strong. In spite of their different sorts of experiences, soldiers and their families and friends back home generally succeeded in finding the words to tell each other about their experiences. In other words, the government was unable—although it took steps to mold this discourse—to control the flow of information, and each side influenced the perceptions of the other. It is neither possible nor useful to divide up and compartmentalize the home and frontline experiences.

There is an excellent section on German public opinion at the beginning of the war—depression—followed by an account of its general acceptance of the war—cohesion. Ziemann shows that the cohesion of the

troops rested less on "war enthusiasm" or even on discipline and more on such mundane things as "'small-scale' escapes such as furloughs, which farmers were granted more often than their fellows" (p. 269). This is followed by an account of weariness with war and the importance of retaining at least some sense of hope; indeed, it was only when all hope was lost that the soldiers turned toward revolution. Ziemann documents the importance of leave, the semi-truce in sections of the front between the Germans and the French, the lack of cohesion between the classes and the general hatred of the officers, and the deepening internal differences. He also describes a pervasive fatalism and acceptance of one's fate. There is a wonderful chapter on life in the Bavarian countryside, with some especially interesting reflections on the role of women. There is also an excellent discussion of the difficulties of interpreting the experience of mass death within the language and vocabulary provided by a Catholic religious upbringing. One of the most interesting parts of the book is the chapter on veterans. Here Ziemann points out that postwar myths were far more significant for the militaristic discourse after the war than any efforts during the war to describe one's lived experiences.

The book is evidence of the strength of traditional ties in the face of the most difficult experiences. As Ziemann writes, "taken as a whole, the wartime and postwar experiences by no means led to a radical break with traditional values and perceptions." The monarchical idea was weakened, but in the time of crisis, "most people in fact fell back on the traditional sources of stability within rural society, such as the peasant family, religiosity and subsistence farming" (p. 273).

The special strength of this book is the richness of its sources. Ziemann conducted an enormous amount of research in often obscure archives. Anyone who has worked with such collections knows how difficult and time-consuming such research is. The book's effect is powerful; quotes from the letters of soldiers at the front or from the letters of peasants at home bring forth vividly the experience of those years. Ziemann is to be congratulated for reviving these witnesses and Alex Skinner for an excellent translation.

JEFFREY VERHEY
Humboldt University

PANIKOS PANAYI. *Life and Death in a German Town: Osnabrück from the Weimar Republic to World War II and Beyond*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2007. Pp. xviii, 360. \$84.95.

The local and regional history of the Nazi regime can be considered one of the most fruitful fields of current research. Historians are mainly interested in its functioning in towns, cities, and regions. Thus attention is drawn to local government and administration as well as to the National Socialist *Gaue* (Nazi administrative units). Furthermore, National Socialist society comes into new focus when latitudes, boundaries, and necessities of individual action and options are detected or

when the relevance of negotiation processes is stressed. Both persecution and consensus are therefore explained in the context of local society and governmental structures. The picture that emerges is complex and shows many grays rather than a simple black and white dichotomy.

However, such new research often lacks the social consciousness shown by the social history of the late 1970s and 1980s. Panikos Panayi places his book quite specifically within the latter tradition, more particularly in the tradition of *Alltagsgeschichte*. Thus the author aims to position himself "at the ground level within the minds of the individuals" (p. 4), focusing "upon the micro" to "illustrate the macro" (p. 5) and trying to give a "portrait of the totality of life under the Nazis" (p. 6). He has chosen to explore Osnabrück between 1929 and 1949, a northwest German city that he considers to be a typical example of the many medium-sized German towns. Bi-confessional, with considerable industries, it contained fairly strong Catholic and socialist milieus with their respective party affiliations. Protestants, by contrast, were typically represented by the Weimar right-wing parties. The National Socialists' rise to power from 1930 was as fast and unexpected as in other parts of Weimar Germany, and as in other Catholic and Socialist strongholds, even though in 1933 they did not manage to gain an absolute majority.

Panayi does not, however, intend to tell Osnabrück's history in the way other German cities' histories have been told so far. First, he chooses a wide time frame to examine the "crises" of these years and their impact on individuals' lives, integrating, on the one hand, the last years of the Weimar Republic, and on the other, the immediate postwar period. Second, Panayi approaches the town's society from a very special angle: the "ethnic approach." All "ethnic" groups living in the city during these years are to be considered equally and studied in their relations with each other. The book is structured according to this approach: first, the "ethnic majority" is dealt with, then the "ethnic minorities." The latter are defined as Jews, Romanies, and foreign workers, the former as "native ethnic Germans (i.e. German Roman Catholics and Protestants)" (p. xiv).

However, since "ethnicity" is not defined at all and is not used in a deconstructivist sense, Panayi's approach is highly dubious. It perpetuates the National Socialists' own racist and biological categorization of society and turns it into an analytical instrument. The absurdity of this is shown not only by the division of "ethnic Germans" and "Jews," which completely ignores the emancipation processes underway since the eighteenth century. It also tends to construct a homogeneous "ethnic German" community, to downplay the manifold ruptures, and to paint the picture of an apolitical majority seduced by a few hardcore Nazis. National Socialism is therefore presented as an exterior phenomenon that invades the city and brings it under its spell. We do not learn anything satisfying about the party's structures, the city's power networks, the way the inhabitants were confronted by Nazi local politics, or the role played by

the local administration. Nor do we learn anything about the high level of participation in and material profit from the Nazi policies of exclusion and persecution, as has been demonstrated in recent years using the example of many other German cities. To understand everyday life without this knowledge is impossible, and the same is true of Panayi's intention to study the relations between the persecuted and the local population.

Instead, the author provides us with a fairly traditional presentation of the town's history. In a broad overview we for example learn about its economic development (though based entirely on Nazi newspaper sources, only one of many methodological problems), the activities of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, the calendar of National Socialist festivities, and teaching in schools. We also hear about conflicts between members of the Catholic Church or Social Democrats and the National Socialists. However, disregarding differentiations established over thirty years of research, Panayi does not trouble to weigh the different actions in the analytical framework of "resistance." This is also due to the fact that ideology does not seem to matter in the book's depiction of a German town between the 1920s and 1940s, at least not as far as the majority of the population is concerned.

Ironically, although it is true that the author deserves merit for having written the first broad-scale account of Osnabrück's history at this time, it is the city's specificity that the book basically neglects, since it actually avoids presenting a more detailed and complex story. To uncover the unwritten rules, the daily practices, and slow changes of everyday life, one has to look more precisely, methodologically more carefully, and take the local and regional more seriously.

MARTINA STEBER

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RISTO PELTOVUORI. *Suomi saksalaisin silmin 1933–1939: Lehdistön ja diplomaatin näkökulmia [Finland through German Eyes 1933–1939: The Views of Journalism and Diplomacy]*. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 223.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2005. Pp. 306.

Finnish historian Risto Peltovuori has specialized in Finnish-German relations during World War II. He defended his doctoral thesis *Germany and the Finnish Winter War* in 1975, and in 2000 he published his research on how Finland was discussed in the Third Reich press from 1940 to 1944. This book focuses on the pre-war years, 1933–1939. The aim of the book is to highlight and explain Finland's special status as "Hitler's pet child" during these years.

The question of its position during the war is still of great importance in Finland, where it has been quite painful to admit having been Germany's ally. Actually the word "ally" is not used in Finland, where the wartime relationship is called "brotherhood of arms." To say that Finland did not have any choice in the situation

is not an incorrect, but an incomplete, explanation because it overlooks the choices and approaches made before the war. Therefore research that exposes and explains the prewar situation is most welcome. Peltovuori has studied five newspapers: the liberal and international *Berliner Tageblatt* (closed down by the censor in January 1939); the conservative right-wing *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*; the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which is said to have been the only mass publication not completely controlled by the Nazis; the chief Nazi organ *Völkischer Beobachter*; and the local party newspaper *Westdeutscher Beobachter*.

Finland received great publicity in the German press during the years after the Nazi takeover and before the war. A large number of positive articles were published between 1934 and 1936. This particularly warm period started when Finland was suddenly added to Germany's list of "friendly nations" in 1934. Peltovuori does not explicitly say why and by whom this decision was made. He suggests that Finland's refusal to negotiate for the so-called safety guarantees with the Soviet Union was one reason, because the goal of these negotiations was a pact against Germany.

Germany's relationship with Finland was a somewhat problematic issue for the German newspapers if the intention was to create an image of a sympathetic, German-like nation and a supporter-to-be. Finland's democratic system of government and its good relations with the United States and Great Britain had to be glossed over. The Finns were not Aryans, and a lot of ink was needed to explain this away. Finnish nationalism and bravery helped a lot. The party newspaper *Westdeutscher Beobachter* presented Finland as a young, patriotic, and go-ahead nation with a strong, independent foreign policy: "But the fourth, sometimes by the others a bit underrated Scandinavian country is missing from this coalition [planned between Sweden, Norway, and Denmark]. It is however a country with much more importance for the whole Scandinavia and even for the whole Europe than many others: Finland" (p. 119).

Finland had to be presented in a modified light to the German public. However, the image could not be too far-fetched from the Finnish standpoint without eliciting an irritated note from the Finnish ambassador in Berlin or an angry reaction in the Finnish papers. The safe subjects that did not cause dissent and could be discussed were sports, arts and cultural events, and Finland as a tourist attraction.

Finland was represented with especially warm tones that were striking for two reasons: first, there seemed not to be any reason to handle Finland in a special way. Second, Germany was given the cold shoulder in Finnish newspapers. Finnish left-wing papers especially did not spare hard or even insulting words when writing about the Third Reich. The attitude among the liberal and conservative papers varied from reserved to objective. No wonder that the German ambassador to Finland, Wipert von Blücher, called the tones "overdone friendly."

There were no significant differences among German

newspapers when it came to their attitude toward Finland. German newspapers gradually became an extension of Adolf Hitler's politics, and censorship made them very similar: German editors were told how to write about things. This does not explain why all German papers seemed equally eager to publish stories about Finland. Was it also an order from the Nazi Party to keep Finland in the press for some reason? Unfortunately, this is a question Peltovuori neither asks nor answers.

Peltovuori wishes to reconstruct the image of Finland in Germany and among Germans in order to complete our picture and understanding of Finnish-German relations. He describes the news and articles published about Finland in detail and delights the reader with many quotations. The author succeeds in sketching the German vision of Finland and how it was created. However, page by page my need for an explanation grew: why this attitude toward Finland? That question is not answered here.

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ADAM TOOZE. *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. New York: Penguin. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 799. \$30.00.

It is, indeed, a daunting task to provide a truly fresh perspective on the Nazi economy and rearmament amid the vast literature on the topic. In this well-organized and thoroughly researched monograph, Adam Tooze has succeeded in significantly challenging a number of widely accepted historiographical assumptions regarding not only the Nazi economy and its drive toward war but also the regime as a whole.

By reassessing economic statistical data and archival sources, Tooze evaluates the performance of the Nazi economic efforts and the regime's ability to wage war. Perhaps Tooze's most significant contribution is his connection of Nazi economic history to new historiographic approaches that have more fully explored Nazi ideology and the functioning of Nazi society, a link that has, according to Tooze, been woefully ignored. As a crucial part of his connection of the economy and ideology, Tooze places the United States squarely in the middle of Adolf Hitler's larger geopolitical worldview. Tooze claims that the German economy and society, despite many economic historians' views to the contrary, remained relatively weak in the 1930s and still needed to go through a significant process of modernization, particularly in comparison to the United States. As a result of this weak position, Tooze argues that Hitler's desire for *Lebensraum* was in large part the product of a fear of American economic and military world dominance and central to the Nazi sense of a struggle for racial existence not only vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, but also the Western powers. This ideological and diplomatic worldview predicated the Nazi economic and military policy through the outbreak and expansion of World War II.

Along the way, Tooze also debunks a number of assumptions regarding the Nazi economy. For example, he argues that the view of the German economy attempting to sustain both "guns" and "butter" at least until the late 1930s does not hold up in light of economic statistics. Efforts such as the construction of the Autobahn and projects to promote mass consumption were statistically minor in economic requirements compared to the rearmament that was concurrently instituted. In addition, the regime, despite many historians' views of its disorganization, infighting, and inefficiency, was very effective in shifting resources to a massive rearmament program during peacetime. What held the German economy back from further mobilization was not the will or ability of the regime but shortages in raw materials and an unfavorable balance of payments. Even with its massive mobilization, Tooze is careful to point out that through much of 1930s and early 1940s the Nazi regime did not possess a coherent war plan that synthesized diplomacy, military planning, and the economy. For example, while in the midst of crucial preparations for Operation Barbarossa, the Nazi war machine still devoted a massive amount of resources to a foreseen air and naval war versus the United States and Great Britain.

In light of Germany's ultimate inability to counter the military and economic strength of the United States and the British Empire by the summer of 1939, Tooze argues that the decisions to attack Poland in September 1939 and the Soviet Union in June 1941 were quite rational, if not extremely risky, attempts to establish a political, social, and economic *Lebensraum* that could rival and defend itself versus the western powers. Germany's economic and strategic position was merely going to deteriorate in comparison to the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. Interestingly, Tooze argues that the Nazi destruction of Europe's Jewry worked in conjunction with economic calculations. From a purely economic perspective, the Jews were mouths that the Nazi regime could not feed sufficiently for them to be able to contribute to the Nazi war economy and were diverting calories from productive labor.

Last, but not least, Tooze takes on the mythology surrounding Albert Speer's "armament miracle" of 1942–1944. Tooze argues that the allocation of labor and raw materials that produced the dramatic rise in armaments, particularly in the production of armored vehicles, was already in the pipeline before Speer took over as Armaments Minister from Fritz Todt in February 1942. In the end, however, Tooze shows that the severe limitations of resources, such as food, coal, iron ore, and oil, prevented Germany from ever seriously competing with the Allied powers in war production. Once the gamble of destroying the Soviet Union in a quick war failed, it was a matter of time before the power of economic inputs and capacity ground the Nazi regime down to defeat.

From the perspective of the towering heights of the economy, Tooze provides a riveting account of the Nazi regime with unexpected insights and challenges to past

interpretations—so numerous that it is impossible to explore them all in this review. At times in his haste to punch holes in the historiography one feels that he might not always give other historians their full due. One might not accept all of Tooze's interpretations, but he has provided an outstanding treatment of the Nazi economy that will spur debate and reassessment of the literature for years to come.

MARK E. SPICKA
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PETER STACEY. *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince*. (Ideas in Context, number 79.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 341. \$90.00.

In publications between 1978 and 2002, Quentin Skinner rearticulates the view, standard since Allan Gilbert's *Machiavelli's "Prince" and Its Forerunners* (1938), that Niccolò Machiavelli subverts the "mirror of princes" genre. Peter Stacey's book depends on and amplifies Skinner and others by backdating the pre-Machiavelli starting line and, in chapter one, by defining Seneca's Stoicizing *De clementia* as the paradigmatic Roman defense of monarchy. Stacey's next four chapters track Seneca's influence on pro-princely writers from the Regno to northern Italy, ca. 1200–1500. They set the stage for Machiavelli's head-to-head with Seneca in *Il principe*, treated in his last two chapters, followed by a postlude arguing that this text shaped early modern theories of state sovereignty. Stacey's thesis marginalizes or ignores other key sources of these developments: the Bible, Roman law and its glossators, non-Stoic philosophies, institutions, perceived historical models, and princely iconographies in visual art. While admitting that Seneca is not the whole story, Seneca is the only story he wants to tell. The result is underinterpretation, overinterpretation, the strategic omission of countervailing data, and a Senecanism whose cogent placement in historical context is neither attempted nor achieved.

Stacey's Seneca is an ideologue, not the self-serving hypocrite of later Roman historians or the beleaguered mentor faced with the thankless task of persuading Nero, his dedicatee, to act responsibly. While noting appeals to the pseudo-Senecan Martin of Braga (510/20–579) but not to the Carolingians' "mirrors of princes" or interest in *De clementia*, whose earliest manuscripts date to the eighth century, Stacey opens with the preface to Frederick II's *Liber Augustalis* (1231) and its commentators, followed by supporters of later Angevin and Aragonese rulers of the Regno who likewise sought to bypass its status as a papal fief. Figures not on signori payrolls, such as Albertano of Brescia and Giovanni of Viterbo, get a mention. But Stacey concentrates on actual or would-be protégés of princely courts, from Palermo to Naples to Milan to Padua to Carrara. He omits the well-known Milanese propagandists Antonio Loschi and Francesco Filelfo. Two figures whose significance he misjudges are Francesco Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati. Petrarch freely shifted princely

puff-piece rhetoric from Naples to Milan, when he was not laying the foundations of Florentine civic humanism. Attributing any stable political ideology to him is illusory. Salutati's claim to Stacey's attention is one proforma letter of congratulation to a new ruler of Naples, despite the Florentine chancellor's long-standing commitment to republicanism in word and deed. As for pro-Mediceans in the late quattrocento and their redefinition of civic and princely virtue, they fail to make the cut since Stacey regards Platonism as politically irrelevant.

After an analysis of its use of Quintilian's rhetoric but without recalling Brunetto Latini's sardonic critique of Seneca flagged in chapter two, Stacey moves to *Il principe*. Here, he argues, Seneca replaces Aristotle, Cicero, earlier Florentine humanists, and the Christian tradition as Machiavelli's whipping boy. Rejecting Stoic virtue as an end in itself and the constancy of the sage in favor of *virtù* as bold, flexible action in mobilizing and maintaining the prince's power, Machiavelli assigns control over half our actions to *virtù*, defying the Stoics' deterministic if rational and providential fortuna. Although, in analyzing Seneca's own rhetoric, Stacey notes that he seeks to motivate Nero by advocating outcomes consistent with the *honestum* in terms of the *utile*, he reads all Machiavelli's means/ends advice as anti-Senecan. Stacey also dismisses as ironic all passages in Machiavelli's works suggesting that princely rule can ever benefit the ruled. Without citing the famous essay of Garrett Mattingly ("Machiavelli's Prince: Political Science or Political Satire?" *The American Scholar* [1958]), he concludes—as if it were an original idea—that *Il principe* is a satire.

If so, Stacy neither raises nor answers the question of why Machiavelli thought that his Medici dedicatee would fail to grasp this fact and, instead of taking umbrage, would gladly reward him with a job. Nor is he persuasive on the claimed influence of this text on early modern sovereignty theories, to which Jean Bodin and the international law tradition culminating in Hugo Grotius made more palpable contributions. In sum, Stacey's effort to give Seneca his due yields a regrettable monocular study.

MARCIA L. COLISH
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PAUL V. MURPHY. *Ruling Peacefully: Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 290. \$79.95.

"Patrician reform" is the key to Paul V. Murphy's understanding of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga's ecclesiastical career. Murphy disagrees with those who would dismiss Gonzaga as little more than a worldly courtier—even if he did father five children during his long life. The last of his children was born in 1557, when he was bishop of Mantua and desired to play a more active role in clerical reform. Gonzaga's critics go on to say that even when he served as papal legate at the Council of

Trent his grasp of the theological issues was shaky at best. To Murphy, however, these are just one side of the contradictory values of a patrician reformer. Throughout his life it seems, Gonzaga clung to the humanistic training of his youth, his ideas of courtly order, and an ecclesiastical view that emphasized instruction and governance by the bishop rather than either preaching or charity.

The first key to Gonzaga's life was his continued role in Mantua. He was the son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este. He received a humanistic education first in Mantua itself and later in Bologna where he studied with Pietro Pomponazzi. His respect for Pomponazzi (controversial as he eventually became) apparently continued to the end of his life. Murphy defends Gonzaga's theological knowledge even as he admits that his tastes did run more toward humanistic and biblical texts. A second key to understanding Gonzaga was his continued connection to the generation of clerical reformers that included Reginald Pole, Gian Matteo Giberti, and Gasparo Contarini. It was at their urging that he finally relinquished a profitable benefice in Aragon that he had not even made the effort to visit. It was Gonzaga who had assigned Contarini the task of reforming the Lateran canons in 1540. Yet Gonzaga was never the reformer he could have been, perhaps because he did not enter holy orders until the 1550s. The reason may well be related to the fact that on the death of his brother in 1540, he became regent for his nephew, thus becoming a patrician reformer in quite a literal sense. Murphy shows that Gonzaga gathered a lively group of philosophers at his court. Even suspect spirituals seem to have been welcome, so long as they offered no threat to the social and political order of the city. Bernardino Ochino interrupted his flight from the Inquisition to visit Gonzaga, and Gonzaga befriended Pier Paolo Vergerio, even as evidence of his Protestant beliefs mounted. Gonzaga also showed little concern about complaints that some preachers in his diocese were spirituals. His library included numerous books by Protestants. A secretary explained to the Inquisition that he read them in the light of Thomas Aquinas.

Murphy argues that all this makes a certain sense when seen in the context of Gonzaga's world. Pluralism, controversial courtiers, and reform that emphasized order rather than charity were a part of a courtly presentation. As bishop and regent, Murphy compares him to German territorial princes for whom religious, political, and diplomatic issues remained closely intertwined. Even at Trent, Murphy suggests, Gonzaga was a diplomat and not a theologian. He was willing to negotiate issues in a way, Murphy says, that no longer was viable.

Murphy's portrait, for all its contradictions, seems apt. Although his generally chronological approach sometimes makes it difficult for Murphy to fully flesh out Gonzaga's understanding of himself as a theologian and prince, it is clear that patrician values were at the heart of his behavior. In Murphy's view, Gonzaga could

not have imagined a reform that was not patrician or centered on a princely court.

DUANE J. OSHEIM
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LUCY RIAL. *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 482. \$35.00.

Lucy Riall's fine and original study of one of the most charismatic characters in nineteenth-century Europe attempts to debunk the mythology surrounding the man. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882) led a full and colorful life. His stint as a seaman for the Piedmontese navy ended with exile due to a failed conspiracy to kill the king. He fled to South America, first to fight alongside Rio Grande rebels in Brazil, then to defend Montevideo against the Argentine Confederation. Away from Italy, Garibaldi found his métier as “a soldier hero” and became the stuff of folklore. The bearded idol with long hair and a poncho, who refused pay for himself and his men, endured the rack while prisoner at Guleguay, ran off with a married eighteen-year-old, and declined the rank of general, attracted a lot of attention. In Uruguay, he “developed a conspicuous and perhaps exceptional personal allure” (p. 46). These two qualities—his marketability and his magnetism—were not lost on Giuseppe Mazzini.

Mazzini, while in exile in London, actively promoted the cult of Garibaldi. He first learned of Garibaldi's exploits in 1841 and followed every military adventure thereafter. Mazzini comes off as a monster of a man. It was no matter that some of the gaucho's campaigns ended in defeat, with stupid losses, so long as journalists documented the acts of bravery and martyrdom. Bad news from Montevideo during the siege meant good publicity for the Italian republican cause, Mazzini wrote his mother in 1845. Mazzini and his followers romanticized Garibaldi's achievements in the foreign and national press. By 1847, Garibaldi had come to personify Italian patriotic engagement, thanks to “a deliberate strategy conceived by Mazzini” (p. 56).

In June 1848, Garibaldi arrived at his hometown of Nice, joined the revolutionary forces in Milan, and got involved in a campaign for Lake Maggiore after King Carlo Alberto had thrown in the towel at Custoza. According to Riall, this allowed Garibaldi to embarrass Piedmontese officialdom and keep himself in the public eye. A similar scenario unfolded in Rome: military activities, in her account, became stunts for show, self-publicity, and celebrity. Garibaldi never missed a chance for grandstanding. Even his attempts at retreat—exile in Manhattan and Staten Island, where he worked in a friend's candle factory, and his withdrawals to the island of Caprera off the coast of Sardinia, where he saw the ladies—figure as moments to go “backstage” and gear up for the next scripted performance.

Garibaldi returned to Italy from his second exile in 1854 a changed man. He cleaned up his look, he distanced himself from the republican movement, he seemed open to compromise with the Conte de Cavour.

He publicly quarreled with Mazzini and openly shifted his affiliations. Garibaldi continued, though, on the road of celebrity. Mazzini, in any case, had moved on, mythologizing another selfless Italian legionnaire-liberator in South America, but the new candidate for martyrdom was murdered in Argentina. When in 1856, the idea of Italian unity gathered strength, Mazzini stood as the odd man out. During 1857, Daniele Manin, Giorgio Pallavicino Trivulzio, and Giuseppe La Farina founded the National Society, which looked to an alliance with the Piedmontese monarchy in the struggle for independence. Garibaldi became an early adherent, met with Cavour, and in 1859 had an audience with the king. He dumped Mazzinian republican ideals once and for all.

Some of the best parts of this ambitious and richly researched book deal with the 1859 and 1860 campaigns, when Garibaldi moved from his role as a favorite in revolutionary salons to the status of European cult hero. Here Riall deftly integrates conventional representations of battles with "cultural production," the literary underground as well as popular art, theater, and music. The section on the expedition to Sicily is superb, again mixing descriptions of military maneuvers with the accounts of journalists, biographers, and playwrights. The "revolution" in Palermo fizzled. Garibaldi went on to face a curious predicament, in large part due to his own political equivocations: the making of his "moment," which favored the style of guerilla warfare he had first encountered in South America and which forced the collapse of the Bourbons on the mainland, ended with the gaucho delivering his territorial gains to Piedmont and sealing the unification of the Kingdom of Italy under the House of Savoy. Yet Garibaldi remained hostile to the new regime, and his ambivalence toward officialdom, both secular and clerical, continued: at Aspromonte, the troops of the crown defeated his thousand volunteers, and at Mentana the French routed his army. But Garibaldi's celebrity endured, indeed grew, in the face of these episodes. He came to symbolize, far more than Mazzini or anyone else, the radical impulse of the Risorgimento in the public imagination.

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PAOLO POMBENI. *Il primo De Gasperi: La formazione di un leader politico*. Bologna: Il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 305. €23.00.

Alcide De Gasperi (1881–1954) is best known as the prime minister of post-fascist Italy from 1945 until 1953. He was responsible for the country's consolidation as a democratic republic, firmly aligned with the West during the Cold War. There is an ample bibliography on his role during these years, as well as on his earlier opposition to fascism as leader of the Italian Popular Party and founder of its successor, the Christian Democratic Party, in the Resistance movement of 1943–1945.

The publication of the first of what will be a multivolume critical edition of De Gasperi's political writings and speeches is the basis for Paolo Pombeni's study of his earlier political life in a different state, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. De Gasperi was born in Trentino, one of two Italian areas (the port of Trieste was the other) that remained in the empire after Italian unification. Pombeni insists on the importance of this period for De Gasperi's formation as a politician and identifies the major themes of De Gasperi's political beliefs and public life in imperial Austria. The author's contextualization of De Gasperi's activities offers a valuable analysis of the functional difficulties and ultimate stalemate of the representative political system resulting from the nationalisms that dominated the final decades of the Empire, which he illustrates through the political expression of the reciprocal mistrust between German Tyrol and Italian Trentino.

De Gasperi was involved in Catholic political activity even as an adolescent. As a university student at Vienna he was influenced by the social Catholicism that followed Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* and by the antisemitism of Karl Lueger and Georg von Schönerer. Close to the bishop of Trent, Celestino Endrici, he made a rapid political career in his twenties as editor of a Catholic newspaper. The main plank of the new regional party that he organized was that Catholicism was the cohesive national element of Trentino identity. This was not just to differentiate the party from the secular liberals. De Gasperi intuited that this would gain the support of both peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, and his party gained seventy percent of the vote in the first universal (male) suffrage elections in the Trentino. By 1909, when he was elected to the regional Diet, he had chosen his future career as a professional politician; in 1911, he entered the imperial parliament. De Gasperi shared the conviction of the entire Trentino elite of their right to administrative autonomy from Tyrol and their demand for an Italian-language university. Except for a youthful incident in support of courses in Italian at the University of Innsbruck, however, he distanced his party from the Italian irredentism of his contemporary, the soon-to-be-martyred Cesare Battisti, for whom Trent and Trieste were inseparable. De Gasperi's response to the increasingly aggressive politics of Tyrolean Germans was just as consistent. Over the long term, Pombeni concludes, De Gasperi's continuous political rhetoric against "Tyrolese myopia" and its narrow Catholicism served politically to construct a sense of Trentino identity separate from its Habsburg connection. Although he acknowledged the strong influence of Italy, in particular in church-state relations, only in the very final stage of World War I did De Gasperi propose that the region become part of the Italian state; interestingly, the deputies from adjacent Friuli preferred to remain part of Austria.

Pombeni avoids the temptation to read continuities from De Gasperi's formative period as a politician in imperial Austria to his leadership of Italy after the fall

of fascism. It is arguable that the close attention he paid to international relations served him in his peace negotiations after World War II for an Italy regarded by the Allies as a defeated enemy. The successful formula of an interclass Christian Democratic Party presumably owed something to his creation of such a party in his Trentino years, as well as to the Italian Popular Party that he and Don Luigi Sturzo led after World War I. It is interesting to note how, in his early career, De Gasperi carefully avoided involvement in the theological polemic over modernism, condemned by the Vatican. Perhaps the antisemitism that figures so prominently in his speeches and writings of the Trentino years vanished for similar reasons after World War II as unnecessary and inappropriate for a professional politician.

STUART WOOLF
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GARY MARKER. *Imperial Saint: The Cult of St. Catherine and the Dawn of Female Rule in Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 307. \$42.00.

For most of the eighteenth century, Russia's rulers were women, yet Russia had no tradition of female rule. In actual practice, the empresses were highly effective sovereigns, but premodern monarchies also needed to legitimize and justify their activities. In Russian tradition, the tsaritsa was confined to the roles of mother of the heir to the throne and intercessor.

Gary Marker has made a largely successful attempt to explain how female rule could appear in Russia without any great shock to prevailing conceptions of monarchy. Notions about female rulers came to Russia not from the West, where the traditions were ambiguous, but from the gradual emergence of a cult of St. Catherine attached to the women of the Romanov dynasty. It was the Russian Orthodox religion, and not European political thought, that provided a framework. Orthodoxy offered little in the way of prototypes for female rulers; for example, St. Helen and the half-legendary princess Olga of early Rus' were the wives of rulers or regents, not rulers in their own right. St. Catherine unexpectedly provided an image. Although the Orthodox Church commemorated St. Catherine from earliest times, she was not (unlike in the West) a popular saint in Russia. The name Catherine was very rare among Russian women until the seventeenth century, and the first in the ruling dynasty to bear it was the daughter of Tsar Aleksei, born in 1658. Marker shows how the court gradually elevated St. Catherine to a major saint, with churches and monasteries built in her honor and a new version of her life (new to Russia, at least) imported from Western versions via Greek and Ukrainian clerics in Russia. The new version introduced the idea of St. Catherine's mystical marriage to Christ and stressed her royal birth. Thus, when Tsar Peter I had his mistress baptized into Orthodoxy with the new name Catherine and then married her, the stage was set. Marker demonstrates how sermons and panegyrics, icons and churches spread the fame of St. Catherine and repeat-

edly identified her with Peter's wife. As a result, when Peter died in 1725 and the ruling elite and the guards put Catherine on the throne, the image of a virtuous and wise woman, fit to rule, already existed.

Marker lays particular emphasis on the association of St. Catherine (and the empress herself) with St. Petersburg's one monastery, dedicated to St. Alexander Nevsky, whose defeat of the Swedes in 1240 near the site of the new capital gave Peter a reason to make him a patron saint of the city. This observation is well taken, given the centrality of the monastery in the court rituals and religious life of Peter's time, but Marker devotes surprisingly little space to the other great example of the role of Orthodoxy in "sacralizing" the new monarchy, the iconostasis in the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Startlingly innovative in form and content, as Julia Gerasimova has shown, it presented Peter and his family saints (St. Catherine prominently) in the context of a religious conception of the dynasty and state. Since Peter, Catherine, and their successors were buried in the church, its iconographic program was a crucial statement.

The argument of the book would be even stronger if it had fewer small mistakes and typographical errors. Andrei Medvedev is actually Andrei Matveev (a major figure), Maximilian was a Holy Roman Emperor, and so on. The text is also maddeningly lacking in clarity in some important places. The reader never does find out just what is the source for Tsar Aleksei's 1658 dream that led him to name his daughter Catherine, nor is it clear that the Holy Synod justified its acceptance of Peter's order to move the relics of St. Alexander Nevsky to Petersburg by reference to the translation of St. Filipp's relics in 1652. The skeptic might conclude that only the author saw the connection, but it is in the sources of the time.

Marker has clearly shown that the cult of St. Catherine made it possible to conceive of a female ruler in positive, Christian terms, a huge contribution to understanding the political culture of Russia from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries. The fact of female rulership is now much less mysterious, and Marker deserves enormous credit for raising the issue, and, to my knowledge, is the first historian to do so. Perhaps the cult of St. Catherine does not quite explain that final moment when Catherine I ascended the throne as ruling tsaritsa and empress, but it does go a long way toward accounting for the possibility of such an event.

PAUL BUSHKOVITCH
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CHRISTOPH WITZENRATH. *Cossacks and the Russian Empire, 1598–1725: Manipulation, Rebellion and Expansion into Siberia*. (Routledge Studies in the History of Russia and Eastern Europe.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xii, 259. \$150.00.

Christoph Witzenrath offers a nuanced and instructive re-examination of early modern Russia's expansion into

Siberia. The problems encountered by the Russian administration in the East during the long seventeenth century (and its manifold shortcomings) have dominated much of the literature about the colony. Nevertheless, the Russian administration there was in some respects remarkably successful; the vast eastern territory fairly consistently yielded at least ten percent of Russia's state budget (p. 5), and it was quickly absorbed into the empire. Witzentrath's study moves beyond purely administrative explanations for this achievement; he argues that the reason for Russian success in Siberia lay in the evolving interaction of informal Siberian Cossack organizations with Muscovite formal institutions of rule.

Such interaction stemmed from the peculiarities of the Siberian situation. That is, despite growing administrative complexity, the Russian government was unable to extend bureaucratic rule across Siberia. Nonetheless, the regime had symbolic, economic, and organizational advantages to offer, often through powerful local administrators. On the face of it, Siberian Cossack groups (here called *personenverbände*) were not dissimilar to Cossack groups on steppe frontiers: informal, flexible, personal, and the focus of primary loyalty from their members in the service of group goals. But the Russian population of Siberia was dominated by Cossacks, numerically and economically. And the collective goals of Cossack groups reflected their personal needs and desires as military settlers and as participants in segments of the economy that were as lucrative for the state as for themselves—especially in the fur trade and tax collection. If administrators could personally attract the loyalty of Cossack *personenverbände*, the result might be a web of outposts across Siberia that combined “the expectation of faithful service with the needs of independent-minded traders” (p. 85).

An examination of the resulting interactions between Cossack *personenverbände* and a variety of Russian administrators is the focus of the latter part of the book. These interactions were far from simple, and Witzentrath identifies a number of concepts around which negotiations took place, illustrating each profusely. For example, Cossacks might claim an understanding of the sovereign's “true” interests (*gosudarevo delo*, or “the sovereign's affair” in Witzentrath's translation) in order to appeal the decisions of local authority or to raise rebellion against it. Payments to support administrators (*kormlenie*) and their distribution and reinterpretation provided another such fertile ground. The strength of the Cossack *personenverbände* in such situations was both formidable and effective, as Witzentrath demonstrates in his detailed account of Cossack rebellion in the Transbaikalia region at the end of the century.

The concept of the *personenverband* developed in the first chapter of the book is a key element of Witzentrath's analysis. And he offers a detailed, richly researched examination of the *personenverband* in action in the context of Siberian administrative networks. It is perhaps not entirely unfair to wish that he had discussed further the nature and obvious flexibility of the

term “Cossack” in Siberia beyond membership in the *personenverband*; this might have been of particular interest for the other places and other ways that the *personenverband* came into play—in the courts, in the protection of property, and in interactions with the non-Russian population of Siberia. Further, while emphasizing the uniqueness of this Cossack form, he distinguishes it obliquely from other terms for similar associations that were in use in early modern Russia. The *artel* he mentions was typically smaller, while the *mir* (village community) embodied a different understanding of hierarchy and leadership. Again, this study is richly suggestive and begs further discussion. On a rather different note, it is unfortunate that the high cost of this volume may limit its readership; nor, on occasion, is it quite as readable as one might have liked.

This book is both carefully researched and convincingly argued. While locating his work in a broad spectrum of the secondary literature, Witzentrath helpfully summarizes current understandings of workings of Muscovite authority. His research then significantly extends our perception of the extra-institutional functioning of Russian society in the long seventeenth century. The focus on Russia's Siberian colony is particularly important; the diverse arrangements which allowed the extension (and transformation) of Russian administrative and social functions into its regions and colonies have not received the attention they deserve.

CAROL B. STEVENS
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STEPHEN F. WILLIAMS. *Liberal Reform in an Illiberal Regime: The Creation of Private Property in Russia, 1906–1915*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 320. \$15.00.

The dilemma of implementing liberal reform on the part of a government that was neither “liberal or democratic” (p. 2) comprises the central problem in Stephen F. Williams's account of P. A. Stolypin's attempt to transform the property rights of Russia's peasant population. The goal of the reforms, as historians are well aware, was to eliminate gradually the repartitional land commune (*mir*), to encourage Russia's peasants to consolidate their scattered landholdings into unified farms, and thus to increase agricultural productivity. As Williams observes, the reforms were intended not simply as a step toward economic modernization, but as a means of “erasing the formal distinctions” between peasants and other social estates and of investing the former with full rights as citizens (p. 141). Arguing that widespread private property is the fundamental prerequisite for liberal democracy, Williams throughout his work poses the larger question of whether the achievement of security of property on the part of Russia's peasant population might have represented the first step in nurturing a “liberal environment” in late imperial Russia (p. 249).

These are, strictly speaking, not novel questions in the historiography of imperial Russia, and the conclu-

sions that Williams eventually reaches are also much in keeping with those of many previous historians: namely, that the brief tenure of the Stolypin reforms and the intervention of World War I comprise a serious obstacle to judging the reforms' potential for long-term "success." Williams acknowledges from the outset that his book is not a work of archival research, but an interpretation of the progress of the Stolypin reforms (1906–1915) through the lens of the law-and-economics movement with its focus on transaction costs—the "costs of reaching and enforcing agreements" (p. 11). Although Williams's command of the published literature is indisputable, his decision to emphasize economic theory to the detriment of careful source analysis renders much of his argument less than convincing.

In the chapters that follow, Williams provides a meticulous survey of the origins and implementation of the Stolypin reforms. He describes the state of peasant property rights after emancipation, devoting considerable attention to the relative costs and benefits of family tenure, open fields, and the repartitional commune. He devotes particular attention to rejecting the significance of egalitarianism in the peasant world view as an obstacle on the road to agricultural modernization: if the demand for the transformation of property rights did not originate from below, he argues, the tradition of open fields and repartition by no means demonstrate "peasant hostility to private property" (p. 49). Yet Williams has difficulty maintaining this argument when confronted with evidence to the contrary. He asserts that peasants who migrated to Siberia and chose to establish the repartitional commune brought along the idea "as part of their 'cultural baggage'" (p. 47); similarly, he accounts for the takeover of former commune land by the peasantry in 1917 on the grounds that "communes made themselves the engines of land acquisition" (p. 235).

Although much of Williams's discussion of the debate over agrarian reform between the Duma and the autocracy after 1905 is familiar territory for historians, his attention to the problem of land hunger among the peasantry is noteworthy. As he remarks, in light of the amount of gentry land that the peasants had acquired by 1905 and of the concentration of vast gentry estates outside the area of peasant land shortage, even outright redistribution of noble land to the peasantry would have done little to solve the problem of land scarcity without the migration of millions of peasants—an observation that nonetheless fails to acknowledge the perception on the part of much of the peasantry that confiscation of noble property would bring an end to their economic woes.

Williams's evaluation of the impact of the Stolypin reforms is overwhelmingly positive. He considers the extent to which peasants may have been coerced to dissolve the repartitional commune—a state of affairs that would "not augur well for liberal democracy" (p. 179)—but maintains that legal protection for "outvoted minorities" who wished to retain their repartitional status was considerable (p. 185). Despite considerable re-

gional variations, Williams argues in favor of widespread support for the reforms and observes that an analysis of consolidation applications indicates that enthusiasm for the reforms had by no means collapsed by 1911. Yet, he observes, the reforms ultimately fell short of securing property rights. Peasants who converted their title to land received "personal" rather than "private" property, which limited their voting status in zemstvo elections; moreover, restrictions persisted on the disposal of allotment land to anyone who was not a member of the peasant estate. In short, peasants were denied the full benefits of private property and remained subject to the system of tutelage that had originated with emancipation.

In conclusion, Williams admits that the Stolypin reforms were possible precisely because they did not threaten the authority of the autocracy—an assessment, he suggests, albeit briefly, with important implications for land reform in contemporary Russia. Overall, Williams's synthesis of the vast literature on the Stolypin reforms is of considerable value, and the questions he poses are both timely and significant in a comparative context. At the same time, his effort to account for the reaction of the peasantry in terms of contemporary economic models is both thought-provoking and troubling. Despite these drawbacks, Williams's work is well worth reading as an exercise in considering the persistent problem of "liberal" reform from above in the history of imperial Russia.

MICHELLE LAMARCHE MARRESE
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STUART FINKEL. *On the Ideological Front: The Russian Intelligentsia and the Making of the Soviet Public Sphere*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 338. \$55.00.

Like the proverbial London bus, you wait an age for one, and then two come along at the same time. In 2006, Lesley Chamberlain published *The Philosophy Steamer: Lenin and the Exile of the Intelligentsia*, a powerful and evocative study of the 1922 deportation of the cream of Russian intellectuals and their subsequent fates, and now a second book on the same topic has arrived. Although the two works deal with the same topic, however, their approach and level of scholarly analysis are very different. Chamberlain's book, even though substantially researched, was written in a more journalistic style focusing on the individuals involved, while Stuart Finkel's book is a more scholarly study, making extensive use of archival resources and firmly placing the deportations in the historical and theoretical context of the time. Finkel's ambition in this study is not only to detail the sequence of the deportations and the individuals involved, but also to trace how the Bolshevik government got to the point where it was willing to send the flower of the prerevolutionary Russian intelligentsia abroad. In the context of the time, exile was a relatively mild option, and the regime certainly considered

shooting the whole lot—its usual way of dealing with opposition.

The basic outline of events is clear. At the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, the Communist government, faced with the uprising of workers and sailors in Kronstadt and dissent within the ranks of the party, “put the lid on the opposition,” as Vladimir Lenin put it, with the onset of the New Economic Policy (NEP). The economic concessions of the NEP were not accompanied by a thaw in political relations; instead, the Bolshevik dictatorship was intensified since, as Lenin insisted, in a retreat unity becomes even more important. In that context, it was important for the regime to ensure that the “islands of autonomy” represented by independent intellectuals were purged. Hence, a series of deportations was carried out, notably via the German steamship *Preussen* on November 15, 1922. Around 100 intellectuals and their families were sent abroad in late 1922 and early 1923, many of whom would go on to add to the intellectual brilliance of their adopted homelands. Outstanding figures in this regard include the sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin, who ended up in the United States, and the philosopher Nikolai Losskii. An unspecified number were also relocated to various points of internal exile.

Finkel adds much to our knowledge of the details of the expulsions and has a sure touch in tracing the internal debates within the Communist regime. Maxim Gorky emerges as the champion of the intellectuals, but in the end his failure to protect them led to his own eclipse, until later in the 1920s when he made peace with the regime. The commissar of enlightenment (education), Anatolii Lunacharskii, turns out not surprisingly to have been no liberal; he was as ready as any of his Bolshevik colleagues to wield the axe when necessary.

Finkel’s interest goes far beyond the roles and fates of individuals. He sees the expulsion of the intellectuals as a turning point in the development of the Russian public sphere. He calls this *obshchestvennost’*, civic involvement or “public-mindedness” through civic organizations and networks. If up to 1922 there remained a vestigial hope that some sort of independent public sphere under the Bolsheviks could survive, then the deportations made clear that diversity, fragmentation, and independence were not on the regime’s agenda. Instead, a homogeneous and directed Soviet *obshchestvennost’* was encouraged, and thus an independent civil society was extinguished. There could be no neutrality in the class struggle as far as the Bolsheviks were concerned; therefore, those who were not with the Bolsheviks were their enemies. As a consequence, a whole era of Russian history came to an end, in which the intelligentsia considered itself the conscience of the nation, and in its place a Soviet intelligentsia was formed that was organically connected to the regime. The Bolsheviks had made good use of *obshchestvennost’* when in opposition but moved to destroy its traditional forms once in power.

Finkel acknowledges Jürgen Habermas’s idea of the

public sphere as inspiration, but he is well aware that for Habermas the concept was never intended to be applied to wholly different societies. The concept in Finkel’s hands, when applied to Russia, does have some traction and provides a convincing theoretical framework for understanding the structural transformation of the Soviet public sphere in the early 1920s. As good Marxists, the Bolsheviks would never tolerate an independent civil society—hence the destruction of the “old intelligentsia,” whose apotheosis, ironically, they were. As Finkel notes, however, in a concluding thought that could have been developed further, “it was only logical that their [the Bolsheviks’] deep distrust of undisciplined and discordant intellectuals . . . would eventually reach inward” in the form of the purges (p. 226). It was only during Mikhail Gorbachev’s perestroika from 1985 that the old traditions of an independent public sphere were revived, but by then it was too late. Finkel has done an excellent job describing how the Communist regime inflicted a blow on itself from which it never recovered.

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WENDY Z. GOLDMAN. *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin: The Social Dynamics of Repression*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 274. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$22.99.

Before the late 1980s, research on the Great Purges of 1937–1938 was to a large extent captive of officially published Soviet sources. They focused on old Bolsheviks and officials, lionized them, and described their ordeals and the role the political police played in their fates. Terror looked pretty much like a simple police operation. The supreme leader ordered the arrest and murder of people, and his henchmen obediently executed his will. A few historians timidly proposed a somewhat more nuanced interpretation. They wondered if popular discontent and conflicts among officeholders did not fuel the terror. They also argued that the victims did not necessarily accept their fate meekly.

The opening of former Soviet archives changed the perspective. Newly available sources allowed the documentation of the suffering of simple citizens who constituted the overwhelming majority of victims. Understandably, the masses interested researchers more than functionaries. Wendy Z. Goldman demonstrates that the Soviet state apparatus is worthy of attention, among other reasons because its fate throws new light on the role the masses played in the purges. She shows that apparatchiki were not only victims. She even argues that the spread of the terror was inseparable from a strange sort of popular rule.

Goldman studies how party members and members of trade unions reacted in 1937 to the Communist Party Central Committee’s decision to re-elect the leadership of local organizations through secret vote and on the basis of open discussion of candidacies. She concen-

trates on industrial enterprises and workers, the supposed ruling class of the system. The choice was fortunate. Records of party and union meetings of the rank and file are readily available. What is more, archival material of the unions yields information about the behind-the-scenes intrigues of officials.

Workers had good reasons to feel themselves the victims of the regime's drives to collectivize agriculture and industrialize the country. An increasing number of them were fugitives from the countryside. Toilers were suffering from hard living and working conditions. Bolshevik agricultural policies led to crop failures, skyrocketing food prices, and famine. The industrial administration was incomparably more concerned with increasing output than with decent wages, work safety, housing, and social welfare. In the early 1930s, workers were inclined to blame the regime for their hardships.

The situation changed by 1936. Circumstances improved, but not dramatically. However, it seemed that the regime found individuals to bear responsibility for the tribulations of the masses. Loudly publicized show trials highlighted dark machinations of wreckers and plotters who conspired to sap the regime by undermining the confidence of the population. The accused allegedly belonged to underground organizations of the Left and Right oppositions.

This was the context in which voting by secret ballot and public discussion of the merits of officeholders were ordered in party organizations and trade unions. Workers were not really versed in the intricacies of party history. They knew only the difficulties they had to cope with. But this was enough to accuse managers, technical cadres, and party and union officials (who often were not entirely innocent) of neglecting the needs and grievances of the masses. Moreover, they were not always above treating themselves to undeserved privileges and helping erring associates. Party propaganda played up the wheelings and dealings of solidarity networks in the apparatus. Party members and workers were quite knowledgeable about the schemes of local cliques.

The field was wide open for hunting down alleged wreckers, their affiliates, and everybody who could be accused of sympathizing with the opposition. Simple people were by far not the only ones to participate. Officials too were obliged to purge their own ranks. A free-for-all started without a clear pattern. Cadres did their best to shift blame to each other, find scapegoats, and denounce radical critics as enemies of the people. Coterie tried to save members by transferring them to other slots within the administration. The conditions of the masses did not improve. The search for enemies continued after the elections.

Stormy meetings and the purge of this or that person triggered chain reactions of new accusations and spread the campaign to other organizations and localities. The high leadership did not need to busy itself with finding enemies. Hundreds of thousands of people did the job. Many of them fell victim to the terror. But many victims managed to victimize others before their fall. If secret

elections and open discussion amount to democracy, then the process was fairly democratic.

Goldman describes the daily routine of the purges in vivid detail. Her solidly documented work confirms earlier intuitions about the share of bureaucratic infighting and popular input in the terror.

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HIROAKI KUROMIYA. *The Voices of the Dead: Stalin's Great Terror in the 1930s*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 295. \$30.00.

Stalinism stands as one of the darkest chapters in all human history, and among the most horrific pages of this chapter is what historians have dubbed "The Great Terror" of 1937–1938. According to official statistics, in these two years alone the Soviet government executed some 700,000 people for political reasons. Many victims of the Great Terror were high-ranking Communist Party officials and military officers. But the vast majority of those killed were common people rounded up in what the secret police termed "the mass operations" and "the national operations." Those arrested in these operations were interrogated, convicted by secret police tribunals, and, in roughly half the cases, sentenced to death. Secret police agents shot those condemned in the back of the head and dumped their bodies into mass graves.

In his book, Hiroaki Kuromiya seeks to recover the stories of some of the common people arrested and executed during the Great Terror. Relying primarily on secret police documents now held in the former Communist Party archives of Ukraine, he painstakingly reconstructs their lives and tragic fate. As Kuromiya makes clear, interrogation records are a highly problematic source, given the false accusations, threats, and torture employed by the Soviet secret police. He is therefore extremely careful in his handling of these sources. By comparing typed secret police reports with handwritten interrogation transcripts, Kuromiya is able to discern many secret police fabrications within the records. He also notes that even when victims were forced to confess, many times "their confessions retain traces of disbelief and resistance to the absurdity of the charges" (p. 10). His scrupulous reading of documents thus allows him to distinguish fact from fiction and to use these archival materials in a responsible and productive manner.

Kuromiya randomly selected a few dozen cases for close examination. Among the case files he read were several of Soviet citizens arrested due to their connection with foreigners. Vera Goroshko, for example, was a twenty-three-year-old ballerina at the Kiev Opera Theater who had a love affair with a Polish diplomat. Arrested and accused of espionage in 1937, Goroshko repeatedly denied the charge. She nonetheless was convicted and shot, one of over a hundred thousand people executed during the so-called "Polish Operation." Most

victims of this operation were ethnic Poles, who constituted 1.5 percent of Ukraine's population but accounted for 18.9 percent of those arrested in Ukraine during 1937–1938. Other victims of the Polish Operation included Khaia Shirer, a Jewish woman who lived in Kiev but had been born in a Polish town that had been part of the prerevolutionary Russian Empire. Arrested in 1937, she was accused of spying for Poland based on the fact that her orphaned niece had emigrated from Poland to live with her in 1928. Despite the lack of any material evidence, both Shirer and her niece were forced to confess and executed for espionage.

Members of other diaspora nationalities were also targeted during the national operations. Kuromiya tells the stories of ethnic Germans, Latvians, Romanians, Chinese, and Koreans who were repressed at the time. Despite the miniscule number of Koreans living in Kiev, virtually all of them were arrested in 1937, including Ben-shu Kim. Kim was born in Korea but grew up in Russia's Far East and eventually enrolled in a Soviet military academy. After training as a military pilot, he was stationed in Kiev and then arrested for espionage and sabotage on behalf of Japanese intelligence. Despite his refusal to confess, Kim was convicted and sentenced to death. In a desperate attempt to save himself, Kim did belatedly confess, but the next day he was shot anyway.

Kuromiya provides some context for the spy mania that fueled the national operations of the Soviet secret police. He observes that Germany, Poland, and Japan all engaged in espionage against the Soviet Union in the late 1930s. Japanese intelligence officers working out of Berlin, Warsaw, and Riga maintained contacts with Ukrainian nationalists and sought to recruit potential fifth columnists within the Soviet Union. Yet there is no indication that these efforts were successful, and the vast majority of terror victims, including all those examined by Kuromiya, were completely innocent. Kuromiya concludes that Joseph Stalin himself did not perceive any real threat but rather manipulated evidence to justify the terror.

In sum, Kuromiya has written a valuable book based on meticulous research with recently declassified materials of the Soviet secret police. While not a broad interpretive history of Stalinist repression, his work nonetheless makes a vital contribution to our understanding of Stalinism. Undaunted by the difficulty of deciphering handwritten interrogation transcripts, Kuromiya has resurrected the otherwise lost history of the Great Terror's victims. As he states, "Ironically, Stalin's efforts to extinguish their voices helped preserve them, in the depths of their case files" (p. 267). Through Kuromiya's impressive scholarly efforts, the stories of some of these victims have now been told.

DAVID L. HOFFMANN
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[All reviewers of books by Indiana University history faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

LYNNE VIOLA. *The Unknown Gulag: The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 278. \$30.00.

NICOLAS WERTH. *Cannibal Island: Death in a Siberian Gulag*. Foreword by JAN T. GROSS. Translated by STEVEN RENDALL. (Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 223. \$24.95.

These are two extremely important and informative books about different aspects of one of the most tragic and least well understood parts of the Soviet repressive system.

The Soviet repressive system was complex, involving the mass use of executions (known euphemistically as the "highest form of punishment" [*vysshaia mera nakazaniia* or VMN]); sentences of five years or more in the corrective labor camps (often referred to as the Gulag or *ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager'* [ITL]); sentences of shorter terms of imprisonment in jail or isolation cells run by OMZ (*Otdely Mest Zaklucheniia*) or in labor colonies (*Ispravitel'no-trudovye koloni*); sentences of different types of internal exile (special resettlement [*spets-pereselenie*] or labor settlement [*trudovoe poselenie*]); and other lesser punishments. The term "Gulag," which should strictly refer to only one part of this system, is often and rather confusingly used to describe other parts and sometimes all of this system. Our two authors who are writing about the internal exile system have both opted to use the word "Gulag" in their titles.

Lynne Viola's book focuses primarily on those aspects of the system related to the early exile of dekulakized peasants and others drawn into these operations. It offers a fairly full account of the experiences of those exiled during the dekulakization campaign as special settlers (*spets-pereselentsy*). Nicolas Werth's book concentrates on one notorious experience among the labor settlers (*trudovye poselentsy*) in a slightly later period: "the Nazino Tragedy" of 1933. This event involved primarily non-peasants—marginal groups primarily from Moscow, Leningrad, and other urban locations—who were arrested for violating Soviet passport regulations and transported to Nazino in western Siberia. Thus the books complement each other.

Genrikh Yagoda, the deputy head of the Soviet secret police (OGPU) and its effective chief in the early 1930s, plays a prominent role in both of these accounts as the person responsible for setting out grand plans for deportations, which were then partly implemented with disastrous consequences. The difference is that Viola concentrates on Yagoda's grand plan of January 1930, which resulted in the mass dekulakization of over two million peasants and the creation of the first massive forced labor exile empire, while Werth concentrates on Yagoda's "grandiose plan" of February 1933, which aimed at removing all anti-Soviet elements from the cities as well as the countryside. The scale of this latter operation was to be well over two million, because in

1933–1934 alone “a million . . . were to be settled in Western Siberia, and as many in Kazakhstan.” Some of the individuals examined by Viola and Werth were the same people—kulak families who had been arrested but not yet deported and were still clogging up the system. But the 1933 operation also included new waves of victims from the cities and border regions. During these operations, many of the victims died in the most horrendous circumstances, and the two books provide much detail of the suffering of these unfortunate souls. Both Viola and Werth see these tragedies of the early 1930s as leading directly into the Great Terror of the late 1930s. Viola even calls the terror of 1937–1938 the “second dekulakization.”

The strength of both books is the wealth of primary data that each uses, including quite harrowing reports of the anguish of the victims. In the case of Viola’s book, sources also include photographs and survivor narratives. Both books can be linked to a series of major investigations by teams of largely Russian investigators in central and local state, party, and state security archives. Many of the documents that Werth refers to are available in S. A. Krasil’nikov’s edited collection, *Iz istorii zemli Tomskoi. God 1933: Nazinskaia tragediia. Dokumental’noe nauchnoe izdanie* (2002). And many of those used by Viola are available in three major collections of materials edited by V. P. Danilov et al.: *Spets pereselentsy v zapadnoi Sibiri* (1992–1996); *Tragediia sovetskoi derevni: Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie. Dokumenty i materialy, 1927–1939* (1999–2006); and *Sovetskaia derevnia glazami VChK-OGPU-NKVD, 1918–1939: Dokumenty i materialy* (2000–2003). Both Werth and Viola have been involved in these major archival projects, and Viola was responsible for editing *The War against the Peasantry, 1937–1930* (2005), the first volume of the English-language series *Annals of Communism, The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside, 1927–1939*.

The weak point of these books, from my perspective, lies in their analysis of the forces causing this tragedy. Viola’s text continues to employ the concept that was developed in her earlier book, that Joseph Stalin’s relationship with the peasantry was unnecessarily confrontational and warlike. I am not going to argue that the relationship was not confrontational, but I do think that Viola exaggerates the extent to which it was unnecessarily so. Viola fails to see the root problem of a shortage of grain in the late 1920s and appears to accept uncritically that there was plenty of grain in 1927. She states without any explanation that “It is likely that the amount of grain harvested per capita in 1927–28 was not significantly lower than harvests in the pre-war years” (p. 19). This was the argument accepted by Stalin at the time to justify the introduction of extraordinary measures. If this had been the case, then the problem could be simply reduced to a fight over who got the grain surpluses. However, if Soviet grain production in the late 1920s was lower than officially claimed, as I believe that it was, then there was no easy solution to the problem, and the story becomes more complicated.

While it is useful to acknowledge that there were other players in these events than Stalin, the role of Yagoda does seem to be exaggerated in both of these accounts. Yagoda is credited with initiating the preemptive attack on the kulaks with his memo to his top aides of January 11, 1930 and in proposing the establishment of exile centers. Viola does point out that there were other forces within OGPU that appeared at times to be running ahead of the OGPU center, just as OGPU appeared to be running ahead of the party Central Committee in organizing the attack. However, there are grounds for thinking that Yagoda was himself under pressure after E. G. Evdokimov (who had a direct link to Stalin) had on Stalin’s insistence been appointed to replace Yagoda in the critically important Secret Operational Division (SOU) in October 1929. Later, Viola is keen to argue that Nikolai Ezhov should not be scapegoated and assigned all the blame for everything that happened in 1937–1938, but, instead of giving a more sophisticated explanation, she simply suggests that everything should be blamed on Stalin, i.e., a Stalinshchina instead of a Ezhovshchina!

Viola’s victims are primarily peasants, a small proportion of whom were shot and imprisoned as “category one” kulaks, while the bulk was sent in two waves in 1930 and the first half of 1931 to places of special exile. Very little is said about the category one kulaks. Werth’s victims were far more differentiated and included marginal groups rounded up and removed from capital cities and resorts, other groups arrested for infringement of the passport regulations, and convicts who were being moved out of congested prisons, as well as remaining kulak groups. The objective of this later exile was more directly related to tapping the exiles’ labor potential, and their formal description was soon changed from special migrants to labor migrants.

Of course, there is a degree of overlap between these two works, but the reader may well be a little confused in trying to see exactly how the two stories fit together. Viola certainly downplays the role of the non-kulaks, who are the main victims of Werth’s account, and Werth tends to underestimate the role of the kulak operations. Neither has much to say about ethnic deportations, which had already begun in the 1930s and about which the geographer Pavel Polian has written so much.

Werth’s account of the history of the development of extra-judicial treatment of anti-Soviet elements certainly provides the missing link to Viola’s attempt to relate the terror to dekulakization. But big questions remain. How typical was the Nazino affair, and what does it really tell us? Of course, it is shocking to see a population reduced to cannibalism because of neglect, and it is remarkable to have the story so well documented. But we should remember that the story was so well documented because it shocked the Soviet authorities themselves, who ordered a detailed investigation of what had happened. More attention needs to be paid to determining how typical such an event was, rather than presuming that it necessarily casts light on the operation as a whole. I do not want to minimize the guilt

of a regime responsible for such inhumanity, but we do need to be aware that these were not the intended consequences.

Overall, these books mark a quantitative leap forward in data now available in English on these important and complex problems that had previously been much neglected.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR. *The Door of No Return: The History of Cape Coast Castle and the Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: BlueBridge. 2006. Pp. 282. \$24.95.

In 2006, William St. Clair published a trade book in Great Britain entitled *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade*. The following year, the volume was published in the United States under the title *The Door of No Return: The History of Cape Coast Castle and the Atlantic Slave Trade*.

The title change is significant. It had the potential to make the book attractive to an American public that might not be especially interested in the British slave trade but could be in the Atlantic trade. But most importantly, it turned prospective readers' attention to the Africans' stories, thanks to a title that refers directly to the men, women, and children who walked through the door of Cape Coast Castle to board the slave ships, never to return. One would assume that the book was primarily about their experience. But the Africans are not St. Clair's main preoccupation. As stated in his introduction, "By telling the story of just one building, and of some of the men, women, and children who spent part of their lives within its walls, I hope to illuminate an immense panorama of history which, in its entirety is almost impossible to comprehend" (p. 7). There is no doubt that micro-history is revealing, but, contrary to what the author suggests, many studies on a larger scale have already shed some light on that "immense panorama."

This book examines first the buildings of the so-called castle, and then focuses on the lives of the officers, the soldiers, the workers, and the women. The first four chapters on the architecture and the European characters offer some valuable insight into the daily life of the compound. But when St. Clair, who is not a specialist of the slave trade or African history, turns his attention to the African prisoners his work is singularly lacking. He gives an estimate of the total number of deported Africans, eleven million (p. 3), that is decades old. The updated one is 12.5 million. An estimated 116,000 Africans were held at Cape Coast but their experience is surveyed in just sixteen pages of generalities (p. 200–216). Tellingly, the chapter devoted to these captives is entitled "The Great Emporium." If Cape Coast was an emporium, it was so from the perspective of the slave dealers, not of the people confined there. For them, it is safe to say that it was not a marketplace

offering a selection of goods but a sordid, desolate jail. In keeping with the Eurocentric slant of the book, sexual slavery is covered in little more than one page (p. 157–158), while the main focus of the chapter on women is the English poet Letitia Elizabeth Landon, who spent two months in the castle with her husband, Governor George Maclean, before dying there (p. 169–180).

The book offers nothing on the lives and cultures of the captives before their arrival or on the men and women who lived in the vicinity of the castle and interacted with the people inside. But perhaps even more damaging than these glaring omissions is the author's assertion that the prisoners had lost "their family, friends, language, beliefs, customs, ancestors, and name, on their way to the Americas" (p. 244). Terminology is telling: Africans had "beliefs," not religions, "customs," not cultures. But beyond the unconsciously demeaning vocabulary, the historical inaccuracy of the statement is striking. For seven decades, since Melville Herskovits's and Lorenzo Dow Turner's early research, scholars have meticulously studied what are variously called Africanisms, African retentions, or African survivals in the arts, languages, religions, aesthetics, naming practices, crafts, body language, agricultural knowledge, and behavior of the peoples of the African diaspora. St. Clair completely ignores these experts and in one sentence dismisses a large and impressive body of work.

In the end, we learn something about the Europeans who managed Cape Coast, and more about its animals than about its captives. The author's choice to use British archives exclusively considerably limits the value of his research when it comes to non-Europeans. He exhibits no knowledge of Ghanaian cultures and history that could have illuminated his work, and he is not familiar with the abundant scholarship on the slave trade and the African diaspora.

The premise of this study was an interesting one, but whatever its title, the book is deeply flawed.

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BENJAMIN N. LAWRENCE. *Locality, Mobility, and "Nation": Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland, 1900–1960*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 288. \$75.00.

Benjamin N. Lawrence's study of competing understandings of nationhood and ethnicity in Togo offers an intriguing Africanist contribution to the growing literature on nationalist movements in the French Empire. Just as rival, and often overlooked, local interwar understandings of nation and citizenship in Algeria, Lebanon, and Syria have been recently and deftly explored by James McDougall and Michael Provence, this book offers a series of counter-narratives to previous views of nationalist movements in the French Empire. Law-

rance's study examines local and regional political movements in southern Togo between the 1920s and 1960. Togo was the center of efforts by political elites to mobilize ethnicity as a means of rewriting colonial boundaries in the 1940s and 1950s, which, in turn, became a means for creating a new nation based on Ewe ethnicity that would have united southern Togo and parts of Ghana. Most previous studies of politics in late colonial Togo focus on the efforts of Sylvanus Olympio's efforts to form first an Ewe state and then a united Togo, as well as his death in 1963 following a coup d'état that eventually led to the nearly four-decade-long dictatorship of Étienne Eyadema.

This book contends that master narratives of elite nationalist movements, some of which focus on Olympio's fall, have ignored the regional and local political struggles that created varied vocabularies of political action in Togo. These political vocabularies were not just the domain of a small number of Lomé-based political organizations, but reached into a wide range of constituencies throughout southern Togo. Lawrance contends that artificial divides between rural and urban communities obfuscate how nationalist movements and rhetoric emerged through complicated discussions between urban-based, Western-educated, aspiring elites and male and female traders, chiefs, and religious communities. Since political and economic changes following World War I allowed for closer ties between Ewe clan settlements throughout southern Togo and the colonial capital of Lomé on the coast, Lawrance views protests against colonial administrators and efforts to construct bonds of solidarity based on notions of Ewe and Togolese nationhood through what he terms a "peri-urban" lens.

In this book, Lawrance explores a number of village and regional political disputes to highlight the fluidity and complexity of political action in interwar southern Togo. Organizations such as the German Togo-Bund, based in the neighboring British colony of Gold Coast, exemplify the value of expanding the frame of reference for nationalist groups that extend beyond the usual suspects of individual politicians and city-based nationalist groups. The Bund originally began as a group calling for the return of German rule to Togo in the mid-1920s but rapidly became a means of calling for varied political reforms of the French administration in Togo. The Bund lobbied in Germany, in British African colonies, and even at the League of Nations. Like Ewe and later Togolese assertions of nationhood in African newspapers, the Bund often placed the concerns of Ewe communities center stage, even as it claimed to represent the will of Togolese from throughout the colony. In 1933, the divergent methods of political action in southern Togo were reflected in a series of protests in Lomé; female traders confronted colonial officials and state-appointed African chiefs, and there were disputes among notable men involved in city and regional councils. Through a combination of archival and journalistic published sources along with interviews, the author demonstrates the ability of Ewe communities outside of

the capital to act to protect their own interests, especially women cut out of the formal political process.

All in all, this is a solid and well-written study of one of the more neglected countries in West Africa. The book has the potential to address new perspectives on the changing conceptions of nationhood and ethnicity in colonies, although it shares with many other monographs a common problem: its discussion of historiography rarely strays from Africa. This should not deter others from reading this book, especially those scholars examining the development of nationalism in mandates elsewhere. A few other minor difficulties also appear. The repeated efforts to demonstrate the novelty of the concept of peri-urbanity seem unnecessary at times. More importantly, the study sometimes assumes the reader is already familiar with the general progression of nationalist movements in Togo in the 1950s. This seems a bit too optimistic. Despite these minor criticisms, this study deserves attention and would make a welcome addition to graduate courses on nationalism and colonialism.

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JAN-GEORG DEUTSCH. *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884–1914*. (Eastern African Studies.) Oxford: James Currey. 2006. Pp. viii, 276. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Jan-Georg Deutsch's new book presents the apparently anomalous case of German authorities paying lip service to the abolition of slavery in their new East African domain while continuing not just to ignore but in some ways actively to support the continuing existence of slavery. Riding the propaganda of David Livingstone, Henry Morton Stanley, and others at the end of the nineteenth century, the German colonial enterprise in East Africa began with a diplomatic as well as political commitment to end the "barbarities" of the slave trade and slavery. Yet in 1914, fully thirty years after the tentative beginnings of German domination of what is now mainland Tanzania, the German Reichstag was still trying to force the colonial administration to abolish slavery. Although slavery remained legal, the number of people who could be considered slaves in the colony had declined dramatically as German rule drew to a close. Deutsch chronicles the policy-making considerations among German colonial officers, the German colonial office, and the politics of imperial Germany very well. His coverage of the economic, and especially the political and social implications, of the gradual winding down of slavery in German East Africa proves less comprehensive and more derivative from other scholars' work.

Deutsch begins his work with an overview of slavery in East Africa in the nineteenth century. He follows what is now a well known historiography dating back to the works of Edward A. Alpers and Abdul Sheriff to describe the way that the intensification of trade in ivory and spices from East Africa led to the expansion of

slave trading and raiding all the way to the Eastern Congo. Swahili and Arab traders also used slaves to work food plantations from Lake Tanganyika to the coast to feed the caravans and to supply food to the spice-producing islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia. On those islands, slaves made up the workforce for the spice plantations.

German conquest began in the 1880s. The German East Africa Company (D.O.A.G.) sought to work through local elites on the coast, many of whom owned plantations or ran caravans and hence owned slaves. When the imperial government took over the colony in the aftermath of a revolt by elements of coastal society, it followed the prevailing policy and continued to allow slave holders to recapture escapees as well as to recognize local slave market transactions. In reality, the colonial government worked to suppress slave raiding and long distance trading but actively supported slave holders in their attempts to control slaves locally. Even in its policy toward manumission, the government allowed Europeans to both "rent" slaves and to "redeem" slaves who then had to sign contracts to repay the cost of their freedom.

Deutsch demonstrates that the number of people held in slavery declined steadily throughout the German colonial era and argues that the German government would soon have been able to abolish slavery were it not for the war. He claims that, at least after 1905, German rule had reduced the new supply of slaves to next to nil by ending warlordism and refusing to recognize debt-slavery. Most importantly, German rule gradually created the conditions for persons held in slavery to free themselves. The end to warlordism increased security and mobility. The rise of employment opportunities on European-owned plantations and in public works and urban areas gave people the opportunity to earn a living and reduced the dependency of slaves (as well as other socially marginal persons). Deutsch suggests that the most important element in the decline in slavery was the way slaves took advantage of the opportunities to free themselves. For most, the apparent goal was to live an independent life as a small-scale farmer or artisan in an urban area. Many, especially men, had to go through a period of harsh and poorly paid wage labor for Europeans to achieve such a life. For slave holders, the lack of security in land which the German government claimed as public and the lack of capital meant that they could not transform themselves into a landowning class.

Deutsch's book is a valuable addition to the works on the changes brought by colonial conquest and rule in East Africa. He succeeds in explaining the background to Germany's gradualist policy toward slavery. He is less successful in exploring the dramatic social and political changes that took place as slavery declined. He focuses on two regions, the coast where most of the plantations lay before German conquest and the region around Tabora in the central part of the territory, a major trading center in the nineteenth century. However, in part because he used no oral sources, few mis-

sion sources, and hardly used the admittedly small number of locally produced sources, his account of social and cultural change is limited. He acknowledges this limit in this work, but his broad descriptions of social change leave the reader wanting more. In particular, he says very little about social and cultural change in the Tabora area, giving the work a real coastal perspective despite his stated intention. On the whole, this volume does the great service of providing a cogent account of the workings of German colonial rule both at the highest and lowest levels.

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GRACE BANTEBYA KYOMUHENDO and MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Women, Work and Domestic Virtue in Uganda: 1900–2003*. (Eastern Africa Series.) Oxford: James Currey. 2006. Pp. xii, 308. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

This is a book that crosses divides. Written by Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo, a Ugandan development anthropologist, and Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, an American historian of Tudor economy, it makes the reader aware of disciplinary differences in scholarship as it attempts to bridge them. Arguing that beliefs regarding appropriate female behavior constrained Ugandan women's participation in a market economy throughout the twentieth century, the book seeks to contribute to public policy through a concluding set of recommendations, and to historical analysis through its assertion of an enduring yet evolving Ugandan ideal of domestic virtue.

The book succeeds as a historically informed analysis of the barriers to women's engagement with the market economy in the present. It uses interviews with 113 women from seven districts across Uganda to describe how women are currently engaged in productive work and how their experience of work has changed over the course of their lives. Profiles of the lives of a number of these women add depth and detail. Economic, demographic, political, ideological, and legal factors are analyzed separately, and figures illustrate the interaction of these factors in the 1930s, 1970s, and in 2003. The diverse interviewees speak clearly, the analysis is comprehensive, and the recommendations are frank. Those involved in development work involving gender in Uganda will find this book very useful.

The vivid first-person descriptions of the upheaval caused by Idi Amin Dada's "economic war" in the 1970s and the subsequent decades of instability make the book an important source for a period of Ugandan history about which very little has been published. The collapse of Uganda's retail economy drove women into petty trading, and the women interviewed illuminate that transformation through personal stories. Kyomuhendo and McIntosh contend that the governments of Amin and the second presidency of Milton Obote based their actions toward women on a "negative and exaggerated version of the original Domestic Virtue model"

(p. 177). Other historians view the aggressive policing of women's clothing, which occurred elsewhere in Africa as well as in Uganda, as an expression of rulers' uncertainty about their own authority. Another great strength of the book is its extensive bibliography, which seems to include every possible published work on the history of women, and women's labor, in Uganda.

Two aspects of the authors' definition of work limit the value of the historical analysis. They distinguish self-provisioning from agricultural production for cash, and consider production of food to be "domestic" and not "income-generating," unless the crops are intended for sale. This categorization does not really work for Uganda in the present, when elite urban families are partially self-provisioning and food gifts from rural relatives support underpaid urban wage-laborers. Over the course of the twentieth century, women farmers used their food crops not only for "subsistence" but also for security through gift exchange, and to pay school fees, buy clothing, and meet many other cash needs—as the interviewees in the text attest. The domestic virtue model assumes that people produced food for an immediate family, that social relationships did not have economic consequences, and that the economy was fully commodified early in the colonial period and continued to be so. A more complex and nuanced lens might have yielded more illuminating insights about how women have fared in Ugandan economic history.

Women's work in the African past has included the work of governing. Gendered divisions of political power meant that women wielded power in lineage gatherings, in kingdoms, and in multiple layers of women's councils in acephalous societies. Kyomuhendo and McIntosh cite the literature that defines these configurations for societies in what became Uganda, but they claim that British values regarding domesticity were readily accepted in Uganda because they "accorded with the existing social hierarchy and attitudes towards women's roles" (p. 56). This interpretation is apparently based on interviews, but even the eldest interviewee was born a generation after the beginning of colonial rule, and two generations after the dissolution of gendered political power in Uganda's kingdoms. The authors view the assertions of women's voice in early colonial Uganda as a consequence of Protestant missionary support for women's public participation, but another interpretation of the same events is that Ugandan women continued to exercise the public voice they had already had, and Protestant missionaries chose to side with them. According to the authors, "a new pattern of women's behavior was becoming visible" in the 1990s (p. 245), but the characteristics of these "new" women—that as their children grow older they control their own resources and assert public roles for themselves—are not unfamiliar to those who have studied African women in the past. If women in societies that became part of Uganda had well-established and well-accepted public roles before the violence and disruption of the late nineteenth century that led to colonial rule, it is not so surprising that late twentieth-century

Ugandan women exercise power in ways their great-grandmothers might recognize.

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ELIZABETH MACGONAGLE. *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 192. \$75.00.

Elizabeth MacGonagle packs a 400-year sweep of history into a comparatively short volume on the Ndaou people, who live in the border regions of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. She swims against the current of many contemporary social histories by emphasizing continuity rather than disruption and by seeking out the deep roots of contemporary ethnic identification rather than treating ethnicity as primarily an artifact of the colonial and postcolonial eras. This departure from current academic fashion is made possible by MacGonagle's vast array of sources, ranging from the sixteenth-century reports of Portuguese traders to interviews with Ndaou elders alive today. Providing a valuable resource for historians and nonhistorians who live or work in the Ndaou borderlands, this is the first comprehensive account of Ndaou-ness.

The Ndaou are a difficult group to ponder, as they have never constituted a distinct polity. Their language is usually considered one of the many variants of Shona found throughout the region and they do not claim a clear genealogical distinctiveness from their neighbors. MacGonagle has thus taken on a task that requires subtlety and attention to detail as she inquires what makes the Ndaou, as a collection of loosely linked individuals and families, into "the Ndaou" as a coherent social entity.

The first third of the book presents a historical narrative of Ndaou polities and is primarily a state-level story of the rise and fall of large political entities and the economic relations that sustained or destroyed them. The second third, clearly influenced by interactionist and quotidian approaches to identity, presents a more contemporary anatomy of "being Ndaou," including practices such as language, worship, marriage, scarification, farming, and ceramic-making. The final third raises broader questions about identity and community in the present day, including a particularly strong chapter on the significance of being Ndaou in twenty-first century Mozambique.

MacGonagle's repertoire of sources is truly impressive, particularly her interviews with elderly Ndaou in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique. However, if there is fault in this volume, it lies in the conceptual framework that underpins the book. Although "identity" is clearly the key analytical category for MacGonagle, readers do not come away with a clear sense of what she means by that abstract and plastic term. Is identity an individual or a collective attribute? Is it something consciously expressed, or unconsciously enacted, or both? Can broader categories of identity, such as "Ndaou" fissure

into more specific, and possibly antagonistic, subcategories? How, and under what conditions, are identities contested? Under what circumstances are identities self-evident and unproblematic? A fuller exploration of the concept of identity would have helped readers make sense of some of the apparent contradictions that appear sporadically, such as the elders in MacGonagle's interviews who claim that Ndau-ness is only a few generations deep, being the creation of a period of invasion and conquest in the nineteenth century, which can be contrasted with the eighteenth-century European reports of a coherent group of people called Ndau (or variants thereof).

A more complex treatment of identity would also have helped, particularly in the second third of the book, in which everyday life practices are laid out. However, describing "what the Ndau do" is not the same as describing "what identifies Ndau as Ndau." Although MacGonagle's aim in bringing everyday activities into discussion of identity construction is laudable, what the reader sees is a collection of practices that do not seem superficially very different from those of the Shona-derived societies around them, in terms of totemism, marriage, spirituality, language, artifacts, and other social creations. The significant exceptions appear to be types of greetings and forms of tattooing and scarification among women and ear piercing among men, which MacGonagle's informants describe as being specific to the Ndau. Although even the men's ear-piercing is described as something derived from the nineteenth century by Ngoni people, as part of the tremendous political convulsions that shook the region at that time. In other words, it is generally not clear how the Ndau define themselves as an exclusive rather than inclusive group; that is, how they define themselves against non-Ndau Others.

Nonetheless, this book is still a smoothly written, concise, and exhaustively documented account of that indistinct entity called the Ndau, bringing together time scales ranging from the *longue durée* of centuries to the daily chronicity of contemporary Ndau life. For anyone working on the history of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique borderlands, this is an excellent place to start reading.

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DAVID MAXWELL. *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement*. Oxford: James Currey. 2006. Pp. xv, 250. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

The spirit is upon Africa, the spirit of global Pentecostalism. The modern Pentecostal movement, if not the modern Pentecostal idea, emerged in the United States in the opening decade of the twentieth century. From a seemingly unpromising beginning in a black Los Angeles church, pastored by a one-eyed preacher, the Latter Rain poured down, first on a multiracial and multiethnic assembly at the founding Azusa Street congregation, before spreading to the rest of the world.

The result was that, from the standpoint of Christendom, the twentieth century was preeminently a Pentecostal century.

David Maxwell's task in this book is to chart the rise of the Pentecostal movement in Zimbabwe against the wider backdrop of global Pentecostalism. It is a task he executes with considerable aplomb, effectively managing the tension between the local and global. Maxwell focuses on the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA), an ambitiously transnational movement that has expanded its reach into neighboring countries and even outside of Africa, following a growing Zimbabwean diaspora in England. In Zimbabwe, as everywhere else, Pentecostalism is primarily a religion of people on the move, physically, socially, culturally, personally: the migrant, the poor with aspirations for upward social mobility, those with shifting religious loyalties, and individuals in search of healing, including women unable to conceive.

Historical accounts of Pentecostalism lag behind its growth as a global phenomenon. Thus most of the scholarly research focuses on the global North, especially the United States, even as the movement has spread in the global South. From this standpoint, Maxwell's book, one of the few devoted to a particular African denomination, is a welcome addition to the literature. An essential feature of this book is its early and consistent focus on the transnational character of Pentecostalism, from the very beginning. The Latter Rain arrived in southern Africa soon after it appeared in Los Angeles. Contemptuous of organization and bureaucracy, as the early Pentecostals were, their "faith" missionaries arrived on the subcontinent carrying little more than a few tracts, the gifts of the spirit, and a burning desire to spread the new doctrine, which they considered the old doctrine reincarnate.

In southern Africa, ideological commerce followed the patterns of economic production, trade, and migration. Accordingly, Pentecostalism entered Southern Rhodesia (as Zimbabwe was then called) by way of South Africa. The two settler colonial states—South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—adopted quite different policies toward the itinerant Pentecostal missionaries, with the Southern Rhodesian authorities taking a much more antagonistic line than their South African counterparts. Yet despite various attempts at repression, the Pentecostal phenomenon made steady headway in Southern Rhodesia in the first half of the twentieth century, thereby laying the basis for the rise of ZAOGA.

Although officially organized in 1968 (initially as the Assemblies of God, African, or AOGA), the roots of ZAOGA go back a decade earlier, to the 1950s. It was then that a prayer band and a choir, two critical elements of ZAOGA's future success, were organized. A central character in the new venture was Ezekiel Guti, later to become ZAOGA's undisputed and outsized leader. It had not always been that way. Initially, Guti appears to have been no more than *primus inter pares*, the most respected of the founders but in no way ca-

pable of imposing his will in the absence of a consensus. From the 1970s on, however, Guti successively fought off a number of rivals, without and within ZAOGA, all the while accumulating more and more personal authority. To his increasing number of followers, Guti held out the combined promise of heaven and earth, the gifts of the spirit for the world to come and “respectability on a shoestring” in this world. Meanwhile, internal accounts of the movement passed from history to hagiography, with a conflation of ZAOGA and Guti, who now became “the servant of God,” “the Lord’s anointed,” and so forth. Congregants began praying to the “God of Ezekiel,” as in Ezekiel Guti.

Guti’s transition from pastor to prophet was aided by various connections in the United States, the Americans providing money and technical advice, especially in the area of electronic media. Similarly, Guti’s turn toward ecclesiastical authoritarianism—a trend entirely consistent with events in contemporary Pentecostalism globally, not least in the United States—proceeded hand in hand with an increasingly cozy relationship with the state. Guti first struck a concordat, of sorts, with the Rhodesian white settler state in the 1970s. After independence in 1980, the ZAOGA leader drew closer to the triumphant African nationalist government under Robert Mugabe, accentuating his own African cultural nationalism in the process. As it became increasingly unpopular toward the end of the 1990s, however, the wily Guti distanced himself from the Mugabe regime. Thus stands vindicated Maxwell’s argument that ZAOGA “was neither captured by the [African] nationalists nor co-opted by the [white] Rhodesian state” (p. 84). Evidently, Guti is prepared to give Caesar his due—as long as ZAOGA’s, which is to say Guti’s, interests are served.

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JULIE LIVINGSTON. *Debility and the Moral Imagination in Botswana*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 310. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The worldwide AIDS pandemic, the emergence of the Gates Foundation and other institutions as influential funding organizations, the internationalization of populations and goods, and the continuing importance of postcolonial studies as an academic field have fueled intense scholarly interest in global health. Far too often, this work has suffered from two principal foibles. In emphasizing the global dimensions of sickness and health, researchers have at times forsaken the “local”: the particular confluences of time, space, and culture that profoundly shape social and individual experience. In addition, many such works have been polarized in unproductive debates over what factors have most deeply informed the health inequities and epidemiological patterns of past and present. Where some have seen cultural difference as paramount, others have in-

sisted that the inherent violence of a global or colonial political economy has been the critical determinant of disease risk and poor health outcomes.

Julie Livingston’s marvelous book provides a way out of these impasses. The book evinces her expert training in African history, medical anthropology, and public health, and tells a compelling story about the place of the body and its vulnerabilities in the social constitution of self and community in twentieth-century Botswana. Along the way, Livingston provides rich details about the ways in which the physical, social, and structural violence of colonialism and modernization in southern Africa have both reflected and influenced the lives of the Botswana. With a keen eye toward the particularities of place and culture, she nevertheless portrays an intersection of worlds—colonizer and colonized, biomedicine and local knowledge, modernization theory and social practice—that should be required reading for Africanists, historians of medicine and public health, medical anthropologists, and development policymakers interested in globalization on the ground.

Livingston’s definition of debility is a flexible one, referring both to the “impairments” of disability and the “frailties associated with chronic illness and aging” (p. 6). The central premise of the book is that exogenous and endogenous historical transformations in modern Botswana have had deep impacts on local ideas about selfhood, the body, and health. The book’s chapters are primarily thematic rather than chronological. Livingston explores themes, such as family, labor, therapeutics, and development in depth, touching down at various historical moments in each chapter to provide a rich genealogy of evolving sensibilities of body, community, and debility. As a result, the book is less about a radical breach between colonial and postcolonial periods, and more about historical and cultural factors that have produced social knowledge about bodily vulnerability and healing.

The story of Kago is emblematic of the histories she relates. A sole wage earner in his extended family, he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage as a result of a mining accident. The accident provoked a deep dispute in his family, exacerbating tensions between his wife and his mother and sisters that had appeared soon after their marriage. When his wife sought to help with his rehabilitation by teaching him to feed himself and operate a wheelchair, his mother saw this as evidence of poor domestic practice: a proper wife would instead feed him and carry him herself. While his wife was away at a funeral, Kago’s mother coerced her son into turning over a meager settlement provided by the mining company, claiming all the while that his wife had been unfaithful during his absences. Kago’s physical disability and resulting emotional collapse provide a frame for a larger story that Livingston relates in the book—one about divergent ideas about rehabilitation and its meanings, but also about gender, family, a struggle for resources in the context of grinding poverty, and the strains of labor migration in a postcolonial economy. Such cases provide insight into what Livingston calls the “moral

imagination" of body and community in Botswana. Disability is both an individual and social phenomenon: it by definition isolates the sufferer from the larger community, but also plays a critical role in the social constitution of the self.

Livingston's story is an important one not only for the insight it provides into the relationship between ideas about bodily integrity, personhood, and moral obligation, but also for her attention to woefully neglected aspects of sickness and health in postcolonial Africa. Where scholars have dwelt at length on the historical and contemporary dimensions of infectious disease in sub-Saharan Africa, they have paid very little attention to phenomena such as chronic disease, disability, and aging. And yet these phenomena and their corporal manifestations are precisely the basis for most interactions among African patients and healers—both biomedical and traditional practitioners. As the staggering mortality of HIV/AIDS and malaria in Africa increasingly preoccupy policymakers and scholars alike, Livingston deserves credit for recognizing that those afflicted by these diseases are at great risk of premature death, but that they also do "a lot of living" with these diseases before they die. In a moment marked by profound global health inequity, the careful study of these forms of living and dying provides a keen insight into the meaning of such inequity in local social worlds.

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ELIZABETH A. ELDRIDGE. *Power in Colonial Africa: Conflict and Discourse in Lesotho, 1870–1960*. (Africa and the Diaspora: History, Politics, and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 260. \$65.00.

The colonization of southern Africa by whites was never as easy as British or Boer armies invading and planting a flag. The colonial takeover was a long, drawn-out process lasting until the end of the nineteenth century that involved both armed conflict and broader, more subtle changes in the political economy and culture of African societies. Elizabeth A. Eldredge, in her book on the colonization of the mountain kingdom of Lesotho, explores the dynamics both of rebellion and of widespread, often underground resistance to the norms of colonial rule. Completely surrounded by South Africa, Lesotho is a small country with a distinctive colonial past, in the sense that it was ruled directly by Great Britain for most of its period of colonization. But the history of Lesotho, following rebellions in the 1870s and 1880s, is representative of the experience of conquest endured by Africans throughout southern Africa. Other scholars have written political, social, and economic histories of Lesotho, but Eldredge's history is unique in its attempt to describe the political consciousness of the Sotho people over the whole period of colonial rule. She extracts the words of Sotho subjects from archival sources and gov-

ernment documents, and interprets their meaning using her own experiences of living in the country and speaking to numerous people about their history.

Eldredge uses the concept of public and hidden transcripts developed by James C. Scott in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990) to describe the techniques the BaSotho people used to accommodate and simultaneously to deflect the often overbearing colonial administration. She states that scholars have too long assumed that the dominant discourse in a colonial setting will always be the discourse of the colonizer, and she brings to the fore the political discourse engaged in by BaSotho in colonial settings, such as magistrates' courts, as well as in the ongoing Sotho version of a town meeting, the pitso. Sotho chiefs and commoners routinely voiced one political opinion when speaking to one another, while voicing a different opinion, often couched in a language of deference to colonial rule, to white administrators. This strategy of dissembling, Eldredge suggests, was the way in which people engaged in a guerrilla war of words and retained some control over their own political destinies.

She also notes, however, the toxic effect that continually consorting with the colonial state had on the power of the chiefs. By the 1940s, neither chiefs nor colonial administrators could routinely demand and receive the political deference they needed and wanted from the subject population. In this context, some chiefs participated in a string of "medicine murders" in the 1940s. These murders were attempts by the chiefs "to enhance their political positions, as senior Principal chiefs, by means understood in a SeSotho discourse on power that asserted that strength could be obtained from 'medicine horns' containing, among other ingredients, human flesh and blood" (p. 169). In discussing these murders, Eldredge highlights the supernatural foundations of political power. Her argument is that the chiefs only resorted to these extreme uses of supernatural power because they feared the loss of their political power and hoped to use the most horrifying medicine to instill a sense of awe in BaSotho subjects.

British administrators responded by trying and executing two of the chiefs involved, but the medicine murders continued in the countryside for ten years (into the 1950s). In fact, the inability of the British to end the murders undermined the power of the colonial administration, and this coincided chronologically with rumors of the end of colonial rule in other parts of the British Empire. People began to see colonial power as politically and supernaturally weak, and whatever dominance the colonial discourse had exercised previously was as dead as the victims of the medicine murders themselves.

Although Eldredge does provide a brief background to these magically charged murders dating back to the nineteenth century, she does not provide a broader history of the relationship between supernatural and political power among the BaSotho. Without this more detailed background, the murders seem perhaps more shocking to readers than they did to the BaSotho them-

selves, who at least understood the wider lexicon of supernatural power that the murders invoked. While this is a relatively small criticism of an elegantly written book, it does speak to the author's larger argument about the tensions between sovereignty and the rule of law. Without an understanding of the supernatural foundations of power within Sotho society (the hidden transcript), British administrators were never in a position to do anything more than superimpose their legal system and enforce their laws when they could. Sovereignty and legitimacy eluded the colonial regime. This is the bedrock argument that Eldredge makes, and it has a wider resonance beyond the borders of Lesotho.

SEAN REDDING
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DAVID GRAEBER. *Lost People: Magic and the Legacy of Slavery in Madagascar*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp.xiii, 469. \$25.95.

Madagascar's peoples possess a unique blend of Asian and African cultures; recent history reflects continuing antagonisms arising from the clash of ancestral beliefs and Christianity, of caste divisions, and of slave relations. The island is thus a favored field for anthropologists, some of whom—examples include Michael Lambek, Gillian Feeley-Harnik, and Sandra Evers—have combined anthropological and historical techniques to provide rich insights into aspects of the recent history of the island. David Graeber here sets out to elucidate the enduring and contentious history of slave relations by examining the historical roots of the ultimately successful challenge by people of slave descent to the economic, political, and social power of people of free descent in Betafo, a small settlement near the large town of Arivonimamo, some thirty kilometers west of the capital city of Antananarivo.

It is possibly a reflection of his self-described role as an "anarchist anthropologist" that Graeber adopts a research approach that immediately raises questions of definition and method. First, he seeks to position the discipline of anthropology alongside that of history, and his role in this study as akin to that of a historian of community politics. However, his definitions of history and of politics are highly idiosyncratic: for Graeber history comprises "actions which could not have been predicted before they happened . . . the record of those actions which are not simply cyclical, repetitive, or inevitable" (p. 387). He defines politics "as mainly about the circulation of stories" (p. 309). Yet he makes no attempt to explain how he arrived at such definitions, or their relevance to his work.

Second, Graeber establishes the philosophical principle that humanity is one and thus the researcher should not distance him or herself from the subject. There is little awareness that such an approach might undermine the objectivity so crucial to critical reflection, and the application of this principle to his research is problematic. Graeber relies on accidental rather than purposeful encounters with people, and on unrestricted

rather than directed conversation with them, in order to elucidate the critical issues and their historical context. He thus permitted a chance encounter in Arivonimamo to lead him to Betafo, where he discovered the issue of his book: a rivalry between people of ex-slave and of free descent that led to the "disaster of 1987" (p. 239)—a hyperbolic reference to one of the more recent outbreaks of communal tension. In the large number of interviews that followed, however, Graeber permits his outsider "friends" not only to be present but to direct much of the interviewing, particularly Chantal, a twenty-five-year-old woman from Arivonimamo, and Miadana, a forty-five-year-old immigrant from Antananarivo. Never does Graeber discuss their qualifications for seemingly uncontrolled participation in his research, nor the implications of so doing for his relations with Betafo residents, or for his research findings.

In addition, Graeber's grasp of the historical context for communal dissent in Betafo is patchy at best. Of critical importance here is the history of slavery. Graeber considers that slaves in nineteenth-century Imerina formed forty percent of the total population (p. 47). However, this estimate is based on two official records relating to Betafo only (p. 109). Records for Imerina as a whole indicate the probability that more like thirty percent of the total population were slaves. Also, Graeber dismisses local informants of slave descent who claimed to be of Betsileo (southern highland) ancestry (p. 224). Instead, he asserts that they comprised "people kidnapped from the coast" (p. 34) in "the slave-raiding wars of the '40s and '50s" (p. 114). Relentless slave-raiding and kidnapping campaigns were launched against non-Merina peoples, but they started in the late eighteenth century, died out in the 1850s, and were directed against both lowland and neighboring highland peoples, notably the Betsileo who inhabited as far north as Vakinankaratra, which bordered on the Arivonimamo region. In addition, Graeber completely ignores the other two main slave sources, enslaved Merina and African slave imports.

As problematic is Graeber's terminology. Throughout he uses the term "slave" interchangeably with "black" and Andriana with "free person," "slave-master," and "white." Graeber thus establishes the basis for an easy comparison with the conventional race-based slavery of the Americas, one confirmed by his description of the social death suffered by Malagasy slaves, their permanent uprootedness, and their resort to theft and brigandage (p. 202). This is highly misleading. *Mainty* and *fotsy*, the Malagasy terms for "black" and "white" he is referring to here, are indicative of ritual impurity and purity rather than of skin color. As critically, Graeber has little understanding of the role in the nineteenth-century of forced labor, which decimated or impoverished swathes of free subjects, and from which slaves were exempt. Indeed, many slaves with the possibility of redeeming themselves preferred to retain their slave status rather than be liberated into imperial forced labor camps.

Finally, Graeber never alludes to the fact that

Arivonimamo, the town where he lived while doing his research, was where the Menalamba Revolt of 1895–1897 first erupted. This revolt, which had its origins in the exploitative forced labor policies of an imperial Merina regime, must have affected nearby Betafo, yet it is entirely discounted by Graeber.

In sum, Graeber employs questionable techniques, and establishes a dichotomy between slave and free

based on shaky historical analysis. In addition, the volume is often stylistically convoluted, sometimes self-indulgent in tone, and way too long. In a moment of startling candor, Graeber remarks of one of his chief interviewees, “as time went on . . . he became suspicious, perhaps, too, a little bored with me.” Be warned.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JAMES F. BROOKS, CHRISTOPHER R. N. DECORSE, and JOHN WALTON, editors. *Small Worlds: Method, Meaning, and Narrative in Microhistory*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School for Advanced Research Press. 2008. \$49.95.

RICHARD MADDOX, Lived Hegemonies and Biographical Fragments: Microsteps toward a Counterhistory of the Spanish Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy. KATHLEEN BLEE, The Hidden Weight of the Past: A Microhistory of a Failed Social Movement. PAUL K. EISS, To Write Liberation: Time, History, and Hope in Yucatán. CHRISTOPHER R. N. DECORSE, Varied Pasts: History, Oral Tradition, and Archaeology on the Mina Coast. JOHN WALTON, Arson, Social Control, and Popular Justice in the American West: The Uses of Microhistory. MICHAEL HARKIN, The Floating Island: Anachronism and Paradox in the Lost Colony. LINDA GORDON, Biography as Microhistory, Photography as Microhistory: Documentary Photographer Dorothea Lange as Subject and Agent of Microhistory. MARY C. BEAUDRY, "Above Vulgar Economy": The Intersection of Historical Archaeology and Microhistory in Writing Archaeological Biographies of Two New England Merchants. REBECCA JEAN EMIGH, What Influences Official Information? Exploring Aggregate Microhistories of the Catasto of 1427. DALE TOMICH, Anomalies, Clues, and Neglected Transcripts: Microhistory and Representations of the Cuban Sugar Frontier, 1820–1860. JAMES F. BROOKS, Seductions and Betrayals: La Frontera Gauchesque, Argentine Nationalism, and the Predicaments of Hybridity. KENT G. LIGHTFOOT, Oral Traditions and Material Things: Constructing Histories of Native People in Colonial Settings.

LINDA S. LEVSTIK and KEITH C. BARTON. *Researching History Education: Theory, Method, and Context*. New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. xv, 423. \$49.95.

LINDA S. LEVSTIK, Narrative as a Primary Act of Mind? LINDA S. LEVSTIK, The Relationship between Historical Response and Narrative in a Sixth-Grade Classroom. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, Building a Sense of History in a First-Grade Classroom. KEITH C. BARTON, Visualizing Time. KEITH C. BARTON and LINDA S. LEVSTIK, "Back When God Was Around and Everything": Elementary Children's Understanding of Historical Time. LINDA

S. LEVSTIK and KEITH C. BARTON, "They Still Use Some of Their Past": Historical Salience in Elementary Children's Chronological Thinking. KEITH C. BARTON, Making Connections. KEITH C. BARTON, "Bossed Around by the Queen": Elementary Students' Understanding of Individuals and Institutions in History. KEITH C. BARTON, Narrative Simplifications in Elementary Students' Historical Thinking. KEITH C. BARTON, "I Just Kinda Know": Elementary Students' Ideas about Historical Evidence. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, What Makes the Past Worth Knowing? KEITH C. BARTON and LINDA S. LEVSTIK, "It Wasn't a Good Part of History": National Identity and Students' Explanations of Historical Significance. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, Articulating the Silences: Teachers' and Adolescents' Conceptions of Historical Significance. KEITH C. BARTON, Challenging the Familiar. KEITH C. BARTON, A Sociocultural Perspective on Children's Understanding of Historical Change: Comparative Findings from Northern Ireland and the United States. KEITH C. BARTON, "You'd Be Wanting to Know about the Past": Social Contexts of Children's Historical Understanding in Northern Ireland and the U.S.A.. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, Border Crossings. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, Crossing the Empty Spaces: Perspective Taking in New Zealand Adolescents' Understanding of National History. LINDA S. LEVSTIK, A. GWYNN HENDERSON, and JENNIFER S. SCHLARB, Digging for Clues: An Archaeological Exploration of Historical Cognition.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ENRICO DAL LAGO and CONSTANTINA KATSARI, editors. *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 375. \$99.00.

ENRICO DAL LAGO and CONSTANTINA KATSARI, The Study of Ancient and Modern Slave Systems: Setting an Agenda for Comparison. ORLANDO PATTERSON, Slavery, Gender, and Work in the Pre-Modern World and Early Greece: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. JOSEPH C. MILLER, Slaving as Historical Process: Examples from the Ancient Mediterranean and the Modern Atlantic. WALTER SCHEIDEL, The Comparative Economics of Slavery in the Greco-Roman World. TRACEY RIHLL, Slavery and Technology in Pre-Industrial Contexts. MICHAEL ZEUSKE, Comparing or Interlinking? Economic Comparisons of Early Nineteenth-Century Slave Systems in the Americas in Historical Perspective. ENRICO DAL LAGO and CONSTANTINA KATSARI, Ideal Models of Slave Management in the Roman World and in the Ante-Bellum American South. RAFAEL DE BIVAR MARQUESE and FÁBIO DUARTE JOLY, Panis, Disciplina, et Opus Servo: The Jesuit Ideology in Portuguese America and Greco-Roman Ideas of Slavery. OLIVIER PÉTRÉ-GRENOUILLEAU, Pro-

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A. DIRK MOSES, editor. *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 12.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2008. Pp. x, 491. \$95.00.

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TOYIN FALOLA and KEVIN D. ROBERTS, editors. *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 385. \$24.95.

PATRICIA PEARSON, *The World of the Atlantic before the "Atlantic World": Africa, Europe, and the Americas before 1450*. TIMOTHY P. GRADY, *Contact and Conquest in Africa and the Americas*. ALISON GAMES, *Migrations and Frontiers*. MICHAEL GUASCO, *From Servitude to Slavery*. TIMOTHY R. BUCKNER, *The Slave Trade's Apex in the Eighteenth Century*. ARIBIDESI A. USMAN, *The Nineteenth-Century Black Atlantic*. KEN ASLAKSON, *Women in the Atlantic World*. DOUGLAS B. CHAMBERS, *The Black Atlantic: Theory, Method, and Practice*. DAVID CAHILL, *Independence Movements in the New World*. MAURICE JACKSON, *The Rise of Abolition*. JOEL E. TISHKEN, *African Independence Movements*. E. G. IWERIEBOR and AMANDA WARNOCK, *The Diasporic Dimensions of Caribbean Nationalism, 1900–1959*. CAROL ANDERSON, *The Cold War in the Atlantic World*. AMANDA WARNOCK, *Gender and Identity in the Twentieth-Century Atlantic World*. MAXIM MATUSEV-

ICH, *Reparation and Repair: Reform Movements in the Atlantic World*.

DORIS L. GARRAWAY, editor. *Tree of Liberty: Cultural Legacies of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*. (New World Studies.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 280. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.50.

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MINA ROCES and LOUISE EDWARDS, editors. *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*. (The Sussex Library of Asian Studies.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 276. \$75.00.

LOUISE EDWARDS and MINA ROCES, *Trans-National Flows and the Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*. MINA ROCES, *Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines*. LOUISE EDWARDS, *Dressing for Power: Scholars' Robes, School Uniforms and Military Attire in China*. MAURIZIO PELEGGI, *Refashioning Civilization: Dress and Bodily Practice in Thai Nation-Building*. BARBARA MOLONY, *Gender, Citizenship and Dress in Modernizing Japan*. JEAN GELMAN TAYLOR, *Identity, Nation and Islam: A Dialogue about Men's and Women's Dress in Indonesia*. PENNY EDWARDS, "Dressed in a Little Brief Authority": *Clothing the Body Politic in Burma*. BLANCA TOVIAS, *Power Dressing on the Prairies: The Grammar of Blackfoot Leadership Dress 1750–1930*. REBECCA EARLE, *Nationalism and National Dress in Spanish America*. DAVID CAHILL, *Refashioning the Inca: Costume, Political Power and Identity in Late Bourbon Peru*. BARBARA A. SOMMER, *Wigs, Weapons, Tattoos and Shoes: Getting Dressed in Colonial Amazonia and Brazil*. MAGALI M. CARRERA, *Fabricating Specimen Citizens: Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. REGINA A. ROOT, *Urban Expressions of Solidarity: Fashioning Citizenship in Argentina*.

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- MEISELAS, SUSAN. *Kurdistan: In the Shadow of History*. Foreword by MARTIN VAN BRUINSEN. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 429. Cloth \$100.00, paper \$49.00.
- IZZ AL-DIN IBN AL-ATHĪR. *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh. Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231, The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*. Translated by D. S. RICHARDS. (Crusade Texts in Translation, number 17.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2008. Pp. viii, 331. \$99.95.

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- CAMPBELL, COLIN. *The Easternization of the West: A Thematic Account of Cultural Change in the Modern Era.* (The Yale Cultural Sociology Series.) Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers. 2007. Pp. x, 438. Cloth \$92.00, paper \$42.95.
- KOMESAROFF, LINDA. *Disabling Pedagogy: Power, Politics, and Deaf Education.* Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 139. \$45.00.
- KUZMINSKI, ADRIAN. *Fixing the System: A History of Populism, Ancient and Modern.* New York: Continuum. 2008. Pp. xiii, 218. \$18.95.
- PROCTOR, ROBERT N., and LONDA SCHIEBINGER, editors. *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 298. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- SAHLINS, MARSHALL. *The Western Illusion of Human Nature: With Reflections on the Long History of Hierarchy, Equality, and the Sublimation of Anarchy in the West, and Comparative Notes on Other Conceptions of the Human Condition.* Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press. 2008. Pp. 112. \$12.95.
- SCHUMAN, HOWARD. *Method and Meaning in Polls and Surveys.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 214. \$39.95.
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- MICHAEL, editors. *All-Stars and Movie Stars: Sports in Film and History.* (Film and History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. ix, 318. \$40.00.
- CANTOR, DAVID, editor. *Cancer in the Twentieth Century.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 350. \$25.00.
- CAWTHORNE, NIGEL. *The Mammoth Book of Inside the Elite Forces: Training, Equipment and Endeavours of British and American Elite Combat Units.* London: Constable & Robinson. Philadelphia: Running Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 551. \$13.95.
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- CONTOSTA, DAVID R. *Rebel Giants: The Revolutionary Lives of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin.* Amherst, N. Y.: Prometheus. 2008. Pp. 365. \$26.95.
- COWAN, RUTH SCHWARTZ. *Heredity and Hope: The Case for Genetic Screening.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 292. \$27.95.
- DAY, DAVID. *Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 288. \$24.95.
- DIERIKX, MARC. *Clipping the Clouds: How Air Travel Changed the World.* (Moving through History: Transportation and Society.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. xi, 202. \$49.95.
- DORMAN, ANDREW, and GREG KENNEDY, editors. *War and Diplomacy: From World War I to the War on Terrorism.* Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2008. Pp. ix, 245. \$60.00.
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- HAWLEY, JOHN C., editor. *India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. 296. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- ISSERMAN, MAURICE, and STEWART WEAVER. *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes.* Maps by DEE MOLENAAR. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 579. \$39.95.
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- BODENHAMER, DAVID J. and JAMES W. ELY, JR., editors *The Bill of Rights in Modern America*. Rev. ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 322. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.
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- BRUNDAGE, W. FITZHUGH. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 418. Paper \$19.95.
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- BUHLE, PAUL, editor. *Jews and American Comics: An Illustrated History of an American Art Form*. New York: New Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 198. \$29.95.
- BURKS, JEAN M., editor *Shaker Design: Out of This World*. Assisted by ROBERT P. EMLIN, ET AL. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, New York, and the Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont. 2008. Pp. ix, 245. \$80.00.
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- CARTER, JAMES M. *Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State Building, 1954-1968*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 268. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$22.99.
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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

Perhaps one should leave well enough alone when a reviewer calls one's book "magisterial and engaging" and selects it as one of five studies important enough to focus on in a lengthy review essay ("What's Left? Popular Political Participation in Postwar Europe," *AHR*, April 2008, 363–390). Even so, there are disturbing aspects to Belinda Davis's treatment of my *Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present* (vol. 3 of *The Struggle against the Bomb*) that should be addressed.

Although I have never communicated with Davis, she apparently considers herself an expert on my motives. For example, she argues that "Wittner aims to encourage ongoing activism" by writing "what might best inspire readers." Actually, however, as I pointed out in the preface to *One World or None* (vol. 1 of *The Struggle against the Bomb*), I embarked on my study of the nuclear disarmament movement to find out why it had failed. Only gradually, in the course of my research, did I discover that, in a number of ways, the popular movement had succeeded. If, therefore, *Toward Nuclear Abolition* is inspirational, that is not because this was my aim, but because this was my conclusion.

Davis also argues that I underestimate the role of communists and overestimate the role of social democrats in the European nuclear disarmament campaign. Actually, however, *Toward Nuclear Abolition* provides substantial coverage of communist activism, including a great deal of hitherto unknown material on the World Peace Council and its affiliates. Davis complains that

"virtually no good communist lives in these pages," and although this is an exaggeration, it is certainly true that I do not regard communist parties, by and large, as having performed an honest or a useful role in the campaign for a nuclear-free world. But, for the most part, social democratic parties have played such a role, as have their leaders (e.g., West Germany's Willy Brandt, Sweden's Olof Palme, and Britain's Michael Foot), and I think it unfair to dismiss them—as Davis seems to do—as political opportunists.

Finally, Davis distorts the thesis of *Toward Nuclear Abolition* when she contends that its "fundamental assertion" is that "there was no nuclear war because protesters convinced their leaders not to engage in it." In fact, the book has a subtler thesis, stated clearly in the conclusion: "Concerned citizens played a central role in curbing the nuclear arms race and preventing nuclear war."

Of course, this proposition is also controversial, and there is no way that I can prove it in a short letter. But let me provide a very brief illustration. By the time Ronald Reagan became president of the United States, he had opposed every nuclear arms control treaty signed by his Democratic and Republican predecessors. In addition, during his 1980 campaign, he repeatedly called for a massive U.S. nuclear buildup and spoke glibly of waging nuclear war. This behavior did much to call the massive nuclear disarmament campaign into existence, and in turn, the campaign did much to temper Reagan's hawkishness. Starting in April 1982, a month after a Nuclear Freeze resolution was introduced into the U.S. Congress, Reagan began declaring publicly that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought." He added: "To those who protest against nuclear war, I can only say: 'I'm with you!'" The following year, in the context of the massive public protests against the Euromissiles, Reagan told his startled secretary of state, George Shultz, "If things get hotter and hotter and arms control remains an issue, maybe I should go see Andropov and propose eliminating all nuclear weapons." Shultz was horrified by this idea. But Reagan followed through, and in January 1984, he delivered a remarkable public address calling for a nuclear-free world. After Mikhail Gorbachev—a self-professed convert of the nuclear disarmament movement—became Soviet party secre-

tary in 1985, the two world leaders began moving in that direction.

Scholars who would like to see the massive evidence—drawn from once-secret government files, memoirs, and interviews—that bolsters the case for the significant impact of the nuclear disarmament movement upon public policy are welcome to explore the 657 pages of *Toward Nuclear Abolition*.

LAWRENCE S. WITTNER

State University of New York, Albany

BELINDA DAVIS RESPONDS:

It is a shame to have to write a response emphasizing what I found to be the weaknesses of *Toward Nuclear Abolition*. I used the text as a test case of what could be achieved in a study that reaches not only across the globe, but also up and down levels of power. It seems difficult to imagine that such an ambitious project could be without its liabilities, and I hoped in my article to consider what seemed more and less insuperable among these.

Professor Wittner writes that among the “disturbing” aspects of my treatment are assumptions of expertise concerning his motives. He corrects: the inspirational qualities were his conclusion, not his aim. This seems to be picking nits, and some rather commensalist nits at that. The first page of the study urges, “Thus, even as we celebrate human achievement, we would do well to reflect upon our own responsibility to complete the important task that others have begun.” The conclusion asks, “What, then, will it take to abolish nuclear weapons? As this study suggests, it will certainly require a vigilant citizenry, unwilling to settle for anything less than a nuclear-free world.” If I was presumptuous in understanding that he was thereby intentionally encouraging ongoing popular peace activism, then I stand corrected on that point. In any case, his motivations were no point of criticism, but rather “perhaps” one source of what I considered some of the pitfalls of the volume.

Professor Wittner challenges my assertion that he has largely dismissed the role of communists in the peace movement in 1970s–1980s Europe. It is true that the book refers in several places to the World Peace Council (WPC) and the “aligned” (versus the “non-aligned”) peace movement, which he claims played a neutral to pernicious role. But this was not the limit of communist identity in Europe, certainly in Western—or non-aligned—Europe, nor of the involvement of communists in peace activism. Professor Wittner does acknowledge the role of the Italian Communist Party, introducing it thusly: “A key problem was that the powerful Italian Communist Party—perhaps the most independent in Europe and regularly drawing about 30 percent of the nation’s vote—was vital to the movement’s mass mobilization.” Communists (many sympathetic to the Soviet Union, others not) merit no mention at all in a several-page discussion of the constituent groupings of the peace movement in West Germany.

But whatever Professor Wittner may think concerning their “honest[y]” in seeking peace, it is difficult to challenge their “useful” participation in mobilizing millions of fellow citizens in protest against nuclear escalation.

Motive comes up again concerning social democrats—but I am not the one doing the dismissing, and I did not describe them as any more or less “opportunistic” than anyone else. Indeed, I attempted to point out another issue raised by lumping together those of one political label or another: that is, asserting beyond tendencies some generalizable interest in arms reduction by those under one political heading in arms buildup or even in nuclear war by others. Such lumping overall may be a casualty of the book’s impressive scope. But one doesn’t have to deny the interest of some British Labour politicians in arms de-escalation to note that their vocal public expression in the great Hyde Park demonstration in 1981 came against the Tory Thatcher government, whose leaders pursued a rearmament policy spearheaded by erstwhile Labour prime minister Callaghan. I did not vilify any particular party, but attempted rather to note broader patterns of political action and to ask how they could be significant.

Finally, it may not be Professor Wittner’s motivation that leads him to some fairly unequivocal assertions concerning the role of peace activism in preventing nuclear war, but these assertions exist. The first chapter begins with the claim that public inattention and complacency allowed for frightening nuclear escalation; subsequent chapters demonstrate that once the public began paying attention and protesting weapons buildup, politicians, as a group otherwise inclined (despite division between “doves” and “hawks”), pulled back from this trend. This continued until the “waning strength” of the protest permitted a “reviv[ed] arms race” in the 1990s. A key problem seems to me the argument’s setup: the efficacy of popular protest evidenced through the non-occurrence of nuclear war; the only other possible explanation for this non-occurrence in turn as deterrence. Thus, “Overall, citizen activism for nuclear disarmament provides not only a more accurate explanation of events than does military triumph, but a more heartening one, as well.” I agree with Professor Wittner, and noted in the article that there is—also—a more subtle argument in the book. His own evidence intimates at least the important role played by other forces and contingencies, in addition to and in concert with popular protest, in producing both successes and setbacks. He might have done even more to discuss the highly significant role of factors such as Chernobyl, or the bankruptcy of Eastern Bloc states—and to demonstrate these factors’ interaction with and effect on protest as well as on formal political action. Within an exciting recent boomlet of historical writing on postwar peace protest, Lawrence Wittner’s three-volume study stands out for its breadth and for its insights into the role of popular political activity in producing change. While these and his other achievements are all complementary to one another, they can also wind up in contradictory relation, as I sought to raise as an issue for broader discussion. I hope I am correct at least in assuming a common interest with Professor Wittner in try-

ing to understand as well as possible the role of popular expression in producing political change.

BELINDA DAVIS
Rutgers University

TO THE EDITORS:

I read with great interest François Furstenberg's fine article "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History" (*AHR*, June 2008, 647–677), which contained the intriguing thesis concerning "the Long War for the West," a concept the author acknowledges that he borrowed from Greg Nobles (p. 650, fn. 3). But, while referencing Nobles (and Thomas Bender), the provocative interpretation contained in the article is still not nearly so novel or original as Furstenberg (or Nobles) may believe.

I call to the author's attention my own 2005 book (co-authored with Nora Faires, David Smith, and Randy William Widdis), *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650–1990*, co-published by the University of Pittsburgh Press and the University of Calgary Press, which has circulated in manuscript since about 1995 and which since has received the 2006 Albert B. Corey Prize of the American Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association and was second runner-up for this year's Association for Borderland Studies book prize. A chapter I wrote in that book (which also appeared in the 1995 manuscript on which it was based) already referred to the years from 1750s through the 1810s as the "Long War" (pp. 23–27), contained a topographical map (p. 11) just as the Furstenberg article later did (p. 649), and also posed the question: "whose transnational region was it?" (p. 28), essentially the same questions that concludes Furstenberg's *AHR* piece: "To whom does the trans-Appalachian West belong?" (p. 676).

Furstenberg's article contains magnificent research and synthesis and is much more extensively developed than my chapters in our Pittsburgh/Calgary volume, and our focal point was, of course, the Great Lakes basin, whereas his was Saint Domingue, the Mississippi Valley, and New Orleans. Nonetheless, I would greatly appreciate acknowledgment, in the future, of our prior publication of that portion of the central argument that our books share, through appropriate citation, while leaving it to Furstenberg and Nobles to decide whether Furstenberg's study was in any way directly (if unknowingly) derivative of our own work via Nobles or otherwise. Indeed, reference to our study would enhance Furstenberg's fine synthesis and fill in some gaps in its interpretation of the political dynamics in play during and after the period, just as his has filled in gaps in ours.

JOHN J. BUKOWCZYK
Wayne State University

FRANÇOIS FURSTENBERG RESPONDS:

Many thanks to Professor Bukowczyk for bringing his book chapter to my attention. Alas, I was entirely unaware of his work before he contacted me earlier this

summer, but I am pleased to know about it now, all the more since we seem to have come to such similar conclusions.

FRANÇOIS FURSTENBERG
Université de Montréal

TO THE EDITORS:

Every contemporary on the Reparation Commission assumed that the Reich Statistical Office falsified German trade statistics during the great inflation of 1919–1923. Adam Tooze brings welcome confirmation of the fact ("Trouble with Numbers: Statistics, Politics, and History in the Construction of Weimar's Trade Balance, 1918–1924," *AHR*, June 2008, 678–700). In a passage of Wirth's letter to the economics minister that Tooze does not quote, the chancellor blamed the Statistical Office bureaucrats for incompetence. They continued to use "formal" prewar accounting methods according to which one paper mark was deemed equal to another despite the ongoing hyperinflation (R431/31/227–229). Yet Tooze skirts the most interesting question: Did German officials falsify the figures in large part to avoid reparations? Much evidence suggests that they did.

Tooze brings us no closer than do earlier scholars to exact quantification, from German sources, of the trade deficit for those years. That is not surprising. The German authorities themselves did not know. While clinging to the obsolete theory that the trade deficit made currency stabilization impossible, the Reichsbank and other agencies avoided collecting inflation-adjusted statistics that might prove the contrary. In any event, Tooze misleads the unwary reader by focusing on the trade deficit alone rather than on the overall balance of payments. Through extrapolation from private bank records, the 1924 McKenna Committee estimated the trade deficit for 1919–1923 at 6.3–7.3 milliard gold marks. But that was a political number. R. Pilotti, the trade expert on the Committee of Guarantees, thought the deficit might be as low as 5.5 milliards. After all, before the war, the Rhineland accounted for roughly 10 percent of German imports and exports; after the war, when the Allies monitored Rhineland trade, that region purportedly accounted for 27 percent of exports and 6.6 percent of imports. Those statistics would be inexplicable if exporters elsewhere in Germany were not flagrantly under-invoicing exports. Tooze concedes that for one period the official figures showed German exports to the Netherlands exceeding those to England, France, and the United States combined. Again, this peculiarity had to result from intra-firm transfers to Dutch subsidiaries at purely notional prices.

Moreover, Tooze fails to remind us that the visible trade deficit, whatever it was, figured as just one component in the balance of payments. A number of scholars, from Frank Graham to Carl Holtferrich, have sought to calculate losses by foreigners on mark-denominated securities, property, and other real assets, the sums lost on paper-mark bank balances and cur-

rency held abroad, and the valuta that German industrialists piled up outside the Reich by not repatriating export revenue. The total certainly exceeds 15 milliard gold marks from 1914 to 1923. Thus Germany's capital account stood in substantial surplus throughout the postwar years. For details, see my *American "Reparations" to Germany, 1919–33* (1988).

Finally, Tooze gilds the lily by referring (twice) to Wirth's "aggressive" fulfillment of the reparations schedule. Wirth himself frequently referred to the "so-called fulfillment policy," which aimed to demonstrate that the Reich could not comply with its obligations. Wirth's *Nachlass*, suffused with perfervid nationalist sentiments, makes clear that the latter description is more accurate.

STEPHEN A. SCHUKER
University of Virginia

Adam Tooze does not wish to respond.

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

In his review of my book *Was Australia Charted before 1606? The Jave la Grande Inscriptions* (AHR, April 2008, 481–482), Roy Schreiber condemns virtually all its aspects. Reviewers in journals specifically devoted to the history of cartography and discoveries—*The Portolan*, the *BIMCC Newsletter*, *IMCoS Journal*, and *Terrae Incognitae*—recommended it very highly; even the *Imago Mundi* reviewer, a dogged adherent to the *Jave la Grande* = Australia school, found some merit in it, though was still reluctant to accept its inevitable conclusion that *Jave la Grande* is not Australia.

Roy Schreiber states that the book is about the Harleian/Dauphin map and the identification of *Jave la Grande*. It is *not*. It is about that landmass on *all* the maps of the Dieppe School—a very vital distinction. He then accuses me of performing several "mind-boggling feats with the map."

1. I did *not* split "the Jave la Grande peninsula in half." The Dieppe cartographers somehow acquired two very early Portuguese sketch charts, believed them genuine, but were unable to identify them from their inscriptions or their coastal outlines, so did not know where to incorporate them on a world map. Belief in the existence of a southern continent suggested that these enigmatic coasts might belong to southern Java and Sumbawa, which on most sixteenth-century Portuguese charts were left blank. This created a *nonexistent landmass* that some cartographers actually joined hypothetically to the north coast of Tierra del Fuego. I merely noted that two unidentified coastlines were depicted where none existed and sought to identify them, by examining *both* their outlines *and* their inscriptions, on *all* the Dieppe maps, since the latter vary in number and spelling from each other.

2. I did *not* turn the east coast of *Jave la Grande* into

Vietnam "after the image on the map is turned upside down and moved ten degrees to the north." The reviewer cannot have read the caption to Plate 7, which clearly states that "*South is at the top*." All the other east coast illustrations have north at the top.

3. I did *not* turn "the western half [of *Jave la Grande*]" into *eastern* Java by rotating the image from south-north to an east-west orientation." Chapter 11 explains that "the western half" is intended to represent the coast of *southwestern* Java. Although not looking like it, the inscriptions are confirmation. Chapter 10 explains that a false, duplicate, misaligned version of Java's west coast appeared on all Portuguese and the derivative Dieppe maps throughout the sixteenth century, so the speculative misalignment of part of the southwest coast is hardly surprising.

4. I did *not* state or imply that "language trumps cartography every time." Because of the number of hypothetical or questionable coastlines on sixteenth-century charts—Mercator's southern continent and *India Meridionalis* on the *Bünting* world map, for example—I merely insist that dubious cartographical outlines should be treated skeptically unless their supposed identity can be reliably confirmed by inscriptions.

5. The reviewer objects to my contention that proof of *Jave la Grande*'s identification as Australia would entail showing that some of the inscriptions indicated *uniquely* Australia features, or words in an Aboriginal language. Such inscriptions as *Coste dangereuse*, often cited as indicating the Great Barrier Reef, are unacceptable; there are hundreds of dangerous coastlines in the world. Needed are *specific, unambiguous* inscriptions.

6. Though acknowledging that "the case for the linguistic origins of various place-names is convincing," the reviewer *avoids any comment whatsoever* on the book's major theme, the presence of corrupt Javanese inscriptions of the west coast of "Australia," and corrupt Vietnamese and South China Sea ones on, and off, its east coast!

7. The reviewer's objections to the format and length of the book, and what he calls its "overall haphazard" and "annoying . . . structure," are strange. The *Portolan* reviewer is specifically complimentary on these features.

8. Since *Jave la Grande* is *not* Australia, the reviewer's comment regarding longitude is irrelevant.

A closer acquaintance with this controversy, and a more careful reading of my text, would doubtless have produced a different assessment.

WILLIAM A. R. RICHARDSON
Flinders University

Roy Schreiber does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

The spectacle of scholars and reviewers exchanging broadsides is never dignified, and I do not intend to

enter such a fray. Timothy Jenks has reviewed my *Briannia's Palette: The Arts of Naval Victory* (AHR, April 2008, 577–578), damning with faint praise: “It is difficult to review a book,” he writes, “that advances no sustained argument or thesis.” As might be expected in a field so constricted as that of naval/art history, I for my part have reviewed Jenks’s *Naval Engagements, Patriotism, Cultural Politics, and the Royal Navy, 1793–1815* for the *Nautical Research Journal*: “Jenks’s account is fascinating, and on the whole well developed, but some criticism might be suggested . . . Jenks’s book started as a University of Toronto thesis, and it shows it. His use of ‘scholar-speak’ . . . notwithstanding, the book should become part of the library of any with an interest in the naval and political history of the period.” Neither of us was able to read the other’s book before the publication of his own.

Jenks is certainly entitled to his opinions, but your readers might like to hear the author’s perspective. Jenks’s book is the work of a young man, interested in abstractions, and with an academic career to make. Mine is the work of an older man, interested in people and art, with an established reputation in naval history, and not inclined to confuse the academic community with the community of learning, which extends far wider. Art historians have a weakness for trawling the work of artists for evidence to support their theses, and naval historians have a weakness for discounting the lives and work of the artists who are more likely to die in a debtor’s prison than from enemy shot. But they and their work are important in their own right. They were skilled professionals struggling with the conflicting demands of artistic taste and patrons’ interests. It is that struggle which forms the thesis of my book, a struggle with human dimensions. Jenks attempts to systemize the icons produced by a generation of artists into the politics of patriotism of the period, and he certainly makes a good case, but there is little evidence that the artists were themselves interested in those objectives. “In the discussion of ‘discourse’ too few of the personalities who were conducting it come through . . . Although history is a contest of ideas, it is people who conduct the contest. Jenks’s focus on political manipulation of naval images, without always providing solid assessment of the objective realities, also leaves him a little vulnerable.”

NICHOLAS TRACY

Milton Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society
University of New Brunswick

Timothy Jenks does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

I am grateful for Maartje Abbenhuis’s kind comments about my account of the massacres of Belgian civilians in her review of *Rehearsals: The German Army in Belgium, August 1914* (AHR, June 2008, 930–931). (I am a

little puzzled, however, by her congratulating my research assistants and translators. I had no research assistants and do not mention any in my acknowledgments. I do thank two individuals for “translating some documents in Dutch,” but there were only three such documents. I slogged through a few more, but 99.9 percent of my sources were in French, English, or German, and all the translations are my own.) Unfortunately, Abbenhuis’s analysis of the explanation I offer is woefully misleading. I nowhere write about a German “national character.” I don’t believe for a moment that there is such a thing. I certainly do not say or suggest that Germans are “innately barbaric.” The first example Abbenhuis offers of my “highly flawed” analysis is revealing: to the unoriginal observation in the Prologue that “the invasion of Belgium precipitated a long chain of events that resulted in the murders of untold millions of civilians,” she arbitrarily adds in brackets “[during the Holocaust].” It is perfectly clear from the sentence itself and from the paragraph in which it appears that I’m referring to civilian deaths during World War I and all the twentieth-century wars that can be linked to it. There is no mention of the Holocaust in the Prologue.

When she is not putting words in my mouth, Abbenhuis lifts phrases from their context. The quotation about the “delusional beliefs” of educated Germans in 1914 is supported by statements from knowledgeable contemporaries, including Princeton University professor George McClellan, a German sympathizer, as to what was being written and said in Berlin about Sir Edward Grey and about Belgian neutrality. It also follows a discussion of the famous manifesto *An die Kulturwelt*, signed first by ninety-three leading intellectuals and then by nearly four thousand other scholars and writers, with its untenable claims about the origin and conduct of the war: “a singularly clumsy tirade . . . conceived without any knowledge of the truth,” as one signatory admitted after the war.

The quotation about “a German problem” precedes a comparison of the invasion of Belgium in 1914 with the invasion of western Germany in 1945. The contrast between, on the one hand, the manual *Kriegsbrauch im Landkrieg* and endorsements of terrorism by influential authorities such as von Clausewitz, von Holtzendorff, and von Hartmann, and, on the other, *A Guide to Occupation of German Communities by Small Units*, issued by 9th Army Headquarters in December 1944, is telling, I think, and permits the generalization. This comparison is certainly more germane than the one Abbenhuis makes between the killing of nearly six thousand civilians and the abuses at Abu Ghraib. No one was murdered at the latter, and the charges were investigated and the accused tried and sentenced, while no German officer was ever punished for the mass executions of 1914.

The fact is that there were important differences between Imperial Germany and other Western European countries, some of which have been analyzed in detail by recent scholars (i.e., attitudes toward dueling). It is hardly farfetched to suggest that these differences may

have had some bearing on what happened in Belgium. Forty-five priests were executed and several churches desecrated during a three-week period, and it does not seem to me rash on the part of contemporaries to have attributed this to anti-Catholic and perhaps anti-Christian sentiments that differed in scope and intensity from those of other Protestant nations, to take but one example.

The section of the book that has upset Abbenhuis comes at the end of a chapter in which I make the case that there were few or no *francs-tireurs* (Belgian guerrillas), but that the explanation for the massacres offered by John Horne and Alan Kramer in their otherwise superb *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* is inadequate. They argue that German soldiers and officers were in the grip of a "franc-tireur myth complex," a kind of mass paranoia much like that which seized the French peasantry in the summer of 1789.

After acknowledging that I am not an historian of Germany and that a comprehensive explanation is "beyond the scope of this book and the competencies of the author," I suggest that it would nonetheless be helpful to consider what was being written about German political culture by astute and knowledgeable contemporaries—including German dissidents and expatriates, as well as British writers sympathetic to Germany such as F. M. Hueffer and G. L. Dickinson.

I believe that such an approach is likely to be more illuminating than offering ahistorical (though ideologically reassuring) analogies: comparing German soldiers in Dinant and Leuven with American soldiers in Abu Ghraib or with French peasants during *la Grande Peur*, or, for that matter, members of *Ordnungspolizei* battalions during World War II with the New Haven citizens who participated in Stanley Milgram's experiments.

JEFF LIPKES

MAARTJE ABBENHUIS RESPONDS:

Thank you for the opportunity to reply to Jeff Lipkes's letter. I firstly, and foremostly, offer my sincerest apologies to him for suggesting that his translations were made by others. The amount of detailed research, extensive language skills, and painstaking amount of time needed to translate the vast number of sources he cites led me to assume he had help. I was mistaken and wish to rectify the error by adding that the compliment I made to the quality of the translations should be redirected completely to him. I would also like to reiterate that Lipkes has done a commendable job in charting the massacre of six thousand Belgian civilians by the German army in August 1914, by which he has made a key contribution to the history of the First World War.

I am not going to respond to every one of Lipkes's counters to my critiques of his book. I would like to state, however, that I expect that my interpretation of

his work came as a shock and assume he had not intended for his work to be read as the history of a precursor for German behavior in the Second World War and the Holocaust or as a descriptor of German "national character." As with all history, texts can be interpreted in different ways, and how I "read" this book may not have been what Lipkes intended in writing it. However, I stand behind my critiques. They came out of a careful reading of the book and the impression that it made on me as a historian of war and peace and as a teacher of modern German history (including Nazi Germany). It was all too easy to read a teleological strand into *Rehearsals*, particularly since Lipkes refers in numerous places to the Second World War and the behavior of Germans in it. No serious historian can refer to the Second World War and Nazi conduct toward civilians without thereby also implying the Holocaust. If Lipkes did not intend to refer to the Holocaust, it might have been prudent to make that explicitly clear, as the terms "Nazi" and "Holocaust" are inextricably linked. To serve as an example: in the prologue, Lipkes's second paragraph opens with the sentence "To anyone familiar with activities in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe, there will be a striking sense of déjà-vu" (p. 13). Somewhat later in the prologue (p. 19), after referring to historical debates about continuities in German history (including the Goldhagen controversy), he states: "The Belgians were the first victims of German lawlessness. They were not the last." This is then followed by the opening sentence of a new paragraph: "The invasion of Belgium precipitated a long chain of events that resulted in the murders of untold millions of civilians." It really does not seem to me to be an arbitrary reading that this refers to the Holocaust, but I am ready to admit that it should not apply to the Holocaust alone but to all civilian victims of German conduct in the First and Second World Wars.

My unease with *Rehearsals* is not with the five hundred pages describing what happened in Belgium in August 1914 or his careful debunking of the *franc-tireur* myth—on both counts Lipkes is thorough and has made important contributions. I do, however, take issue with Lipkes's explanation as to the societal origins and wider relevance of the actions of German soldiers toward Belgian civilians in August 1914. If I misinterpreted these arguments, with all due respect to Lipkes, I doubt I will be the only one but hope I may be proven wrong. If I overstated them (and, thereby, unintentionally put words into the author's mouth), I did so out of professional concern about the implications of his arguments for the writing of the history of modern Germany, a concern I might not have had if *Rehearsals* had been more carefully grounded in the extensive historiography available on Wilhelmine Germany and in the debates about the "continuities" in German history.

MAARTJE ABBENHUIS
University of Auckland

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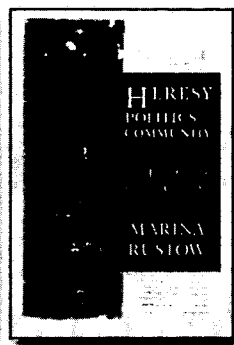
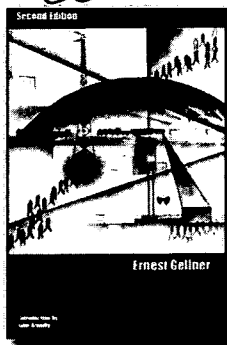
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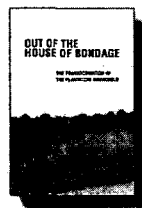
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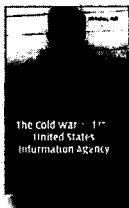


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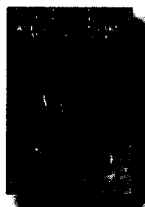
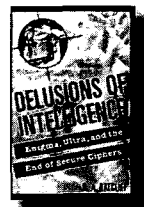


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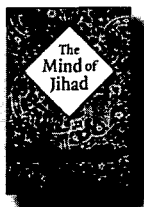
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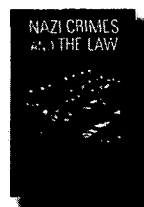


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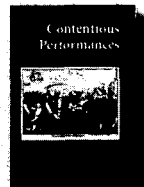


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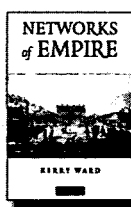
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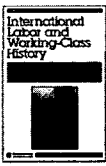
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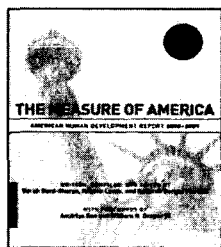
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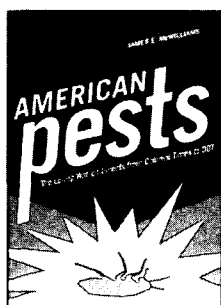
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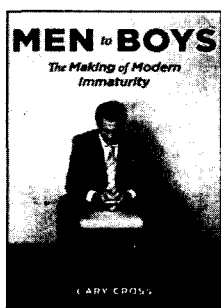
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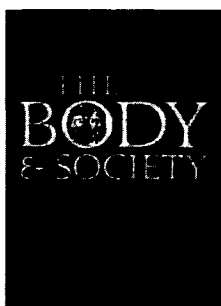
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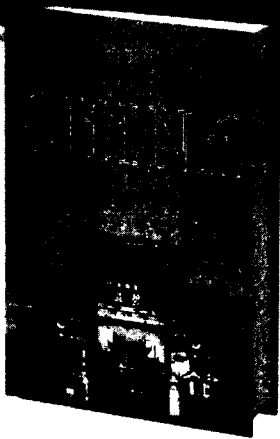
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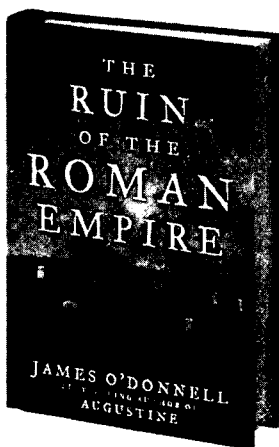
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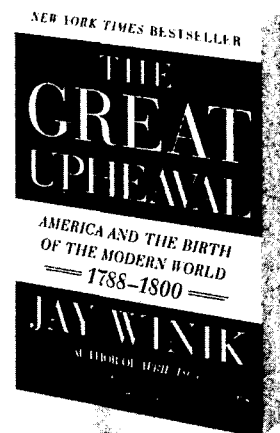
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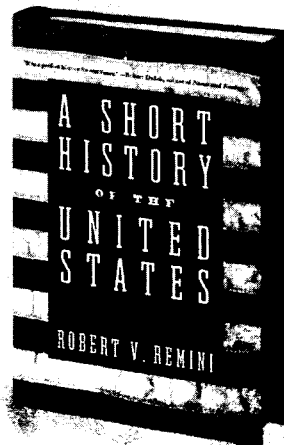
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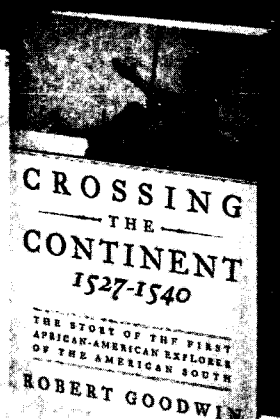
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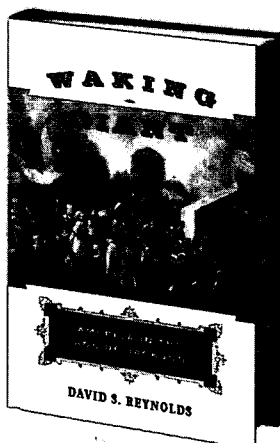
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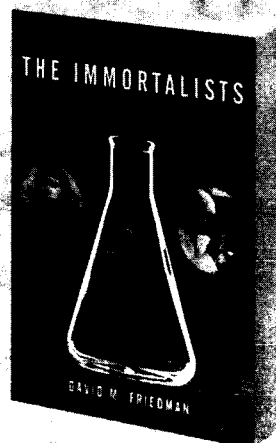


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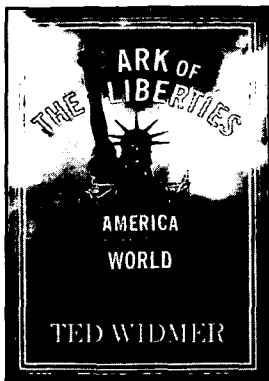
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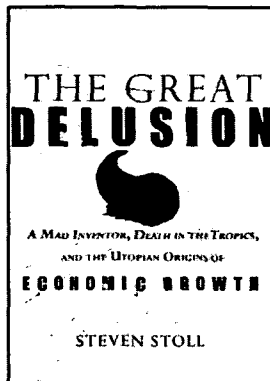
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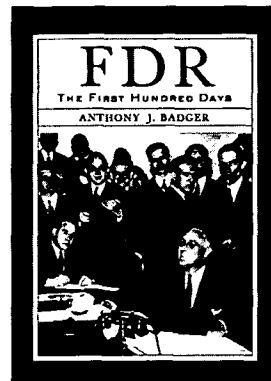
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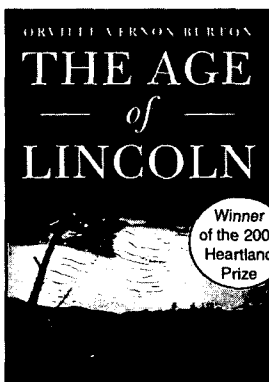
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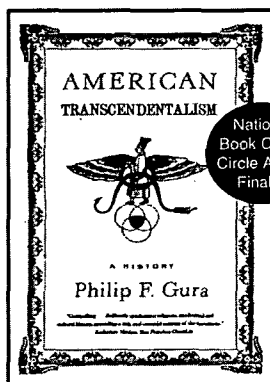
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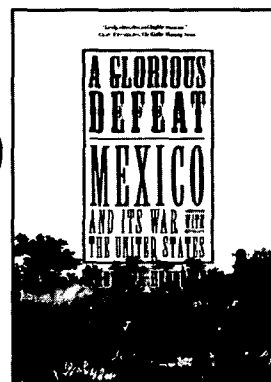
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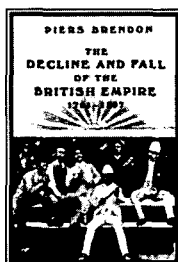


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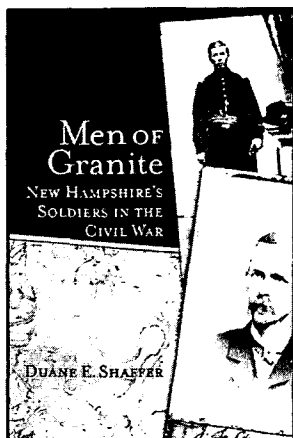
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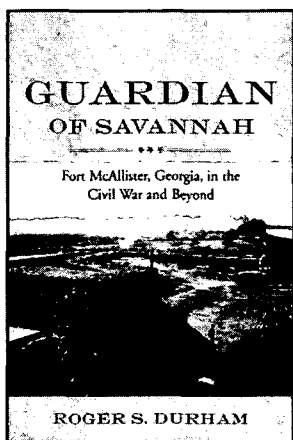


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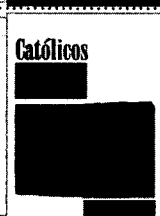
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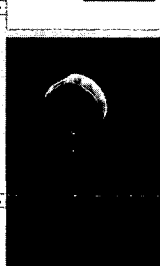
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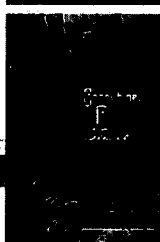
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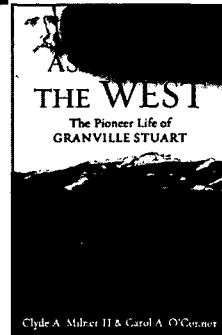
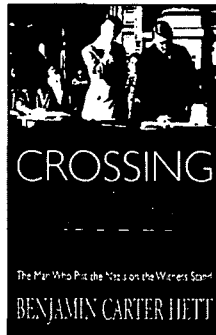
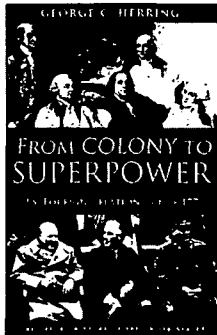
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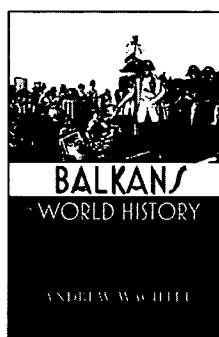
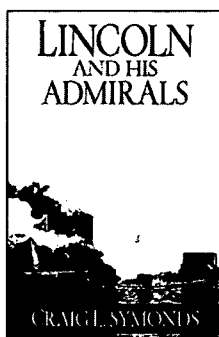
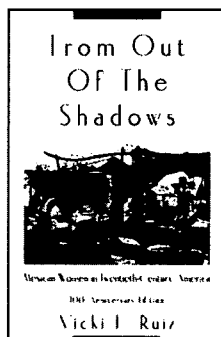
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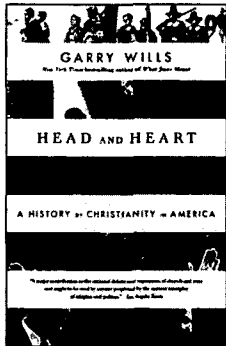
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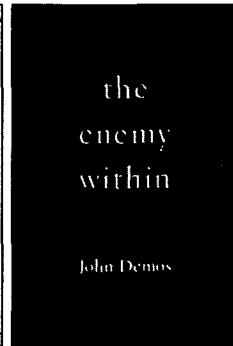

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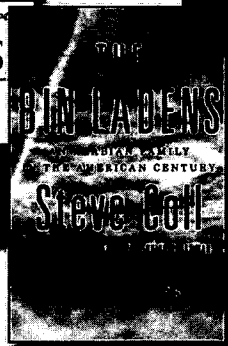
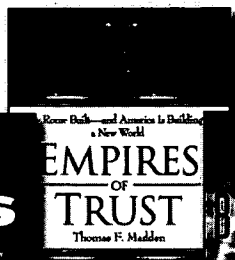
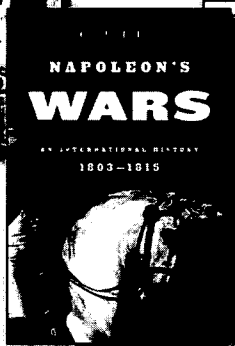
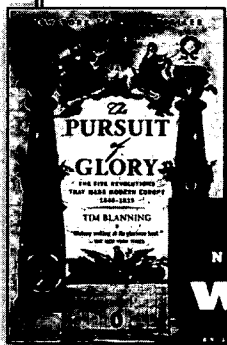
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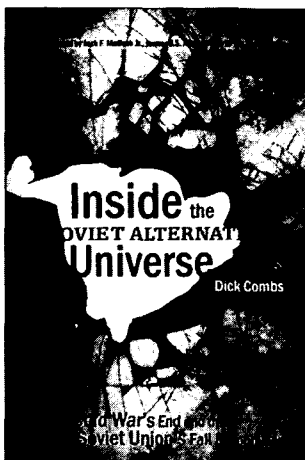
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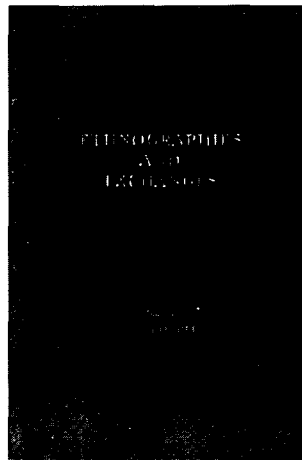
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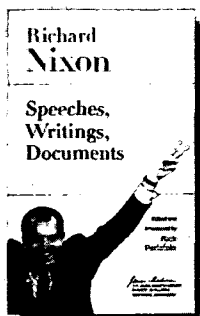
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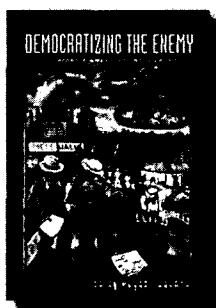
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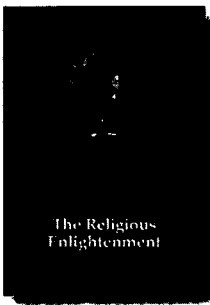
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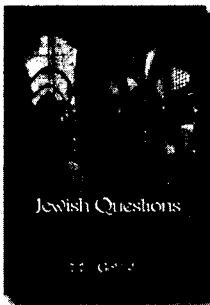
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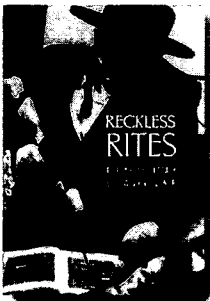
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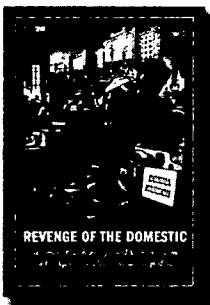
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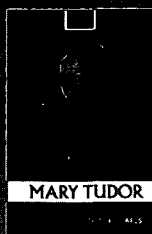
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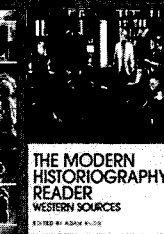
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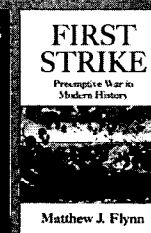
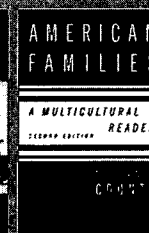
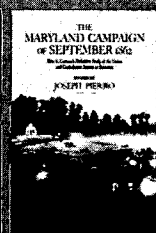
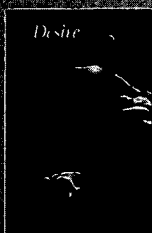
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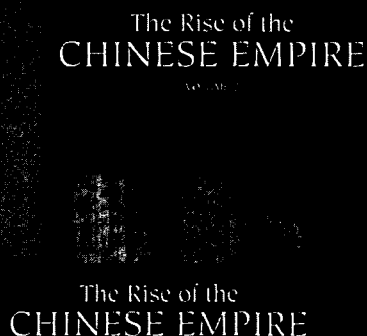
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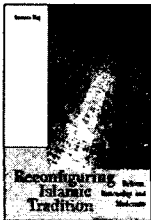
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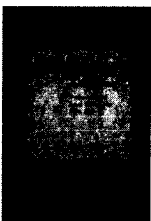
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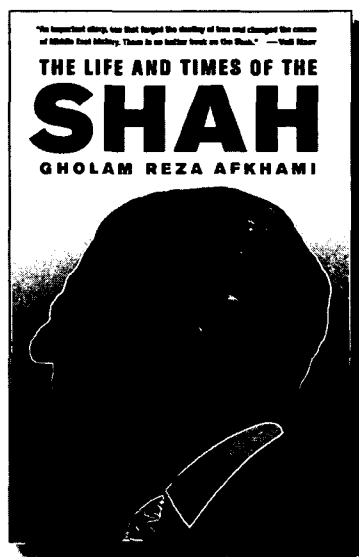
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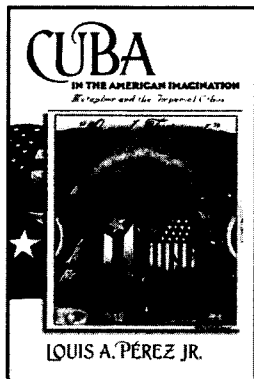
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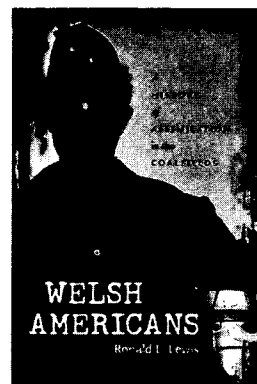
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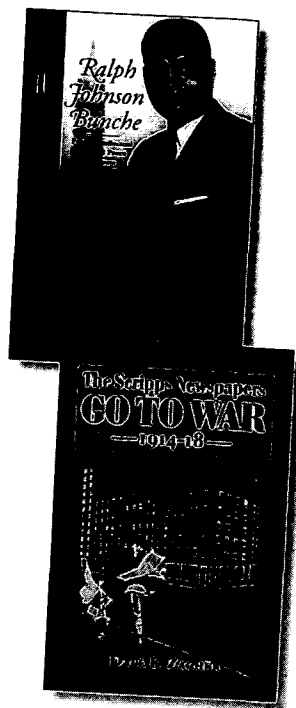
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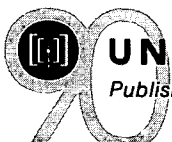
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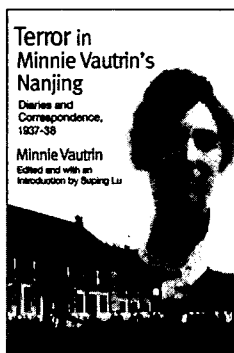
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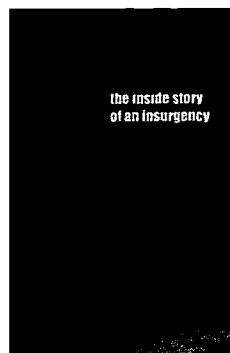
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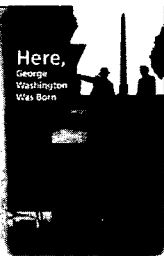


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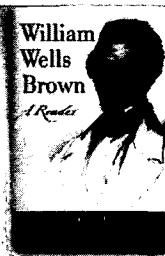
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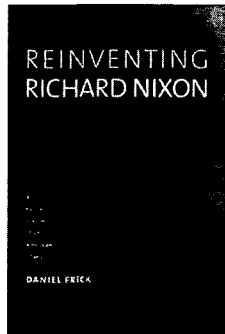
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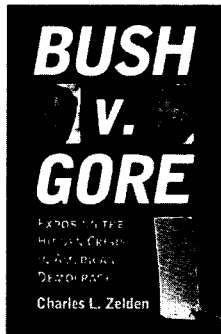
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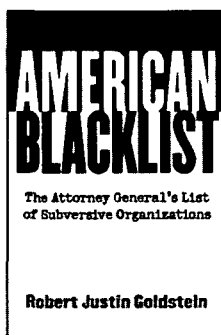
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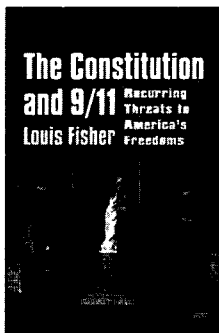
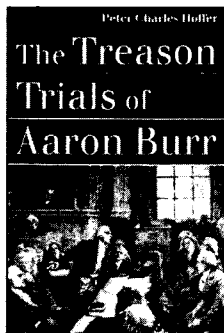
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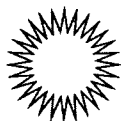
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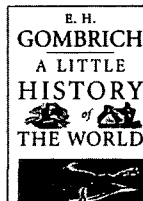
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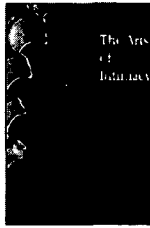
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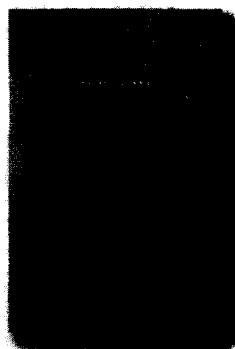
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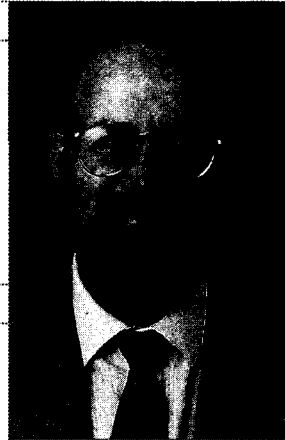
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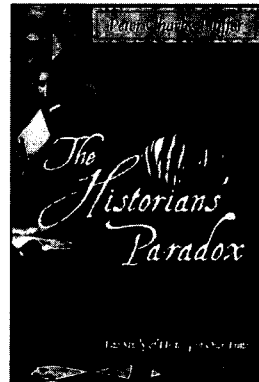
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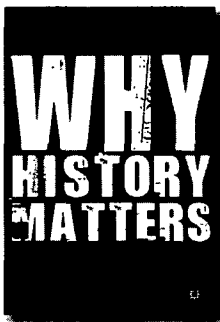


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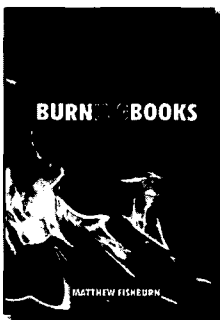


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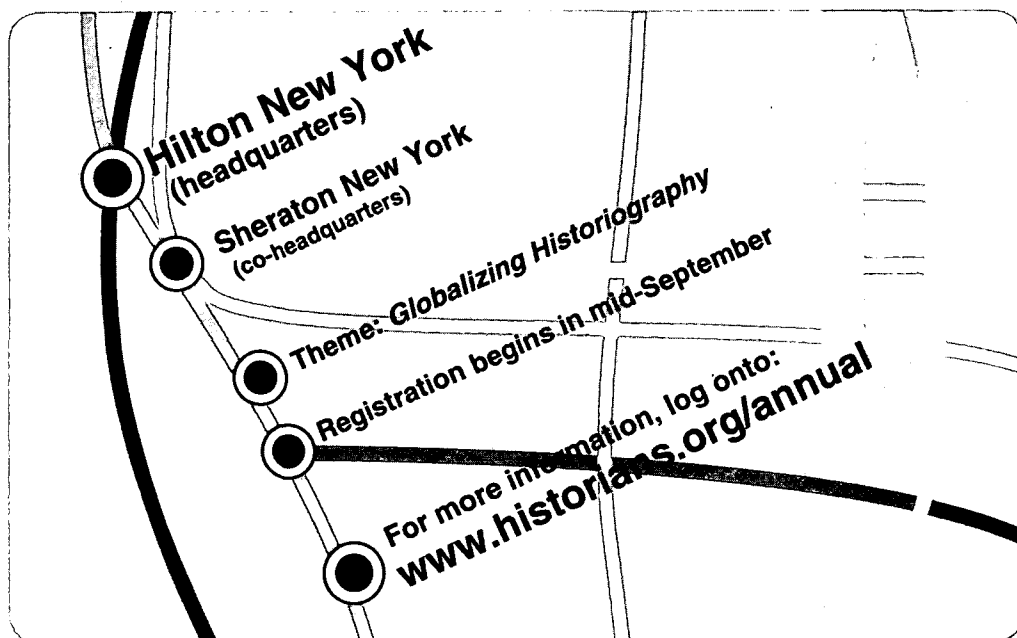
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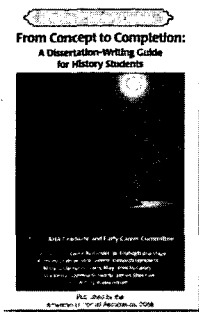
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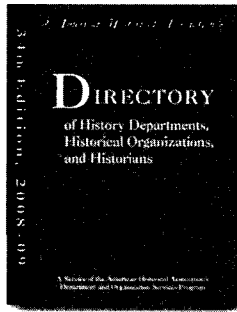
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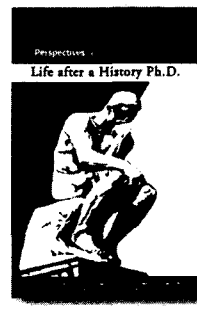
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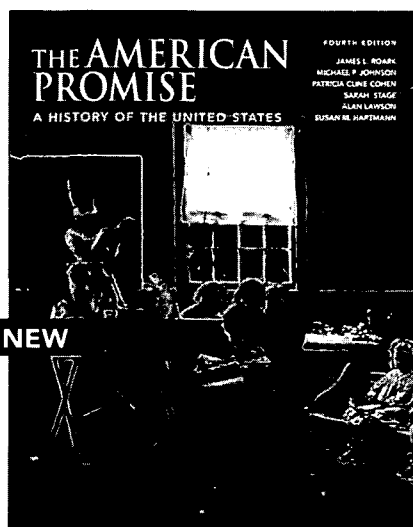
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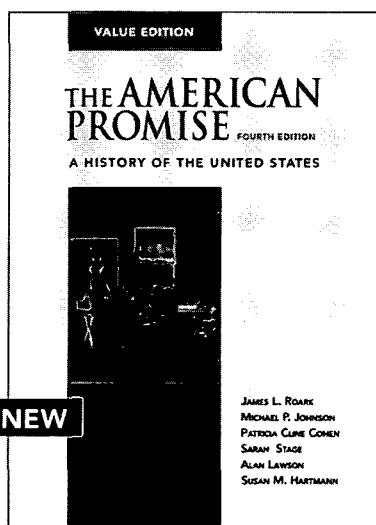
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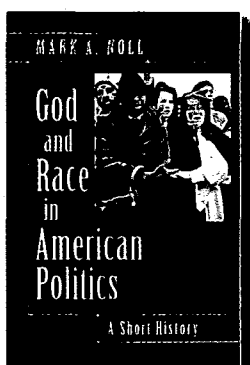
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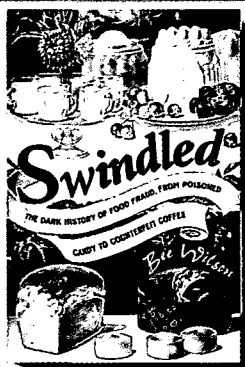
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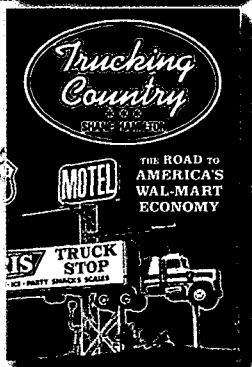
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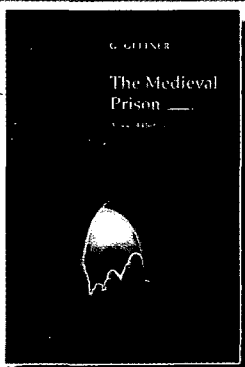
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